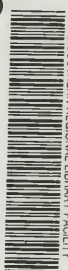


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THE COMPREHENSIVE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

CIVIL AND MILITARY,
RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD
TO THE CLOSE OF THE RUSSIAN WAR.

WITH NUMEROUS ANNOTATIONS
FROM THE WRITINGS OF RECENT DISTINGUISHED HISTORIANS.

EDITED BY THE
REV. THOS. THOMSON,
AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS," AND OF THE SUPPLEMENT TO THE
"BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF EMINENT SCOTSMEN," ETC.

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retired, a circumstance which was considered as unprecedented. According to one who was in his closest intimacy, Pitt, on or even before the 24th of February, was sent for by the king, who made him the "very surprising proposition" to form a cabinet of his own.¹ On the 25th, Dundas moved an adjournment for three days, to afford time for the forming of a new cabinet. This motion was readily agreed to; but the three days passed without anything being settled, and when the house met again (on the 28th) neither Dundas nor any one else on that side said a word about the matter. It appears that in the course of that day, Thomas Townshend had been sent to persuade Pitt to accede to the king's wishes, but all in vain.² Day after day elapsed, and still all was undecided. On the 2d or 3d of March, the king sent for Lord North, having previously seen his father, the Earl of Guilford. His majesty insisted that Fox should be given up and excluded; North refused, and they parted on bad terms. On the 5th, the king saw Lord North a second time, but he could not prevail upon him to break the coalition.³ On the 12th, his majesty sent for North a third time, and then commissioned him to desire the Duke of Portland, who had succeeded to the great party influence of the Marquis of Rockingham, to form an administration. But fresh difficulties arose: the Duke of Portland would in no way break the league which had been formed between his party and the party of Lord North; the king still tried to exclude Fox, and Fox and some of his friends could not agree as to the admission into the cabinet of Lord Stormont, whom they had rejected before; and, on the 24th of March, it was currently reported that all negotiation between the king and the coalition was broken off.⁴ On that evening Mr. Coke, the popular member for Norfolk, moved an address, requesting his majesty "to consider the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, and comply with the wishes of the house, by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might tend to terminate the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country." The debate which ensued was rendered remarkable by Lord North's solemn denial of having ever found, while in office, any secret influence behind the throne—for that cry was again revived and was now applied, not to Lord Bute, who had almost disappeared from the public eye, but to Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool. Coke's motion was carried in a very full house with only four dissentient voices. His majesty replied to this address that it was his "earnest desire to do everything in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful

commons." But, though more than a month had passed since the resignation of Lord Shelburne, nothing was done.

On the 31st of March, Lord Surrey moved another and stronger address, "to assure his majesty that all delays in a matter of this moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his government; and most humbly to entreat that he would take such measures as might quiet the anxiety and apprehension of his faithful subjects." But as it was intimated by Mr. Pitt that he had that day resigned as chancellor of the exchequer, the motion was ultimately withdrawn. Two days after this the king surrendered at discretion to the coalition, and an end was put to this long ministerial interregnum, which, however, was not so long by six weeks as the ministerial hiatus in the year 1757.

The Duke of Portland became first lord of the treasury, Lord North secretary for home affairs, and Mr. Fox secretary for foreign affairs; the Earl of Carlisle got the privy seal; Lord John Cavendish was re-appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and Admiral Lord Keppel, who had quitted the Shelburne party, and resigned in January on account of the treaty of peace, was again placed at the head of the admiralty. The wishes of the king were complied with as regarded Lord Stormont, who became president of the council; but that other king's man, Lord-chancellor Thurlow, who had been admitted before at the formation of the Rockingham cabinet, when Stormont had been excluded, was now, in his turn, barred out, and put to the ban: the great seal was given in commission to Lord Loughborough, Mr. Justice Ashurst, and Mr. Baron Hotham; and the aged Lord Mansfield accepted the temporary office of speaker of the House of Lords; Lord Townshend became master-general of the ordnance; Colonel Fitzpatrick secretary-at-war; Burke again paymaster of the forces, and Charles Townshend treasurer of the navy. These seven—Portland, North, Fox, Cavendish, Carlisle, Keppel, and Stormont—formed the new cabinet. Lord Sandwich, who still enjoyed the protection of North, and whose poverty was notorious, was gratified with the rangiership of St. James's and Hyde Parks; and his son, Lord Hinchinbroke, was made master of the buck-hounds; Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee took again the places of attorney and solicitor general; Sheridan, whose poverty and eloquence were equally conspicuous, became secretary to the treasury, having for his colleague Burke's brother Richard; Lord North's son (Colonel North) and the Honourable Mr. St. John were appointed under-secretaries of state; the Earl of Northington was made Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. William Windham secretary for that kingdom. Fox, who was the real head, saw that

¹ Wilberforce: *Diary, in Life by his Sons.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

his popularity was declining, and the king's aversion to him increasing every day; and that, of all experiments in politics, coalitions are apt to prove the most dangerous.

One of the first measures which the new cabinet were obliged to propose, was a loan of £12,000,000; and a stamp-duty on receipts soon followed. Pitt, while chancellor of the exchequer, had been importuned to reproduce his scheme of parliamentary reform; but he declined the undertaking till the cabinet was changed. On the 7th of May he moved three resolutions:—1. That it was necessary to adopt measures for preventing bribery and expense at elections. 2. That when the majority of voters in any borough should be convicted of corruption, the borough should be disfranchised, and the minority, not convicted, entitled to vote for the county. 3. That an addition should be made to the number of county members and of representatives of the metropolis. Varying upon that point, as his father had done before him, Pitt now defended the rotten boroughs, as necessary deformities, which might disfigure the constitution, but which could not be removed without risking a terrible catastrophe. As Chatham had once done, he maintained that increasing the number of county members would give new life and vigour to the constitution. He would not fix the specific number, but he gave it as his opinion, that, including the new members for the metropolis, not less than 100 representatives ought to be added to the house.¹ The claims of the American royalists to compensation, many of whom soon found themselves compelled to quit their native country for ever, also engaged the attention of parliament. Counting all classes and conditions, they subsequently received, in various parlia-

mentary grants, somewhat more than £12,000,000 sterling.²

On the 17th of June a remarkable petition—the first of so many—was presented to parliament by the Quakers for the total abolition of the slave trade. It was considered as little more than a romantic aspiration of the amiable enthusiasts who had sent it up, and after a very short debate it was ordered to lie upon the table. On the 16th of July parliament was prorogued.

On the 2d of September preliminary articles of peace with the Dutch were signed at Paris, Great Britain obtaining the cession of Negapatam, and restoring Trincomalee and all her other conquests. On the very next day the definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America were signed at the same place. Shortly after, when Adams arrived as envoy from the United States, the king said to him, at his first audience:—"I was the last man in the kingdom, sir, to consent to the independence of America: but, now it is granted, I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

When parliament re-assembled—on the 11th of November—the Prince of Wales took his seat in the House of Peers as Duke of Cornwall; and Fox produced his famous India bills, which became the immediate cause of the dismissal of the coalition ministry. The first of these bills was for "vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public." Fox proposed that these directors should be seven in number, to be nominated *in the first instance by parliament*, and afterwards by the crown, to act for four years; but there were to be added nine assistant-directors, to be chosen in open election by a majority of the proprietors of East India

¹ Parliamentary reform now began to occupy the place in the public mind that had been so long engrossed by the questions relating to America. A society had been formed for the diffusion of "constitutional information, with a design to convey to the minds of the people a knowledge of their rights, principally those of representation." The first volume of their collected tracts was published in London in 1783; and presents, on many points, a curious contrast to the publications of the societies formed before and since, with the design of conveying to the minds of the people a knowledge of their *duties*.

Although the tracts plead for annual parliaments and universal suffrage, the constitution of the society is aristocratic and exclusive. The members are chosen by ballot, but not without timeous recommendation to the committee, and two black balls suffice to exclude from membership, and a single black ball from the committee. No one could be a member without a yearly subscription of a guinea, rigorously exacted, or thirty guineas paid down. Such limitations may account for the fewness of the members, only 137, although the professed object of the society is so extensive and popular. Of these, five are noblemen, and eleven members of the House of Commons. The names of Major Cartwright, Alderman Bull, and John Frost, amongst the lay members, give token of absurdity, while those of Drs. Price, Priestley, and Kippis, and of John Home Tooke, warn us not to expect much warmth of Christian principle. Accordingly, in the very first sentence of the first of the society's tracts, we find it set down, in capital letters, as a first principle,

that LAW, TO BIND ALL, MUST BE ASSENTED TO BY ALL—a principle which, by proclaiming immunity to criminals who refuse their assent to the most necessary laws, makes a burlesque of all civil government. As for religion, the first part of the tracts is prefaced by an English imitation of an ode of Alcæus, the second with one of an ode of Callistratus. The latter having been "performed at the anniversary meeting of the society, May 14th, 1782," seems to indicate that it was disposed to borrow any religion it had from ancient heathendom. It is hardly to be doubted that such an association, running counter at once to the common sense and Christian sentiments of the nation, so discredited parliamentary reform in general as to have deprived the country of many salutary ameliorations, until the excesses of the revolutionists in France and Holland made the whole subject come to be viewed with aversion and disgust. But the exclusiveness of the society made it a mere clique. Two black balls would never be wanting to exclude piety and common sense.

² The grasping spirit of the United States very early revealed itself in a proposal made by Franklin to Lord Shelburne, when joint secretary with Mr. Fox in the Rockingham cabinet, to have Canada given up by Great Britain to the States, "in order that congress might sell the unappropriated lands, and make a fund thereby, in order to compensate the damages done by the English army, and *even those sustained too by the royalists*." Had this bait been taken, part of the £12,000,000, but probably a very small part, might have been re-imbursed.

stock. The seven directors were to be intrusted with the entire management of the territorial possessions and revenues of the Company; and the nine assistant-directors acting under them were to manage the commercial concerns of the Company; and both classes were to be removeable by the king, *on address of either House of Parliament*. The second bill—"for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India"—related chiefly to the powers to be granted to the governor-general and council in India, and to the conduct to be observed towards the natives. Fox encountered no opposition till the first of the two bills had been once read—on the 20th of November—and it was moved that it should be read a second time that day week. This motion was opposed by Mr. W. W. Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville), who denounced the plan as one of the most alarming nature, involving the most daring violation of the chartered rights of the Company, and putting an extent of patronage into the hands of ministers which would enable them to defy both the parliament and the crown. Grenville moved that the second reading should be postponed till after the Christmas recess; and he was supported by his relative, Pitt, by Dundas, Jenkinson, and other members, including Mr. John Scott, afterwards Lord-chancellor Eldon. Fox exerted himself greatly; but Lord North was absent on account of indisposition. Grenville, contented with having made a beginning, did not press his motion to a division. The second reading, therefore, came on upon the 27th, and then there arose one of the longest and most animated of debates. On the 1st of December another great struggle took place on the motion for going into committee. Burke, who is said to have been, even more than Fox, the real author of the India scheme, was the principal orator on this occasion. Pitt pledged himself that, if the house would throw out the present bill, he would bring forward another, which would answer the exigencies of the case, without the violence or danger of the measure then before them. Again it was half-past four in the morning before a division took place; but then the motion for going into committee was carried by 217 against 103. On the 8th of December the third reading was carried by 208 against 102. These were great and triumphant majorities; and Fox, it appears, thought he had reason to hope for the concurrence of the lords, although the king had resolutely opposed a new and copious creation of Whig peers. On the very next day, the 9th of December, the bill was carried up to the lords by Mr. Fox, attended by a great body of the commons. Though allowed, as a matter of course, a first reading, it was at once reprobated by the Duke of Richmond, by Lord Thurlow,

and by Lord Temple, who had repeated interviews with the king to concert measures for relieving him from the coalition. Temple described the whole bill as *infamous*. Thurlow proclaimed with his sonorous voice, that, if the bill passed, the crown of England would no longer be worth a man of honour's wearing. "The king," he added, "will, in fact, take the diadem from his own head and place it on the head of Mr. Fox!" The keenness and personalities which followed were mainly owing to a note alleged to have been written by the king to Lord Temple, in which his majesty had declared that he would consider those as his enemies who voted for the bill. In the debate, Pitt, with the cold, sarcastic manner which was natural to him even in his early days, said that ministers ought instantly to resign, as it was evident, even from their own confessions, that they had lost the confidence of the sovereign. Fox spoke of his own glorious and independent majority in the commons, and of the private cabal consequently convened elsewhere. All strangers were excluded; but it appears that in the debate the motion of Mr. Erskine pledging the house to the adoption of suitable remedies for the abuses in the government of India, was warmly attacked as an invasion of the king's prerogative. The entire resolution was nevertheless carried by 147 against 73.

All this passed on Wednesday, the 17th. The next day was employed by the king in making dispositions for the formation of a new cabinet; and at twelve o'clock at night on Thursday, the 18th, a messenger delivered to Mr. Fox and Lord North his majesty's orders, "that they should deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the under-secretaries, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Nepean, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to him." The king delivered both seals into the hands of Lord Temple. On the following day—the 19th of December—Temple sent letters of dismission to all the other members of the coalition cabinet. At the same time, Pitt, though only in his twenty-fifth year, was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Earl Gower, president of the council; and Temple, one of the secretaries of state. Earl Temple, the active agent in the overthrow of the coalition, resigned on the 22d the place which he had accepted on the 18th; upon which Viscount Sydney was appointed secretary of state for the home, and the Marquis of Caermarthen for the foreign department. At the same time, the new cabinet was completed by the additional appointments of the Duke of Rutland as lord privy-seal, of Earl Howe as first lord of the admiralty, and of Lord Thurlow as chancellor. A few weeks afterwards,

however, the Duke of Rutland was transferred to the government of Ireland, on which Earl Gower took the privy seal, and was succeeded as president of the council by Lord Camden. The Duke of Richmond was made master-general of the ordnance, without a seat in the cabinet; Mr. William Grenville and Lord Mulgrave became joint paymasters of the forces; Mr. Dundas, treasurer of the navy; Mr. George Rose and Mr. Thomas Steele, secretaries of the treasury; Mr. Lloyd (afterwards Lord Kenyon) attorney-general; and Mr. Arden, solicitor-general. On the 22d, Mr. Erskine moved an address to his majesty not to dissolve the present parliament, but to be graciously pleased to hearken to the advice of his faithful commons, and not to the secret advices of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of his majesty and his people. Pitt had not yet been re-elected, but his friend Mr. Bankes, of Corfe Castle, declared that he was authorized to state that he had no intention whatever to advise either a dissolution or a prorogation; and that, if either of these measures were resorted to, Mr. Pitt would unquestionably resign! Erskine's motion was nevertheless pressed, and was finally agreed to without a division. During this debate Lord North eulogized Fox as the best and the most honourable of men and statesmen. Some one spoke of Mr. Fox as having resigned—"No," said North, "my right honourable friend did not resign; *he was turned out; we were all turned out.*" The king's answer to the address moved by Erskine was reported to the house on the 24th (Christmas Eve), and it contained an assurance that his majesty would not interrupt their meeting by any exercise of his prerogative, either by prorogation or dissolution.

A.D. 1784. When the house re-assembled, after the Christmas recess, Pitt and the other members of the government who had been re-elected appeared in their places. Fox immediately moved the resumption of the committee on the state of the nation. After a debate which lasted till two o'clock in the morning, the motion was carried against Pitt, by a majority of thirty-nine—or by 232 against 193. Imputations were thrown out that the ministerial minority had been occasioned by unfair methods and influences; but Erskine, nevertheless, described the youthful premier as about to be hurled from his eminence in a few hours. In this fierce contention men thought not of rest. Attack followed attack, and still the young premier was left in minorities. Pitt declared that he had taken upon himself the government of the country upon one single, plain, intelligible principle, by which he desired to stand or fall with the people, namely, *to save the country from the India bill, which threatened de-*

struction to its liberties. On the 14th, he moved for leave to bring in a new bill, the provisions of which he explained at great length, for the better government and management of the affairs of the East India Company. Fox criticized the proposed measure with great severity; but no opposition was made to the motion, and the house diverged to charges and counter-charges of corruption, and of attempts to purchase votes. On the 16th, Pitt's India bill was read a first time with very little debate; and the committee on the state of the nation being then resumed, Lord Charles Spencer moved a resolution, declaring, "that, after the expressed opinion of the house, the continuance of the present ministers in office was contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people." This was carried by a majority of *twenty-one*, the numbers being 206 to 185.

During the debate Mr. Powys alluded to the possibility of an accommodation between the two contending parties, or a coalition between Fox and Pitt. Fox spoke as if the thing were feasible, but Pitt carefully avoided committing himself on that delicate subject. When the house met again on the 20th, Pitt found himself obliged to take notice of the recommendation of the respectable and independent country gentleman; but he repeated the declaration made on the previous evening by Fox, that a union not founded on principle would be fallacious and dangerous. On Friday, the 23d, the new India bill was read a second time without opposition; but a long debate took place upon the motion for committing the bill, which, on a division, was negative, and the bill consequently thrown out, by 222 against 214. Upon this, Fox moved for, and obtained leave to bring in a new bill of his own on the same subject. As the opposition apprehended that these triumphs, thus carried by constantly diminishing numbers, would only hasten the dissolution, they endeavoured to extract from the young premier his interpretation of the precise meaning of the royal promise on that head; but Pitt preserved an obstinate silence, and the house, at two o'clock in the morning, adjourned to the next, or rather the same day, Saturday, at twelve. When they met again the same question was put, and the same silence preserved by the young and haughty minister, as to the king's intention of dissolving them. On Monday, the 26th, Mr. Eden moved a resolution, declaring the firm reliance of the house, that they should not be interrupted either by a prorogation or a dissolution from considering of proper measures for the regulation of the affairs of the East India Company, and for supporting the public credit. Mr. Pitt then rose and said, that he did not see how the royal word could be considered pledged to

the extent of the motion ; but he added, that, in the present situation of affairs, he thought a dissolution could not but be attended with great detriment and disadvantage, and therefore he would not advise any such exercise of the prerogative. Mr. Eden's resolution was agreed to without a division, and the house adjourned to the 29th.

The three days that intervened were employed in anxious but useless efforts to bring about a coalition. Mr. Grosvenor, member for Chester, called a meeting of the members of the two parties, and about seventy gentlemen met at the St. Alban's Tavern, where an address was agreed upon, and transmitted to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, entreating them to communicate with each other, and expressing a hope that, by a liberal and unreserved confidence, every impediment to their cordial co-operation might be removed. The Duke of Portland insisted that, before he met Mr. Pitt, the latter should resign ; and this Pitt declined doing. The negotiation was suspended at this point when the house re-assembled on the 29th, to be again adjourned—on the motion of Fox—till the 2d of February. In the course of a short conversation, Fox spoke openly of the St. Alban's Tavern negotiation, and said he trusted that those well-meant endeavours might yet produce something like a union ; adding, however, that while the present ministry retained their situations, every effort of that kind must prove unavailing.

On the 2d of February, when the house met again, Mr. Grosvenor, who had been chairman of the St. Alban's Tavern meeting, moved, that it was the opinion of the house that the critical situation of public affairs required the exertions of a fair, sufficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of this country. Pitt now said that nothing but evil would come from the resignation of ministers ; that neither his principles nor his feelings inclined him to resign ; but that, if he could see any prospect of a strong and well-connected government ready to succeed him, he would cheerfully retire, without any desire to form a part of such government. Mr. Grosvenor's motion was unanimously agreed to ; and then Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, moved that it was the opinion of the house that the continuance of the present ministers in their offices was an obstacle to the formation of such an administration as might enjoy the confidence of the house, &c. This motion was carried by 223 against 204. On the following day, after expressing his disappointment at seeing Pitt still in his place, Mr. Coke moved that the two resolutions should be laid before his

majesty by those members who were of the privy council ; and this motion was carried by 211 against 187.

The lords had hitherto been quiet in the struggle ; but Pitt, that great maker of peers, had already made several, including his uncle, Thomas Pitt ;¹ and on the 4th of March the eloquence or zeal of the new lords was brought into play. Lord Howard of Effingham, an old lord but a new convert, moved two resolutions, directly levelled at those which had recently been passed by the commons : the first declaring that an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the course of law was unconstitutional ; and the second asserting the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of the executive government to be solely vested in the sovereign. There was a long debate, but both resolutions were carried by 100 against 53. On the very next day, in the commons, a series of resolutions, asserting that that house had not assumed any right to suspend the execution of law, or done anything else that was unconstitutional, was carried by 187 against 157. On the 11th of February, the proposed union of parties was once more discussed in the commons, and Fox made what was considered a conciliatory and even complimentary speech. In replying to Fox, Pitt said that, whatever might be his disposition to coalesce with that gentleman, there were other persons of the same party with whom he would never act. Lord North, who considered himself more particularly pointed at, immediately rose, and declared, with great frankness, that he would never be the man to stand in the way of the formation of such a stable, united, and extended administration as the present exigencies of the country required.

The St. Alban's Tavern association now succeeded in prevailing upon Mr. Pitt to agree that a message should be sent in the king's name to the Duke of Portland, expressing his majesty's earnest desire that his grace should hold a conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming an administration "on a wide basis, and on fair and equal terms." But the duke insisted upon being permitted to construe this message as a virtual resignation on the part of Pitt ; and requested to know what was meant by fair and equal terms, and also to have the honour of receiving his majesty's commands relative to the conference from the sovereign in person. The Duke of Portland immediately received a flat negative, both to the proposed assumption of Pitt's virtual resignation, and to the personal audience with the king ; and thus the negotiation terminated. When afterwards called upon in the house to explain, Pitt said that he had taken it

¹ The first Lord Camelford.

for granted that the Duke of Portland and his friends intended that the arrangements should *not* be made on "fair and equal terms." On the 18th of February, on the order of the day being read for going into the consideration of the supplies, he intimated that his majesty had not thought proper to dismiss his present ministers in compliance with the resolution of that house, and that ministers had not resigned. Fox, after declaring that such language had not been heard in the house since the Revolution, or at least since the accession of the house of Hanover, moved that the report of the committee of supply should be received, not now, but on Friday, the 20th; and the motion was carried by the narrow majority of *twelve*, the numbers being 208 against 196. On the 20th, Mr. Powys moved a mild resolution, implying that the house relied on his majesty's royal wisdom, and hoped that he would take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful commons, which had already been humbly represented to his majesty. In the debate which followed, Fox complained bitterly of the efforts which had been made to load him and his friends with unpopularity and odium, particularly by representing their late vote for a short postponement of the supplies as a fatal blow given to the national credit. He also endeavoured to explain and defend his strong objections to a recurrence to the voice of the people through a new election; he declared that the people at the present moment were labouring under deception and delusion—were running to their own ruin—and that, therefore, it became an act of duty to resist them! Powys' motion was carried by 197 against 177; and then, though it was near two o'clock in the morning, Fox proposed an address to his majesty founded upon the resolution. After a stormy debate, this, too, was carried by 177 against 156; and then, at half-past five, the house adjourned.

In reply to the address, which was not presented till the 25th, the king said that unsuccessful efforts had been made to arrange a united administration, for which he was very desirous; but that he could not see how it would in any degree be advanced by the dismissal of his present ministers, against whom no charge had been made, while numbers of his subjects had expressed to him in the warmest manner their satisfaction in the late changes. "Under these circumstances," added his majesty, "I trust my faithful commons will not wish that the essential offices of executive government should be vacated, until I see a prospect that such a plan of union as I have called for, and they have pointed out, may be carried into effect." When this answer was reported—on the 27th—Lord Beaumont moved, first, that it should be taken into consideration

on Monday, the 1st of March, and then, that the house should adjourn to that day. Pitt offered no objection to the first motion, which was accordingly agreed to; but, as the object of the second was to delay the supplies, he opposed it with all his might. It was, however, carried against him by 175 to 168.

On the 1st of March, when the house re-assembled, Fox moved a second address to the throne, to be carried up, like the former, by the whole house. This address was much stronger than the last, and contained a direct prayer for the removal of ministers. It was carried by 201 against 189. On Thursday, the 4th of March, the commons went up to St. James's, and were told by his majesty that he remained in the same sentiments he had formerly expressed. Upon the motion of Fox it was agreed that this answer should not be taken into consideration before the following Monday. On the next day—Friday, the 5th—Fox moved that the committee on the mutiny bill, which stood for that day, should also be adjourned to Monday. This motion, too, he carried, but by a majority of only *nine*, the numbers being 171 against 162.

On the great Monday—the 8th of March—the house was crowded to excess. But just as the important debate was about to begin, Sir James Lowther, complaining that he had not been able to find room for his friend, the brother of the member for St. Alban's, and saying that he had reason to believe that there might be strangers in the gallery not introduced by members, insisted upon carrying into force the standing order of the house for excluding all strangers whatsoever; and the gallery was accordingly cleared. Fox moved another address to the throne, repeating at greater length the prayer for the removal of ministers, and vindicating the loyalty of the commons, who were declared to be incapable of any wish to lessen the prerogative. Pitt took little or no part in the debate, but his place was ably supplied by Dundas. About midnight, the house, in the midst of uncommon anxiety and impatience on both sides, prepared to divide. In a few minutes Fox was found to have the majority, but this time only by *one* solitary vote, the numbers being 191 against 190. Tremendous cheers were raised on the ministerial benches; and the coalition felt that the fight was over, and that nothing was left but a dignified retreat. The majority of *one* stuck in their throats, and they tried no more divisions. The mutiny bill was voted, the supplies were voted to the extent demanded by Pitt, and the appropriation act was left to sleep. On the morrow there was some angry conversation. Mr. Powys lamented that, though a century had not elapsed since a vote of the commons could bestow a crown, their repeated votes were not

able now to procure the dismissal of a minister! Nearly everybody now knew that both the king and the minister had entered into the St. Alban's Tavern propositions merely to gain time and to amuse the house while they were preparing for the great event of a dissolution. Yet even after the knowledge of this fact, and of the rapidly declining strength of opposition had become universal, the young premier continued to preserve his mystery and silence. On the 23d, after several members had tried to force some words from the dumb oracle, Lord North said that the report that they were at the point of death was in everybody's mouth; that it would be treating the house with unparalleled insult and contempt to dissolve parliament without waiting for a bill of appropriation; and that he had hoped the minister would have condescended to utter a single syllable by way of satisfaction. Pitt coldly replied that gentlemen might ask as many questions as they pleased, and attribute to him what motives they chose for his not answering them; that he did not conceive that he was bound to answer one way or another; and that he should pursue the line of conduct he thought right. On the very next day—the 24th—the king went down to the House of Lords, and put an end to the session by a prorogation; declaring that he felt it to be a duty which he owed to the constitution and the country, under its actual circumstances, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of his people by convoking a new parliament. And the next day the sentence of dissolution appeared in the *Gazette*.

As it was indispensable to procure an appropriation bill as soon as possible, the elections were commenced almost immediately, and the new parliament was convoked for the 18th of May. Pitt felt that his danger was over and his majority certain. The coalition had made a wreck of the wonderful popularity of his rival, and the India bill had arrayed against Fox the immense weight and influence of the Company, and nearly the whole city interest. No method had been neglected to heap odium on the coalition and the heads of Fox and North. Extracts of former speeches, lampoons, satires in prose and verse, were printed daily, and scattered through every town and village in the kingdom. The pencil and etching-needle of the caricaturist were brought into the service, and furnished with subjects out of the recent history of parliament. In one print Fox, under the character of a "Political Samson," appeared carrying away on his shoulders the whole East India House: in another, called "The Triumphal Entry of Carlo Khan into Delhi," the queer, fat, good-humoured face of Lord North was stuck upon the body of an elephant, and Charles Fox, in the splendid costume of a Mogul

emperor, was seated triumphantly on the elephant's back; while Burke, as a trumpeter, walked before, proclaiming the successor of Tamerlane and Aurungzebe. The youth of Pitt, and the bold stand he had made against numbers, told greatly in his favour; and, while he was represented to one party as a stanch defender of the prerogative, he was held up to the admiration of the other as the champion of parliamentary reform and the declared antagonist of aristocratic influence. The king, too, who had become popular in the midst of reverses, was pitied and admired, even in the quarters whence the great storms proceeded which had troubled the early part of the reign. Addresses and petitions, imploring his majesty to support Mr. Pitt, had from the commencement of the contest been pouring in to St. James's from all parts, from the city of London down to the memorable borough of New Sarum, which then, as at a later period, consisted of one solitary farm-house. Middlesex, Southwark, and even Westminster had abandoned Fox, and had congratulated the throne on the dismissal of the coalition ministry. Worcester, Exeter, York, Edinburgh, and many other towns had followed the example. It is not to be supposed that all these demonstrations were spontaneous: for three months, while the opposition in the House of Commons, confident in their numerical strength, were striving to prevent a dissolution, Pitt had been preparing for the new election, and every influence a government can command had been employed in his favour. In many counties and towns the oldest and best established interests were completely undermined, and the Pitt candidates returned by triumphant majorities. Not less than 160 members, friends of the coalition ministers, lost their elections, and were sent back to private life with the name of "Fox's Martyrs." The result of the whole was a complete establishment of the political supremacy of Pitt.

The new parliament assembled on the day appointed—the 18th of May—when the king, with a joyful countenance, descanted in his speech on the declared sense of his people and the demerits of Fox's India bill. The addresses from both houses expressed thanks and gratitude to the king for having dissolved the late parliament, the opposition amendments having been rejected by large majorities. On the 21st of June, Pitt moved several resolutions for stopping smuggling by reducing the duty upon tea from 50 to 12½ per cent.; and for raising the window-tax in proportion. These resolutions, which were the basis of his "Commutation Act," were passed, though not without much debate. After some financial arrangements he introduced his new constitution for the East India Company, materially altered

from his first draught. It left the directors of the Company to be elected, as they had always been, by the proprietors; but it associated with them in the government of India what was called the "Board of Control," the members of which were appointed by the crown, and came in and went out with the ministry of which they formed a part, like the members of the board of trade or of the treasury. The bill was carried through both houses by large majorities.

On the 30th of June the premier produced his budget, which included a loan of £6,000,000. He gave all his support to a humane and liberal bill, moved by his friend Dundas, ex lord-advocate of Scotland, and now treasurer to the navy, for restoring the Scottish estates forfeited on ac-

count of the rebellion of 1745. The measure encountered no opposition whatever in the commons: but in the lords the restored Chancellor Thurlow ventured some splenetic comments upon it. The bill was, however, carried, and received the royal assent. On the 20th of August, after the appropriation bill and all other indispensable measures had been carried by jubilant ministerial majorities, the king prorogued parliament, with the satisfactory conviction that he had established a ministry to his own mind, and had nothing more to fear from the once formidable coalition which had for months deprived him of his rest. From this period, for seventeen long and eventful years we shall find the councils of Great Britain directed by William Pitt.

CHAPTER XVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1785—1786.

GEORGE III.

Re-assembling of Pitt's first parliament—Fox enters it through a Scotch burgh—Prosecution of the high bailiff of Westminster for making no returns of representatives—Fox's complaints of unfairness in not being returned for Westminster—Pitt's Reply—Fox returned for Westminster—The bailiff fined—Revolutionary disturbances in Ireland—Popular meeting at Dungannon for the reform of the Irish parliament—A second meeting held at Dublin—Their demand of the elective franchise for Roman Catholics—Influence of the delegates of the Irish national convention—Proceedings in the Irish parliament—Henry Flood's bill for the more equal representation of the people—It is thrown out at the second reading—The citizens of Dublin establish a national congress—Its meetings—Its revolutionary proceedings—Pitt's plan for commercial relief to Ireland introduced into the British parliament—His speech on the occasion—The plan subjected to mercantile examination—The principles of the Irish trade bill adopted after much altercation—Irish agitation continued—Pitt's bill for parliamentary reform—It is thrown out—He announces to parliament his plan of a sinking fund—His bill for the examination of fees of public offices—It is passed—Losses of Holland by the American war—Helplessness of its government—Design of Austria to rescind the barrier treaty—The emperor dismantles the fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands—Alarm of the States-general—Animosities of the political parties in Holland—New aggressions of Austria—The Dutch apply to France for aid—The emperor demands the sovereignty of the Scheldt—An Austrian army enters Holland to enforce the demand—The country inundated to check the Austrian advance—The Austrians compelled to halt in winter-quarters—Further schemes of the emperor—The Dutch form an alliance with the French—The emperor submits to a peaceful definitive treaty—Progress of French revolutionary principles in Holland—Opening of the British parliament—The royal speech recommends the reduction of the national debt—Progress of Pitt's new sinking fund—His sanguine hopes of its extinguishing the national debt—Its immediate benefits—Pitt's excise bill carried—Wilberforce's attempts to improve parliamentary election—Indian affairs.



R. PITT'S first parliament, prorogued on the 20th of August, 1784, did not re-assemble until the 25th of January 1785. The young premier's great rival, Mr. Fox, had been again re-

turned for Westminster at the last general election; but Sir Cecil Wray, the unsuccessful Tory candidate, having demanded a scrutiny, Corbett, the high bailiff of the city of Westminster, and a warm Pittite, not without encouragement from the minister or from his triumphant party, took upon himself to make no return of representatives for that city; and Fox had been obliged to creep

into parliament as member for a Scotch burgh—a circumstance which had given rise to many sarcastic jokes in the preceding session. Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament the conduct of the high bailiff had been taken up warmly by the opposition, and had been as warmly defended by the minister and his friends. Counsel had been heard at the bar, petitions from Mr. Fox and petitions from the Westminster electors had been read; but ministerial majorities had justified the conduct of the bailiff, and had ordered him to proceed in the scrutiny "with all practicable despatch." But Corbett too well knew what was expected from him by his party to make

use of any despatch; and at the opening of the present session, when the scrutiny had lasted some eight months, it was found that not quite two out of the seven parishes into which Westminster was divided were scrutinized. On the 8th of February, the subject was brought again before the house by a petition from the electors; and the high bailiff and his counsel underwent another long examination at the bar, touching the practicability of carrying on the scrutiny with more despatch. The bailiff gave in evidence that it would certainly take not less, but probably a much longer time, than two years, to finish the scrutiny. On the very next day Mr. Welbore Ellis, now out of place and in opposition, moved that the high bailiff should obey the writ, and make a return of the precept—which meant, at least according to the doctrine of the mover and his friends, that he should declare elected those who had stood highest on the poll. A long and violent debate, marked on both sides with gross personalities, followed; and the constitutional law or rule was absolutely buried under mountains of abuse and rhetoric. Fox, as his speech is reported by a friendly organ, was mild and even pathetic in accusing his rival, Pitt, of unfairness. "He had," he said, "always wished to stand well with the right honourable gentleman: he remembered the day he had first congratulated the house on the acquisition of his abilities; it had been his pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the constitution, little thinking that he would one day desert his principles, and lend himself to be the instrument of that secret influence which they had both combated so successfully. He might have been prepared to find a formidable rival in the right honourable gentleman—a rival that would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory; but he never could have expected that he could have descended so low as to be the court persecutor of any man. . . . He saw plainly that it was a pecuniary contest, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expense of it. The scrutiny on both sides could not cost less than £30,000 a-year. This was enough to shake the best fortunes. His own last shilling might easily be got at, for he was poor; but, little as he had, he would spend it to the last shilling. If in the end he should lose his election, it would not be through want of a legal majority, but through want of money! and thus would he, perhaps, be deprived of his right, and the electors of Westminster of the man of their choice, because he was not able to carry on a pecuniary contest with the treasury."¹ The young premier, more starch and stern than any veteran minister that had appeared in modern times, called these charges "mad and violent assertions"—"as gross

as they were unfounded"—the products of one "mad with desperation and disappointment." He accused Fox of filling his speech for three hours at a time "with everything that was personal, inflammatory, and invidious."² And, with a scornful elevation of the nostril, he continued—"I say, nevertheless, I am not surprised if he should pretend to be the butt of ministerial persecution; and if, by striving to excite the public compassion, he should seek to reinstate himself in that popularity which he once enjoyed, but which he so unhappily has forfeited. For it is the best and most ordinary resource of these political apostates to court and to offer themselves to persecution, for the sake of the popular predilection and pity which usually fall upon persecuted men; it becomes worth their while to suffer for a time political martyrdom, for the sake of the canonization that awaits the suffering martyr; and I make no doubt the right honourable gentleman has so much penetration, and at the same time so much passive virtue about him, that he would be glad not only to seem a poor, injured, persecuted man, but he would gladly seek an opportunity of even really suffering a little persecution, if it be possible to find such an opportunity."³ On the 3d of March, in moving for an adjournment of the question, the premier had the mortification of being out-voted, by 162 against 124. After a protracted struggle, the high bailiff of Westminster was compelled to make a return of Lord Hood and Mr. Fox as duly elected members. Fox afterwards brought an action against the high bailiff, laying his damages at £100,000. The jury gave him a verdict, but only for £2000. He then declared that the money should be distributed among the charities of Westminster.

The concessions in favour of Ireland which had been made from time to time were far from satisfying the Irish people, who continued their armed associations, and in other respects followed the same line of conduct which had led to revolution and independence in America. As early as in the month of September, 1783, a meeting of delegates from the province of Ulster, appointed and backed by the volunteers, was held at Dungannon for the purpose of reforming the Irish parliament. At this great meeting a plan of reform was agreed upon; and it was further resolved that a convention of representatives from the *whole volunteer army of Ireland* should assemble in the following month of November at Dublin. Nearly all the volunteer corps and grand juries of the kingdom adhered to the resolutions thus passed. In October, delegates from

² *Annual Register*.

³ *Speeches of the Right Hon. William Pitt in the House of Commons*, 3d edit.

¹ *Annual Register*.

all the corps of the province of Leinster assembled in Dublin and boldly put forth their demand for a reform of the representation, for the admission of Roman Catholics to the elective franchise, and for a more free enjoyment of the benefits of trade and manufacture. And on the day appointed by the meeting at Dungannon—the 10th of November, 1783—the grand national convention of volunteers, consisting of delegates from every county in the kingdom, met at the Royal Exchange in Dublin, marched in procession to the Rotunda, and there opened their session by proposing a total remodelling of the Irish constitution. The mass of the people were soon taught to consider that those delegates were their real representatives, and that the members of the Irish House of Commons were traitors or mere intruders. Several members of that house, however, were also members of this grand national convention, and among these was the eloquent and impetuous Henry Flood, who, on the 29th of November, attempted to introduce the new-modelled constitution into the house in the shape of a bill. The motion was indignantly rejected by 157 against 77. The house then voted a very loyal address to the king, expressing the great happiness they enjoyed under the present form of government and constitution, which they said they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes. The House of Lords, still less desirous of a change which would have been a revolution, concurred in the address. The national convention immediately agreed upon a counter-address, in the text of which they denied all revolutionary intention and any wish to separate Ireland from England. The volunteer corps, who had been well supplied by government with arms during the American war, to enable them to repel invasion, retained their imposing attitude, and were constantly seen drilling and training.¹ The Roman Catholics of course far outnumbered the Protestants; but for a time there was no apparent distinction as to religious faiths, and the Presbyterians of the north seemed linked heart and hand with their old antagonists the Papists. The doctrine of toleration was set forth in the broadest manner; the volunteers, their delegates and conventions, claimed the elective franchise equally for persons of every form of religious worship. But another and more questionable principle was involved in their demands for annual parliaments and a sort of universal suffrage. In the month of March, 1784, Mr. Flood again introduced in the commons his

bill “for the more equal representation of the people in parliament.” It was supported by a long array of petitions; but it was nevertheless thrown out at the second reading by a majority of nearly two to one. The citizens of Dublin held an aggregate meeting and issued a circular address to the Irish people, recommending that five persons should be elected from every county, city, and considerable town, to meet in Dublin in NATIONAL CONGRESS. This close and quick imitation of the Americans roused the British government and called forth the energy of Pitt, so that measures were taken to prevent the meeting of this proposed congress. The congress nevertheless met in October, though in a very incomplete form, passed many strong resolutions, and peaceably adjourned, with exhortations to all Irish patriots to do their best in order to render its next meeting more complete and effective. On the 2d of January of the present year, 1785, the national congress met again at Dublin, consisting of delegates from twenty-seven of the counties—in all about 200 individuals. Their tone was high and threatening; their proceedings continued to be an imitation of the conduct of the American revolutionists, only varying through the difference of national character, or the greater heat or impetuosity of Irish-born patriots. Many of the leaders and orators were the same men who, a few years after, mingled their admiration of the great French revolution with their sympathy for the American one, and who, deluded by promises of assistance and confraternity from the French republicans, rushed headlong into rebellion. For the present they held several adjourned meetings, and established permanent *committees of correspondence*. In the meantime commissioners had been appointed by the Irish parliament to confer with the British cabinet, and a plan of commercial relief had been agreed upon between Mr. Pitt and this commission. The Irish Houses of Commons and Lords having concurred in this plan, Mr. Pitt introduced it in the English House of Commons. It consisted of two great provisions:—1. To permit the importation of the produce of our colonies in the West Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain. 2. To establish a free trade, or mutual exchange, between Great Britain and Ireland, of their respective productions and manufactures upon equal terms. In return for these advantages the minister proposed that Ireland should contribute a certain annual sum out of the surplus of her hereditary revenue towards the general expenses of the empire. Mr. Pitt spoke with laudable feeling against the old jealous, exclusive, and unwisely selfish spirit which had animated the British legislature. He said, “The house would recollect that, from the

¹ *Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland*, by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., member in the late Irish parliament. A one-sided, ill-written book, and little to be depended upon, except where documents are quoted. It is to be said, however, that the works on the other (or Irish revolutionary) side are at the least quite as prejudiced and violent.

Revolution to a period within the memory of every man who heard him, until those very few years, the English system had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources ; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and opulence of this country, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. This system of cruel and abominable restraint had, however, been exploded. It was at once

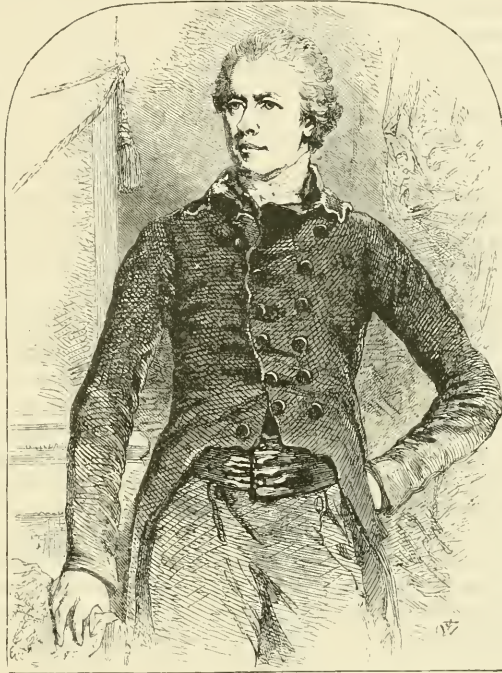
harsh and unjust, and it was as impolitic as it was oppressive." The scheme was submitted to a committee of the board of trade and plantations, who examined some of the principal merchants and manufacturers of England, and then presented to the house a long and contradictory report. Upon this the house resolved to examine those merchants and manufacturers at their own bar. These examinations were so long, and the petitions against the plan so numerous, that more than two months were occupied by them. In the end the anti-liberal feeling compelled Pitt to subjoin a variety of restrictive clauses, binding

Ireland to adopt whatever navigation laws the British parliament might hereafter enact ; prohibiting the importation into Ireland, or thence into Great Britain, of any West Indian commodities not the produce of our own colonies ; and forbidding Ireland to trade to any country beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magalhaens, so long as the charter of the East India Company should be continued. Great and sure as was the ministerial majority, the principles of the bill were not adopted without warm discussions in both houses, some maintaining that they were giving too little to Ireland, and many more that they were giving a great deal too much. In Ireland strong objections were taken to all the alterations and additions to the original propositions, and numerous petitions were presented against the bill. A motion

for leave to bring in a corresponding bill was carried in the Irish House of Commons, but by a majority of only nineteen, the numbers being 127 against 108. The mover, Mr. Orde, the secretary of the lord-lieutenant, having procured the bill to be read the first time and printed, declared that he should proceed no further with it during the present session. After the rising of parliament, Dublin and most of the great towns continued in a very turbulent state ; the non-importation associations, which had been copied from the Americans, were renewed, and

were in many instances sanctioned by the grand juries ; dreadful threats were uttered against all who should dare to import any goods from England, and these menaces and the dread of the popular fury produced the same effect here as they had done at Boston. The stoppage to trade, particularly in the seaports, threw thousands of men out of employment ; and the idle and the hungry sought relief or occupation in rioting. In some quarters of Dublin the troops were obliged to be almost constantly under arms.

While the Irish trade bill was pending, Mr. Pitt, on the 18th of April, again



WILLIAM PITT.—From a portrait by J. Hoppner, R.A.

called the attention of the house to the subject of a reform in the representation of the people. He had pledged himself "as a man and a minister" to promote this cause ; but it may be doubted whether, at this moment, he had any anxious desire for parliamentary reform, notwithstanding his declarations to some of his private friends, then ardent reformers, that he would exert his influence to the uttermost for this measure.¹ The specific proposition he made was to transfer the right of election from thirty-six rotten boroughs to the counties and the great unrepresented towns, giving a compensation in money to the owners and holders of the rotten boroughs so disfranchised ; and to extend the right of voting in county elections to copyholders. In the very beginning of his speech he seemed to acknow-

¹ Letter from Mr. R. Smith to Wilberforce, in *Life*.

ledge the hopelessness of success to any such scheme; and the whole bill was thrown out by 248 against 174. This was Pitt's last performance as a parliamentary reformer.

In the course of the session Pitt called the attention of the house to a general review of the national finances, and, after suggesting various alterations, stated that he expected that the land and malt taxes added to the product of the other taxes would leave him an overplus of nearly £1,000,000 per annum, which sum he thought ought to go into a sinking fund, to be applied to the extinction of the national debt. He did not, however, intend to put any such scheme into execution until the following year. Many objections were taken to the whole plan by the opposition, though even in that quarter some high notions were already entertained of the young chancellor of the exchequer's abilities as a calculator and financier; and some of the Whigs—the extremes of the party—probably did not think the worse of the plan from its being known to have been suggested by Dr. Price (the friend of Dr. Priestley), an eminent dissenting minister, who entertained the most liberal views in general politics. Several new taxes were added to those imposed in the preceding year: among them was a tax upon female servants, calculated to produce annually £140,000; and an additional tax upon male servants, calculated to produce, in addition to the former one, £35,000.¹ Within the last few years, or since the impulse had been given by Burke, various bills had been passed for regulating the public offices of the kingdom; and Mr. Pitt now brought one in “for appointing commissioners for inquiring into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments which are or lately have been received in the several public offices; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same; and to report such observations as shall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices.” The opposition to this bill was very considerable. It was not possible to deny the existence of extortion, peculation, and other abuses; but a stand was made upon the liberty of the subject, and the principles of Magna Charta were quoted against the bill, and in defence of rapacious placemen and official understrappers. The question was finally carried in the commons by seventy-four against fifteen. The lords introduced several amendments, and one in particular which subjected the commissioners to the control of the board of treasury. The commissioners appointed were two of the comptrollers of army accounts and Mr. Francis Baring.

No nation on the Continent had suffered so much

from the American war as the Dutch. Their finances were embarrassed, their losses excessive, and their colonies, which had been taken by the English, and then retaken by the French, were kept for the most part by the French. Their neighbours and rivals, the Belgians, were encouraged in their endeavours to make Ostend the centre of a great trade, and a place of export and import to and from the East Indies—a scheme which had for some time been earnestly entertained by their sovereign, the Emperor Joseph, who, at the same moment, was erecting at the head of the Venetian Gulf a great trading town and port to rival the old commercial grandeur of Venice. At the same time the anomalous government of the Dutch, which was neither a republic nor a constitutional monarchy, or indeed anything else capable of being described by a political term, was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions. The oligarchic or French party accused the Orangeists, or quasi-royalists who adhered to the stadtholder, of having misconducted the war, and of now aiming at the subversion of the national liberties and municipal rights: the Orangeists accused the French party of having needlessly precipitated the country into a ruinous war with England, and a most perilous and treacherous alliance with France, and of encouraging a democratic fury which would be more insupportable than the tyranny of the completest despot. One thing was clear and certain—the Dutch could neither preserve peace at home nor defend themselves from the attack of any one powerful neighbour. In sacrificing their old alliance with England they had committed a sort of political suicide. England had saved them from being swallowed up by Louis XIV.; but events were now in rapid progress which were to render the restored friendship of England of no avail, which were to render the appetite of the French more ravenous than under the Grand Monarque, and to leave Holland and all her liberties and rights a helpless prey to Gallic sansculottism. Thus, in numerous ways, did the effects of the American war prepare and facilitate the events of the French revolution.

But, for the present, though injuring and despoiling them, France continued to play the part of an ally to the United Provinces, and Austria was the power that threatened their peace and their very existence as an independent nation. As early as the year 1781 the Emperor Joseph had determined to do away with the barrier treaty, and to take possession of the numerous fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, which, ever since the conclusion of the war of succession, had been deposited in the hands of the Dutch, and garrisoned by them for the mutual defence of the Netherlands and of Holland, or as a common bulwark against the inroads of the French.

¹ Pitt's tax on maid-servants encountered much opposition, and became the subject of many jokes.

The scheme was that of two great men, William III. and the Duke of Marlborough; but it was to be thrown to the winds by the chances and changes, the passions and caprices of the present times. The Dutch had all the honour, such as it was, of keeping up these garrisons, but the house of Austria nearly all the expense. The Emperor Joseph grudged the money, and felt ashamed of having some of his principal cities and fortresses occupied by foreigners; he much doubted whether in case of a new war these Dutch garrisons would materially contribute to check the progress of an enemy; besides, he was now at peace and in close alliance with France, and, as he fondly fancied, likely to remain so; and, in case of the contrary, he felt confidence in his own vastly increased army and improved resources, which left him no doubt that he should be fully able to defend the Austrian Netherlands without so many expensive places of arms, and wholly without the assistance of the Dutch, and the humiliating interference of burgomasters and war commissioners deputed by the States-general. Joseph forgot, or cared not for the obligations which his house lay under to the Dutch, and the solemn engagements which bound him to recognize the barrier treaty. He alleged that the Dutch misapplied the money; that they had shamefully surrendered many of the fortresses in the war of 1741; that they were now allowing the fortifications to fall to decay, and leaving thin and defective garrisons in them. In the beginning of the year 1781, when the Dutch had got into the war with England, the only real guardian of the barrier treaty, he peremptorily demanded precise accounts of the revenues received for the barrier, and of the sums expended on the fortifications. After some correspondence, the States-general acknowledged their weakness and submitted to necessity; towards the close of the year 1781 the Dutch garrisons were withdrawn from the barrier, and Joseph began to dismantle the fortresses and sell the materials. This work was scarcely commenced ere the States-general felt the most lively apprehensions for the frontiers of their own provinces, and adopted measures for putting their own fortresses along the Scheldt into an immediate state of defence. The people were furiously excited, and the Orange party, now rapidly increasing, pointed to the open barrier and the rising port of Ostend as signal proofs of the mischief brought upon the country by the French party, and the rupture of the old alliance with Great Britain. The French party nevertheless attributed every new misfortune to the Orangeists. The animosities of these antagonist parties waxed so fierce that every day seemed to threaten a civil war. The return of peace with England could restore neither unanimity nor

power. Prince Louis, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, was guardian and representative of the young stadtholder, William Frederick, during his minority, and field-marshal and commander-in-chief of the Dutch forces. He had long endured with rare temper the coarse attacks of the French party, who accused him of a design to make his ward a tyrant; but at last he wrote a letter to the States-general, referring to his thirty-two years of faithful service, and finally declaring that he resigned all the offices he held, and discharged himself from all obligations and engagements to the commonwealth. After this, Frederick the Great of Prussia, as a near relative to the stadtholder, and as the natural opponent to the house of Austria, interfered to allay these dissensions, which must inevitably leave Holland open to the Emperor Joseph or the French king, or to both of those monarchs. Frederick remonstrated, advised, and menaced; but even his powerful voice was disregarded in the loud fury of faction. In the meantime the Emperor Joseph had advanced sundry new claims, and had assumed a tone of haughty dictation towards the States-general. The most important of these new claims, and the most distressing to the Dutch, were those to the possession and sovereignty of the city and country of Maestricht, and the free navigation of the Scheldt, without which that other grand scheme of Austria, to re-elevate Antwerp to her ancient commercial importance, must fall to the ground. The States-general, after some very submissive and humiliating correspondence, despatched, on the 21st of April, 1784, two plenipotentiaries to Brussels, in order to treat with Joseph's agents for an amicable arrangement. But the very night after the arrival of the Dutch diplomatists at the capital of the Austrian Netherlands, a detachment of Austrian troops entered the territories of the Dutch republic, and took possession of the fort of Old Lillo; and, in little more than a week after, some squadrons of Austrian dragoons crossed the frontiers at another point and pulled down the Dutch flag from the custom-house. These transactions carried rage and dismay to the furthest dike and canal of Holland. Some regiments of horse and foot were despatched to Maestricht, and other troops were ordered to reinforce the different garrisons on the Scheldt; but, though everything seemed to depend upon celerity and unanimity, the movement of the troops was retarded by fresh disputes between the States and the stadtholder. The only refuge for the Dutch seemed to be in the French, and they implored Louis XVI. to mediate between them and his wife's brother, the emperor. Louis responded kindly to the Dutch application, assuring the States-general that he would act with fairness and impartiality.

The pretension to the free navigation of the Scheldt had been rather hinted than expressed: but an experiment was now made upon that river calculated to bring the question to issue. A small vessel was sent down the Scheldt with orders not to lower its flag to the fort or guard-ship at New Lillo, in order to provoke the interference of the Dutch authorities; and the vessel was boarded and searched, as had been expected. The emperor then inserted in his ultimatum his right to the absolute and independent sovereignty of the Scheldt from Antwerp to the sea, and the demand for the removal of the Dutch guard-ship at New Lillo, and the demolition of all the Dutch forts erected on that river. His minister at Brussels, Count Belgioso, further declared that the first shot fired by the Dutch upon the Scheldt would be considered as a declaration of war. Nor did the demands of the emperor end here, for he claimed a free navigation and uninterrupted commerce to and in both the East and West Indies. While the States-general and their negotiators were busied in drawing up remonstrances, and while the French were meditating without any great earnestness or alacrity, the Imperialists prepared two armed vessels, to assert the right claimed in the Scheldt, and to provoke an open act of hostility. This happened upon the 8th of October, 1784; and within another week the emperor's ambassador was recalled from the Hague, the negotiations at Brussels were broken off, and an army of 60,000 men was ordered to march from the Austrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands. The French merely made representations to the emperor, and sent the Count de Maillebois, but without any army, to assist the Dutch, who, shortly after, named him commander-in-chief of all their forces. With the count went a few French officers, who acquired a knowledge of the country, and an acquaintance with some of its inhabitants, that proved serviceable a few years later when Holland was to be invaded and revolutionized by the French republic. In the month of November, 1784, by order of the States-general, a dike was broken near Lillo, and all the adjacent country inundated to prevent the advance of the Austrians.¹ The army of 60,000 men had a long march to perform before they could reach the Scheldt; and, as they did not march more rapidly than was usual with them, the winter arrived before they did, and, instead of beginning hostilities on their arrival, they went into winter-quarters. The firm ice that formed on the rivers, canals, inundations, and swamps, would have rendered easy their advance into the heart of Holland; but the Austrians were a people of

routine: they left it to those great innovators in war and politics, the French republicans, to try a winter campaign; and in the ensuing spring—the spring of the present year, 1785—it became known that the versatile and volatile emperor was secretly negotiating for the exchange of all the Austrian Netherlands against the electorate of Bavaria. It appears that the first certain knowledge of this scheme was obtained by Frederick the Great, who immediately formed a confederation among the Princes of Germany, including the King of England in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, to oppose and defeat it. On the 23d of July a treaty was concluded for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire and the rights of the Germanic body. In spite of this hostile league, Joseph for some time seemed determined to persevere, and to obtain, even at the cost of a long war, a transfer of territory which would have been exceedingly advantageous to his house; but his attention was divided by vague schemes of aggrandizement on the side of European Turkey, and by other schemes too numerous and confused for one head; he perceived that no great reliance was to be placed upon the promised assistance of the czarina, that the people of Bavaria were frantic at the idea of any such transfer, and he gradually gave up the project, denying that he had ever seriously entertained it. In the meanwhile the Dutch had concluded, or at least submitted to the conditions of a commercial league and close alliance with France. The French diplomatists boasted that an actual conquest of Holland could not have been more advantageous to their country. Amidst the terms of this close alliance the principle of the armed neutrality was not forgotten, and, with a direct view to England, it was agreed that the French and Dutch should mutually guarantee to each other the liberty of the seas, the exemption from search, &c. With these treaties agreed upon, though not executed—with the consoling assurance that they had undone the system of policy of the maritime powers which had lasted nearly two centuries—the French ministers went actively to work as mediators between the Dutch and the emperor, who, in giving up the grand scheme of territorial exchange, seemed almost to have ceased thinking about the Netherlands or their concerns and interests; and he presently agreed to receive at Vienna two Dutch deputies, and to accept from them an apology. Joseph then told them that he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negotiation under the mediation of his brother the King of France. On the 20th of September preliminary articles were agreed to at Paris, and on the 8th of November the definitive treaty was signed at Fontainebleau under the guarantee as well as mediation of his most Christian majesty.

¹ It was said that from forty to fifty men, women, and children, chiefly subjects of the emperor, were drowned by the sudden bursting of this dike.

Two days after the signing of this treaty, the compact between the French and Dutch was fully concluded, and it was ratified on Christmas Day. In all the circumstances of the case, and in the deplorable anarchic state into which Holland had thrown herself, it is difficult to perceive how any exertion of English diplomacy could have prevented all that had happened, and the perplexing union between the States and France. The anarchy, however, grew and increased, so that it soon became doubtful whether it would not speedily be the cause of overthrowing arrangements which it had been the cause of making. The Orange party were disgusted at the whole French alliance, and the subversion of the ancient leagues and systems with which their name and best fame were identified. During the late troubles, when the dikes of Holland were threatened by the Imperialists, great bodies of volunteers assembled for the defence of their country, and the citizens of all classes, like those of Ireland at the end of the American war, still retained their arms and their organization. Some of them entered into the court-town of the Hague, which was devoted, in a very remarkable manner, to the house of Orange; and a quarrel and collision were the consequences. The French faction in the States-general instantly took up the matter, and passed a vote depriving the stadtholder of the government of the Hague and of his body-guard. That prince indignantly withdrew to his own patrimonial city of Breda. Frederick the Great remonstrated, threatened, in behalf of his young and unfortunate nephew; but not even the voice of that royal veteran could slacken the march of revolution.

A.D. 1786. The British parliament re-assembled on the 24th of January. The king, in his speech, informed the houses that the disputes which had appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe had been brought to an amicable conclusion; that he continued to receive friendly assurances from foreign powers; that at home his subjects were experiencing the blessings of peace, in the improvement of trade, revenue, public credit, &c. His majesty, however, recommended particular attention to our naval strength. "But above all," said he, "let me recommend to your attention *the reduction of the national debt.*"

Early in the session Pitt had moved for and obtained a select committee to examine into the public income and expenditure, and to report to the house what might be expected to be the annual amount of the income and expenditure in future; and on the 29th of March, together with the ways and means for the year, he brought under consideration the national debt and his new sinking fund, or scheme for discharging that

debt by compound interest. It appeared, from the report of the special committee, that the average of the public income exceeded the expenditure by about £900,000, and that the surplus might be increased to £1,000,000 without burdening the people. Hence the minister moved "that the sum of one million be annually granted to commissioners, to be by them applied to the purchase of stock, towards discharging the public debt of the country." Wrapped in a happy vision, he calculated that the accumulated compound interest of this sum, added to the annuities which would fall into the fund, would in twenty-eight years reach such an amount as would leave a surplus of four millions per annum, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state. In his speech, wherein he said not a word of his arithmetical mentor, Dr. Price,¹ he expressed more than a sanguine hope—he affirmed his entire conviction, that his new sinking fund would rapidly reduce and eventually discharge *in toto* "the enormous national debt." The bill, with some additional clauses, was read a third time on the 15th of May, and carried up to the lords, where it was passed without any material opposition. The king, in giving it his assent, felt that it would equalize all his financial difficulties. Perhaps sufficient attention was not paid to other causes and improvements then getting into operation, but it was generally admitted, at the time, that the measure was one of excellent policy; that manufactures, trade, and public credit were immediately and immeasurably benefited by it—that it raised the funds, increased the value of land, and of everything else, and gave to every man the prosperity of a rising market.² Such were considered its effects while coupled with the advantages of peace: how it operated in war we shall see hereafter.

Pursuing his plans for increasing the revenue so as to make up the million per annum required by his sinking fund, the minister, a few days after—on the 22d of May—presented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the customs to the excise. This, he said, he proposed, because large quantities of wine were smuggled into the country, and because a spurious liquor was made and sold at home under that name. By the bill officers of the excise were to be permitted to enter into the cellars and warehouses of such as dealt in wine, but not into their dwelling-houses. There was a strong national feeling against any extension of the excise laws, and the intrusions of excisemen; this had always been the case, and

¹ It is said that Dr. Price submitted not one but three schemes to the consideration of the minister, and afterwards complained that Pitt had selected the worst of the three.

² *Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Affairs during the Reign of George III.* By John Nicholls, Esquire, Member of the House of Commons.

it was remembered how an excise bill had nearly shaken Sir Robert Walpole, when at the height of his power, from his seat; but Pitt saw his bill carried through the House of Commons without a division. Lord Loughborough, Lord Carlisle, the Duke of Portland, Lord Sandwich, and the Bishop of Bristol, entered a protest against the bill, which nevertheless passed the lords' house and received the royal assent.

Mr. Wilberforce, considering it hopeless, after Pitt's failure, to think of carrying at present any general measure of parliamentary reform, made an attempt to introduce some practical improvement into the representation as it stood. The plan which he proposed aimed at purifying county elections by establishing a general registration of the freeholders, and by providing that the poll should be held in various places at the same time. A bill embodying these principles, which, nearly half a century later, were included in the great Reform Bill, was moved in the House of Commons by Lord Mahon; but, as his lordship during the session was called up, by the death of

his father, Earl Stanhope, to the House of Lords, the conduct of the measure was left chiefly to Wilberforce. The motion for going into committee on the bill was carried by a majority of ninety-eight to twenty-two, on May the 15th. Wilberforce was the more eager for these reforms, as his own elections had cost him enormous sums. The bill was afterwards defeated in the lords by what has been designated "a coalition of the king's friends and the Whig aristocracy."

But the great business of the session, or that at least which excited more interest than even the minister's sinking-fund scheme, was the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, the charges against whom, after long and numerous preludes, were brought forward by Burke on the 17th of February. But here we must introduce a retrospective view of Indian affairs, which will include some details of the progress of our arms and policy in that part of the world—details omitted in the preceding period of our history, in order not to embarrass the narrative of the American war.

CHAPTER XVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1612—1756.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—JAMES I. TO GEORGE II.

Commencement of the British empire in India—Previous state and history of India—Progress of the English there in the seventeenth century—They are opposed at their entrance by the Portuguese and Dutch—The massacre of Amboyna—The English obtain a settlement at Hooghly—Their progress during the Commonwealth and reign of Charles II.—They make war upon the native rulers—Their progress in acquiring a separate dominion—The East India Company makes Calcutta its chief seat—Dismemberment of the Mogul empire—Rivalry of the French and English East India Companies—They commence their mutual warfare—Labourdonnais reduces the English settlement of Madras—Dupleix takes possession of Madras in violation of the treaty—The Nabob of Arcot attempts to dislodge the French—He drives them from the siege of Fort St. David—The nabob makes peace with Dupleix—Dupleix defeated in a second attempt on Fort St. David—The English obtain possession of Tanjore—First appearance of Clive—The French and English avail themselves of the quarrels of the native princes—Subtle and successful movements of Dupleix—Able conduct of his general, Bussy—Attempts of the English to relieve their ally in Trichinopoly—Clive's daring plan for the purpose—He takes possession of Arcot—His successes—His victory at Arnee—He defeats the French at Coverypauk—Successful expedition of Clive and Major Lawrence to Trichinopoly—Exertions of Dupleix to repair these disasters—Victory of Lawrence over the French near Bahoor—Clive takes Covelong—He routs a French force coming to its relief—He compels Chingleput to surrender—He is obliged to return to England—Reaction in favour of Dupleix—The French besiege Trichinopoly—Major Lawrence attempts to relieve it—The French assaults upon it checked—General Bussy's romantic career and exploits—He is recalled to France—Suspension of arms between the English and French—War of the English against Angria.



FEW great things have had a smaller beginning than that stupendous anomaly, the British empire in India. In the year 1612, in the reign of James I., the English, stimulated by the efforts and successes of the Portuguese and Dutch, established their first humble factory at Surat. By degrees other petty settlements were formed along the

western side of the peninsula, Surat continuing to have the control over them all, till the cession of Bombay to the Company by Charles II., in 1668, when that town, from its fine harbour and central situation, rose to be the superior settlement in that part of India. At this period the nominal sovereigns and masters of the whole of India, and the real masters and tyrants of the greatest part of it, were the Mahometanized Mogul Tartars, a

people widely different in origin, manners, laws, and religion from the Hindoos, the aboriginal or very ancient inhabitants of the country.

In the tenth century of our era, or about seventy years before the conquest of England by the Normans, Sultan Mahmood of Ghuznee, who is universally regarded as the first Mahometan conqueror of Hindoostan, acquired by the sword, and by many battles and massacres, nearly the whole of the country from the Indus to the Ganges. The great Emperor Akber, who began to reign in 1556, set the Mogul dominion upon a firm basis, chiefly by consulting the interests and feelings of the Hindoos, who, counting the whole of the extensive country, were a hundredfold more numerous than their conquerors. The great Akber had been dead only seven years when the English timidly made their first settlement at Surat.

The Portuguese, who had numerous settlements along the Malabar coast, especially at Goa and Din, and who claimed, on the ground of prior possession, an exclusive right to the commerce of the Indian seas—a pretension they were, for a long time, enabled to make good by possessing Malacca—watched the progress of the English with great jealousy, and from the first attempted to check it. The English Company armed their trading vessels, and, though there was peace in Europe between the respective mother countries, several combats took place with the Portuguese on the Indian seas. Captain Best, in the year 1612, defeated them in two actions, and these victories not only raised the reputation of the English, but enabled them to establish in quiet their first factory at Surat. In the year 1614 King James I., at the solicitation of the infant



GENERAL VIEW OF SURAT.—From Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

Company, sent an embassy to the court of the Emperor of Delhi to settle their commerce and cultivate a friendly connection. Sir Thomas Roe, the person selected for this mission, was an observing and clever man. He sailed from Gravesend on the 24th of January, 1615, and arrived in September at Surat, where he landed in great pomp with eighty men-at-arms in his train. As the Mogul emperor was then residing at Ajmere, Sir Thomas, after some rest, proceeded thither through the country of the Rajpoots. He arrived at Ajmeer on the 23d of December, but was not admitted to court till the 10th of January (1616). The Emperor Jehangir received him with unusual honour, and he was assured by the Mogul courtiers that no other ambassador, not even from their co-religionists the Mahometans of Turkey or Persia, had ever obtained so flattering a reception. Many other interviews followed; and, as both the emperor and ambassador were of a sportive turn, they had, by means of interpreters, some jocular conversation. Sir Thomas, however, soon found that his success was thwarted by the

intrigues of the Portuguese missionaries, and by the suspicion or caution of the emperor's favourite son and ministers. With much perseverance and address, he at last succeeded in procuring a confirmation of former grants of territory, and an extended privilege of having resident English agents at some of the principal towns in the empire.

The Portuguese were prevented only by the inferiority of their naval power from proceeding to war against the new English settlements. The Dutch, who were more on a par with us in this respect, viewed with an equally jealous eye the successes of the Company; and when the English attempted to obtain a share in the lucrative trade carried on by the Dutch with the Spice Islands, the detestable massacre of Amboyna was the immediate consequence. At the island of Amboyna, the largest of the Molucca group, and the richest in cloves, the Dutch had a strong castle with a garrison of 200 men, while the English, only eighteen in number, occupied a defenceless house in the town, being secured, as they conceived, in posses-

sion of it by agreements and treaties with the Dutch. Yet the Dutch chose to suspect that this handful of English intended to dispossess them of their castle; and thereupon, inviting them all in a friendly manner to pay a visit to their governor in the castle, they put them to rack and torture, until some of the weakest of them, under the agonies of those infernal machines, confessed to the words which their torturers put into their mouths. As soon as their sufferings were suspended they retracted what they had said; but the Dutch put them upon the rack again, and then the anguish and the weakness of nature repeated the confession. The end of all was, that Captain Towerson and nine others were condemned to die, by what may properly be called the verdict of the rack; and the remaining eight were pardoned by Dutch mercy and magnanimity. One Portuguese and nine natives of Japan, put to death at the same time as accomplices with the English, solemnly protested in dying that they knew nothing of the imputed plot.

From the occurrence of this frightful tragedy (in 1622) the English abandoned the commerce of the Spice Islands to their rivals; and for some time, owing to various causes, such as the smallness of capital held by the Company, some radical defects in its constitution, the heavy expenses incurred in keeping up a naval force for protection against Dutch and Portuguese, and the waywardness of some of the native princes, the English power seemed to decline, and the Company became embarrassed and in great distress. In the meantime, however, their agents from Surat had obtained permission, through the good offices of Mr. Boughton, a surgeon in great favour with the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jehan, son of Jehangir, to make a new settlement at Hooghly; and the ground on which Madras, or Fort St. George, stands had been obtained from a native prince in 1640, when Mr. Francis Day began to erect a fortress, which was gradually surrounded by a thriving and still increasing town, to which the natives flocked, as to the best place for pursuing trade and putting in security the wealth they derived from it—wealth which had few safeguards under the dominion or in the territories of their own princes and chiefs. In the same interval the Mogul empire had been shaken by several revolutions and changes in its interior or upon its frontiers: the Hindoos of Rajpoot had recommenced their struggles for independence, the Afghans had revolted in the north, the Usbeks had taken possession of Cabool, and the Persians of Kandahar. In all places remote from the centre of government the Mahometan chiefs paid but an imperfect obedience to the Great Mogul; and wherever favoured by local situation, or defended by mountains, forests, or rivers, the Hin-

doos bade defiance to the emperor and his lieutenants.

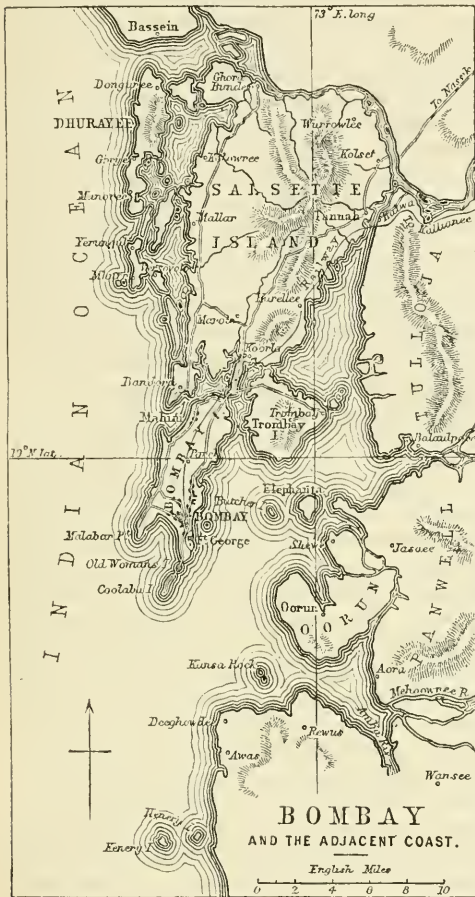
Then came on the great Civil war in England between the parliament and Charles I., during which nearly all foreign trade was suspended, and the Company sunk to such a state of insignificance that its existence as a body corporate was scarcely discernible. Indeed, from the year 1652 to 1657 the trade to India was thrown open to every English merchant that chose to embark in it. But, at the end of that period, Oliver Cromwell renewed or re-confirmed the privileges of the old Company. Shortly after the restoration of monarchy, Charles II. granted the Company a new charter, dated April, 1661, in which not only were all the old privileges confirmed, but new and important ones added to them. The Company were vested with a right of exercising civil jurisdiction and military authority; and with the power of making war and of concluding peace with the "Infidels of India," the state reserving to itself the prerogatives of peace and war with regard to Christian or European governments. In 1663 Charles II. obtained, as a part of the dower of his wife, the Infanta of Portugal, the island of Bombay, and, finding it expensive rather than profitable, he ceded the island to the Company in the year 1668. Soon after he made a similar grant of that convenient midway resting-place, the island of St. Helena; and in other important matters the aid of his government was cordially given to the Company—the more cordially, no doubt, because some of his ministers and favourites were shareholders and speculators, and personally interested with the merchants—not yet merchant-princes—of Leadenhall Street. In 1687 the Company transferred from Surat to Bombay the presidency over all their settlements, and from that moment the town began to spread and increase very rapidly. The English were anxious to have possession of the neighbouring island of Salsette, and maintained that it was included in the dower with Bombay; but the Portuguese took a different reading of the marriage treaty, and kept Salsette.¹

Trade was now carried on with a great part of the Indian empire through establishments both on the eastern and western coast; but the intercourse was liable to interruptions, and the forts and factories were not unfrequently threatened with hostile attack by the native powers, urged on in most cases by the Portuguese or by the Dutch. The weakness, the dissensions, and not unfrequent wars among the natives, encouraged the English settlers to abandon the merely defensive, and act on the offensive. The factors in

¹ Bruce, *Annals of the East India Company*; Mill, *History of British India*.

Bengal transmitted to the Company a list of wrongs and injuries sustained from the petty native rulers, and warmly recommended an active campaign against them beyond the limits of the Company's settlements, which must become untenable or useless if allowed to be beleaguered

by an immense host; but, under the direction of Charnock, the Company's agent, they made a gallant defence, repulsed repeated assaults, stormed the fort of Tanna, seized the island of Ingellee, in which they fortified themselves, and burned the town of Balasore, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet. But, on the other hand, the nabob took and plundered the English factories at Patna and Cossimbazar; and the campaign ended, not in any great conquest, but in an accommodation neither very honourable nor very reliable for the Company. The court of directors, disappointed and irritated, sent Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, to take the command over the head of Charnock, with instructions to re-establish, if possible, the factories at Patna and Cossimbazar. Some of the Company's servants were carrying on pacific negotiations with the natives when Captain Heath arrived from England with a large ship and a frigate, and, without the necessary forms, commenced hostilities by plundering one or two native towns. After this work he proceeded to Chittagong, and was there foiled and defeated, as Captain Nicholson had been before him. Heath then, taking the Company's servants and effects on board, sailed away for Madras; and Bengal, upon which large sums had been spent, was abandoned. The emperor now reigning was the celebrated Aurungzebe, the most powerful of all the Mogul sovereigns, who had dethroned his father, and triumphed over his brothers who contested the empire with him.² Aurungzebe, though previously well disposed towards the English, was indignant at their last proceedings, and issued orders for expelling them from his dominions. The factory at Surat was seized, the island of Bombay was surrounded by a fleet, and the English governor cooped up in the town and castle. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as was also the factory at Vizagapatam, where the Company's agent and several of their servants were put to death. But the Mogul treasury soon felt the want of the copious streams that flowed into it through the English factories; and Aurungzebe and his ministers, flattered by the recent display of weakness, into the belief that the Company would never be strong enough to be dangerous, made a return towards their old friendly feeling, and listened to negotiations which were proposed in a most humble, if not abject tone. After some time the English ob-



and blocked up by the Indians. As the Company had the power of war or peace with the Infidels, they sent out, in 1686, a Captain Nicholson, with ten armed vessels and six companies of soldiers, to levy war against the Great Mogul and the Nabob of Bengal.¹ The object of the campaign was to seize and fortify Chittagong. The fleet sailed up the Hooghly and commenced a cannonade, but they were repulsed, and obliged to seek shelter near Calcutta, where they lay till some agreement with the nabob, or additional forces from England, should enable them to resume their stations. A hollow truce was agreed to by the nabob, who employed the time thus gained in making warlike preparations. As soon as he was ready the English were attacked

² Aurungzebe had revived and extended the Mogul power, which seemed falling to ruin under his father Shah Jehan. He had taken the cities of Hyderabad, Bejapoor, and Golconda, and had extended his dominions nearly to the limits of the Carnatic. But it was during his brilliant reign that a new enemy took the field. This was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, who, with the most warlike of the Hindoos, overran and permanently occupied the far greater part of the Deccan.

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Political History of India*.

tained an order for the restoration of Bombay and their factory at Surat. But during these premature contests with the natives, the most able and powerful of their European enemies had contrived to get a footing in India: the French had formed an establishment at Pondicherry, and were now employing themselves in fortifying that place and in establishing a close connection with such of the natives as were most unfriendly to the English. These proceedings quickened the desire of obtaining an extension of territory and a real dominion by treaty, by purchase, or by force of arms, but to be at all events independent of the Great Mogul, nabobs, and all other powers. "The truth is," says one of the greatest authorities in Indian affairs, "that, from the day on which the Company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of those numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or the rapacity or ambition of their own servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength; which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the occurrence of similar danger."¹ In 1689 the directors broadly laid down the principle that independence was to be established and dominion acquired in India. And just at this time their policy was to some extent gratified, for Tegna-patam, a town and port a little to the south of the French settlement of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase, and secured by grant from the native powers. The servants of the Company forthwith erected walls and bulwarks, and changed the name of the place to Fort St. David. After this acquisition the Company pursued their plan of dominion with increased confidence, and soon after they may be said to have commenced a system of political ascendancy. About nine years after the purchase of Tegna-patam they were enabled to make a more important acquisition. Aurungzebe had appointed his grandson Azim Ooshaun to be Viceroy of Bengal. Moazzim, the viceroy's father, was meanwhile aspiring to the throne. To enable him to succeed money and arms were required, and the Company could promise both for valuable considerations. For a large sum Azim Ooshaun sold to the Company the zemindarships of Chuttanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta. At the last-named place the English began, but not without some timidity and circumspection, to erect Fort William. Nine years after this (in 1707), when the fort was strong and considerable, and a town

had risen under its protecting shadow, the Company made Calcutta the seat of a presidency, and the place gradually began to rise to the dignity of a capital of the British empire in the East.

The tranquillity and commercial prosperity which the peace of Utrecht, dishonourable as it was to the Tory government of Queen Anne, indisputably brought to England and to the greater part of Europe, all contributed to raise the value of the British settlements in the East, and to encourage the Company in seeking an extension of dominion; for still all that was really occupied in sovereignty was a strip of land on the coast and an island here and there. The disseverance of the Mogul empire, which began with the death of Aurungzebe in 1707, seemed to offer an opening to their ambition. The four sons of that emperor contended for the throne; and during this horrible family war the Mahrattas extended their conquests in the south, the Rajpoots virtually established their independence, and the Sikhs, a remarkable sect who professed a pure theism and attempted to reconcile the religion of the Mussulmans with that of the Hindoos, ravaged the provinces of Delhi and Lahore. Moazzim, who triumphed over his brothers, was dethroned at the end of a few months by his nephew Farrukhsir or Farokshir, who did not occupy the throne quite seven years. Under his successor, Mahomed Shah, the empire of the Moguls was wasted to a shadow: the Deccan was alienated under the rule of the Nizam-ul-Moolk, by name a viceroy, but in fact an independent sovereign, more powerful than the Great Mogul; the Rohillas, a fierce predatory people of the Afghan race, seized on the northern provinces; and (in 1739) the Persians under Nadir Shah penetrated to Delhi, and massacred alike Mahometans and Hindoos. The Company were signally indebted in various stages of their progress to humble practitioners in medicine. It was in consequence of a cure effected on the favourite daughter of one emperor that they had been first allowed a footing in Bengal; and in the year 1715, a medical man named Hamilton, who accompanied a commercial mission to Delhi, obtained for the Company a grant of three villages near Madras, with permission to purchase thirty-seven additional townships in Bengal, as a reward for curing the reigning emperor Farokshir of a dangerous and painful illness, which was beyond the reach of the skill of the native physicians or conjurors. By the hostility of the nabob the Company were for a long time prevented from purchasing the villages and townships; but they were allowed to enjoy another grant obtained through Hamilton from the grateful emperor—namely, the privilege of introduc-

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Political History of India.*

ing and conveying their goods from Calcutta through Bengal without duty or search. In a very short time the trade of the Company was wonderfully benefited by this privilege. But the French East India Company, who had made Pondicherry their stronghold, now began to thwart some of their plans, and to excite their jealousy by an increasing trade.

In 1742, when a war between England and France appeared to be imminent, in spite of the pacific temper of the great English minister, Sir Robert Walpole, the French Company, who were still in their infancy, and very anxious for the preservation of their profitable or promising trade, proposed to the English Company that, whatever might happen in Europe, there should be peace between them in India. The English court of directors at first accepted and then rejected this proposed neutrality, instructing their officers in India to watch, and if possible to circumvent the treaties and intrigues of the French Company with the natives. In 1744 Walpole was driven from the helm; and the war, which broke out between the French and English, rapidly spread to Hindoostan. Labourdonnais, who had risen from a subordinate rank in the navy to be governor of the Mauritius and Bourbon, by forcibly detaining all the French vessels that touched at those islands, and by training the merchant sailors to the use of the gun, got together a warlike squadron, and with all possible secrecy stretched across the Indian Ocean. He was well acquainted with the coasts, and with most of the European settlements, having previously made three or four voyages to that part of the world. His bravery was equal to his skill, and he resolved to begin his operations with an attack on Madras. He had with him a most motley crew and army of Frenchmen, Caffres, blacks from Madagascar, and negro slaves from the Mauritius, to which he had added, at Pondicherry, about 400 sepoys. The total amount was about 3600. The English in the colony of Madras did not exceed 300 men, of whom about 200 were soldiers: the town and the adjoining territory belonging to the Company had already a population of about 250,000, counting Armenians, Mahometans, Hindoos, Parsees, and Indian Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese; but none of these classes could be depended upon in war. The 300 English occupied Fort St. George, which was surrounded with a weak wall, and defended by bastions and four batteries weak and badly constructed. About the middle of September Labourdonnais appeared off the town, and immediately commenced a bombardment. The inhabitants endeavoured to save the place by offering him a ransom; but he was anxious for the

glory of planting the French colours on Fort St. George, and continued to bombard for five days, at the end of which the inhabitants, and the English garrison as well, capitulated. Labourdonnais had not lost a man, and the English had lost no more than four or five. By the terms of the capitulation he pledged himself upon his honour to restore Madras to the English Company on payment of a fixed ransom. On entering the place he protected the persons, houses, and property of the inhabitants; but he took possession of the magazines and warehouses of the Company, all situated within Fort George, as public property. In his instructions from the French



LABOURDONNAIS.—From a print by Vangelisty, 1776.

court, Labourdonnais was expressly prohibited from occupying any establishment or factory of the enemy; whence it has been argued that the French government and French East India Company shrank at this time from all idea of conquest in India. But if this was the case, and it seems to us extremely doubtful, M. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, was resolved not to abide by any such plan, having previously formed in his own mind a system of universal conquest in that great peninsula; and the first object, and that which he had most at heart, was to drive the last remnant of the English from the coast of Coromandel. Dupleix, who had wished for the sole conduct of the war, considered Labourdonnais as an intruder and rival. Now, however, he insisted that Labourdonnais should break the conditions of the treaty of capitulation, and keep possession of Madras. The brave sailor was averse to a proceeding which would have been both a breach of faith and honour, and a breach of orders; but he was compelled by the storms of the monsoon, which drove his ships out to sea and sank two of them with their crews, to

demand from the English that the articles should be so far altered as to allow him longer time to remove the Company's goods; and the period of evacuation was changed from the 15th of October to the 15th of January. This was what Dupleix desired; for he proposed, upon the departure of Labourdonnais, to take possession of Madras himself without any attention to the articles of capitulation. Leaving part of his force in Fort St. George, Labourdonnais repaired to Pondicherry as soon as the weather would permit, and proposed several plans, to none of which his rival would agree. After many quarrels he took his departure for France, to answer the accusations of his enemies, and to procure a patronage in the French cabinet and East India Company that should enable him to return with credit and power to India. On his voyage he was taken prisoner by a British ship-of-war, which brought him to England.

Labourdonnais had scarcely quitted Madras when the Nabob of Arcot sent his son with a numerous army to drive the French out of that place. The force which Labourdonnais had left behind him in Fort St. George exceeded 1200 men, nearly all native French, and well trained and disciplined. The Indians were astonished and panic-stricken by the rapidity of their artillery; and after a very short struggle the nabob's son fled with all his host. Dupleix, backed by a remonstrance and prayer signed by all the French in Pondicherry, declared Labourdonnais' treaty of ransom annulled, and ordered the officers at Madras to seize every article of property there, private or public, native or English, except clothes, furniture, and the jewels and trinkets of the women. These orders were executed without compunction; and the English governor and some of the principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and exhibited there in a kind of triumph. Dupleix then turned his attention to Fort St. David, situated only twelve miles south from Pondicherry, and having in its immediate neighbourhood the Indian town of Cuddalore, and two or three populous villages, all under the dominion of the English Company. On the night of the 19th of December (1746) the Frenchman quitted Pondicherry with 1700 men, Europeans, natives, and Caffres, and he arrived next morning under Fort St. David, wherein there were only about 200 Europeans and 100 topasses. The French had already begun to train the native sepoys to European discipline, but the English had delayed following the example.¹ They had, however, hired about 2000 of the undisciplined bands of the country, most irregularly armed with swords and targets, bows and arrows, pikes and lances, old matchlocks or

new English muskets; and they had placed about half of this force in Cuddalore, which was partly surrounded by water and partly by walls flanked by bastions. As for Fort St. David, it was small, but much stronger than Fort St. George. The French, however, took up an advantageous post, and were making sure of the capture and plunder of both places, when a large native army appeared on their right flank and induced them to make a sudden and rather disastrous retreat, leaving (without counting their Indians or Africans) above 100 in killed and wounded behind them. This relieving army had been sent by the Nabob of Arcot, instigated by wrath against the French for the defeat of his son at Madras, and captivated with the liberality of the English, who had promised him large sums.

But the nearness of the place to Pondicherry tempted the French to make fresh efforts. On the night of the 10th of January, 1747, Dupleix embarked 500 men in boats to take Cuddalore by surprise. But the wind and the surf compelled the Frenchman to return to Pondicherry without doing anything. Dupleix then sent a strong detachment from Madras to ravage the nabob's territory. The French troops acted in a barbarous manner, and caused still more terror than mischief. Shortly after, four French ships arrived at Pondicherry, and Dupleix artfully represented that he was speedily to be reinforced to an immense extent. The nabob began to waver; he saw that the English were but a handful of men, and he decided, with eastern facility, to change sides and join the stronger: he concluded peace with the French, recalled the army he had sent to the English, and despatched his son on a visit to Pondicherry, where Dupleix got up a fresh show and triumph. About the middle of March of the same year (1747), Dupleix again sent his forces to capture Cuddalore and Fort St. David; but the Frenchmen had scarcely taken up their position when an English squadron, under Admiral Griffin, approached the road and scared them back to Pondicherry. While they were retreating precipitately to Pondicherry, the admiral landed 100 Englishmen, 200 topasses, and 500 natives, from Bombay and Tellicherry.² Dupleix now apprehended an attack by the English on his own head-quarters; and, to save his ships, he sent them away to the Mauritius to wait there till they should be joined by a fresh squadron from France. In the month of January, 1748, Major Lawrence, an officer of great merit, arrived at Fort St. David with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India. He had not been there long ere

¹ *Mill*.

² The *topasses*, whose name frequently occurs in the history of our early Indian wars, were native Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese.

Dupleix attempted another night attack on Cuddalore. Lawrence allowed the French to approach the very walls of the town, and even to apply their scaling-ladders; but then, as they were fancying the garrison had been withdrawn, he met them in the teeth with artillery and musketry, and drove them away in disorder. Though



MAJOR-GENERAL STRINGER LAWRENCE.
After Sir Joshua Reynolds.

England had then upon her hands a war with Spain, France, and Holland, and had only recently recovered from the civil war in the northern part of the island, caused by the invasion of the young pretender, she despatched nine ships of war, under Admiral Boscawen, to co-operate with eleven ships of the Company, carrying stores and troops. Boscawen arrived at Fort St. David on the 9th of August, and, joining Admiral Griffin, found himself at the head of the largest European force that any one power had as yet possessed in India. The land troops brought from England amounted to 1400 men. It was confidently hoped that the loss of Madras would speedily be revenged by the capture of Pondicherry; but the siege of the French Indian capital was undertaken without a sufficient knowledge of the localities, was conducted with little ability or spirit, and was raised when the trenches had been opened for thirty-one days.¹ The French were regarded by the natives as a superior people; but before they could avail themselves of their prestige, peace was concluded in Europe between England and France, and hostilities were suspended in India.

The still growing dissensions, the wretched weakness and anarchy of the whole country, soon encouraged the English to persevere in their old scheme of territorial aggrandizement. Saujohee, a Hindoo prince, who, in the rapid revolutions of

that country, had gained and lost the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David and entreated the assistance of the English in a war against his brother, Pertaub Sing, who had dethroned him. As the price of this assistance Saujohee offered the fort and country of Devicotta, advantageously situated by the banks of the Coleroon, on the coast of Coromandel. In the beginning of April, 1749, 430 Englishmen and about 1000 sepoys marched from Fort St. David into Tanjore; and, as a natural beginning to the war, directed their first attacks against the fortress which was to be ceded to the Company. But Devicotta was stronger than was expected; the small train of artillery they carried with them proved insufficient; they were disappointed in the co-operation of an English squadron and of the people of the country, which had both been promised them; and they marched back to Fort St. David, foiled and humiliated. The impatience of Saujohee to recover his throne, and their own eager appetite for territory and dominion, soon induced the English to renew their attempt. A new expedition was fitted out at Fort St. David, the troops were landed, a breach was made in the walls of Devicotta, the deep river Coleroon was crossed by means of a raft, and the place was stormed. After some hard fighting in the breach and on the ramparts behind it, a truce was concluded, the reigning King of Tanjore, Pertaub Sing, agreeing to yield to the English the town, fort, and harbour, together with a territory adjoining; and the English on their part agreeing, not merely to renounce the support of Saujohee, for whom and with whom they had entered on this war, but also to secure his person, in order to prevent his giving any further molestation to his brother.² At the siege of Devicotta, Robert Clive, who was eventually to be the real founder of the British empire in India, greatly distinguished himself. Clive, who had attracted some attention in the preceding year at the siege of Pondicherry, had entered the Company's service in a civil capacity, but he had very soon thrown down the pen of a writer to take up an ensign's sword. By this time he had attained to the rank of lieutenant, and was esteemed by the whole army as the most enterprising and daring of their officers. He was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, poor, and comparatively friendless and illiterate; and his chances of patronage, fame, and fortune all lay in his sword.³ However foully obtained, the possession of Devicotta was of vast importance to the Company.

But while these events were in progress, the

² Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India*; Mill, *History of British India*.

³ Sir John Malcolm, *Life of Robert, Lord Clive*; collected from the Family Papers, communicated by the Earl of Powis.

¹ *Mémoires pour M. Dupleix*, as cited in Mill's *Hist. Brit. India*.

French, whose policy and operations continued to be guided by Dupleix, were engaged in transactions of the highest moment, and taking part in a great revolution in the Carnatic. The succession to the Carnatic was disputed by a number of princes, and Dupleix conceived that by siding with the strongest of the claimants, Chunda Sahib, who had collected a large army, and was eagerly courting French assistance, he might obtain not only vast cessions of territory, but by degrees a complete ascendancy in the whole of Southern India. In addition to the armed disputes for the great succession, there were contentions equally fierce among the minor princes for the possession of other dominions, some bordering on the Carnatic, and some included in it. A body of 400 French soldiers and 2000 sepoys were sent by Dupleix from Pondicherry; and in the first battle fought with these allies Chunda Sahib saw the most powerful of his rivals killed by a ball fired by a Caffre soldier in the service of France. Mahomed Ali, son to the fallen nabob, fled to Trichinopoly, a strong city, and the conquerors marched to Arcot, which surrendered at the first summons. From Trichinopoly Mahomed Ali despatched envoys to the English to solicit their succour, and to promise the highest of prices for their alliance; but the British officers in command had received no orders from home that could justify their embarking upon a scene of such extensive operations; they were few in number, and their whole European force only a few companies; and, moreover, they were occupied at the time in taking possession anew of Madras, which had been given up by the French, in compliance with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

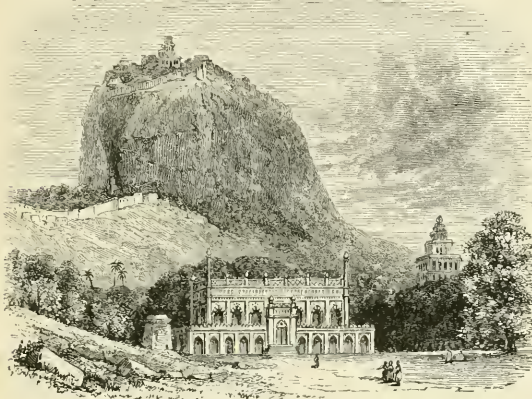
In the neighbouring regions of the Deccan—the great and populous country which had formerly held dominion over the whole of the Carnatic—the succession on the death of Nizam-ul-Moolk, in 1748, had been disputed between his son Nazir Jung and his grandson Muzzuffer Jung; but the senior prince had prevailed over the junior, had taken Muzzuffer Jung prisoner, and now kept him in irons, carrying him in his train wherever he went. Nazir Jung and Anwar-uddin, who claimed the sovereignty of the Carnatic, having united their forces, and drawn into their service nearly all the troops the Great Mogul had on foot, advanced to the Carnatic frontier with an enormous army, including 30,000 Mahrattas who had been engaged to act as light cavalry. At the approach of this host Chunda Sahib and his French allies retreated hastily to Pondicherry. Dupleix, by extraordinary exertions, increased the French contingent to 2000 men, and added a large body of well-disciplined sepoys, together with a well-served train of artil-

lery. In the meantime the English had managed to send some very small detachments to Trichinopoly to sustain Mahomed Ali, and had thrown a few companies into the army of the Rajah of Tanjore. Major Lawrence advanced from Fort St. David with reinforcements, and, collecting the companies in Tanjore, he was enabled to join the army of Nazir Jung with about 600 Englishmen. But Lawrence had with difficulty obtained the consent of his civil superiors to this active co-operation, and he was for some time disturbed by a doubt whether he should be justified in fighting the French without orders from the British government. He, however, determined to imitate the French in representing the English as mere auxiliaries and not principals in the war. As Lawrence advanced with Nazir Jung's host, the French and their allies strongly entrenched themselves, and awaited the attack. At this crisis the French corps was completely disorganized by the sudden resignation of thirteen commissioned officers, who were enraged at not having shared in the booty and spoils made in Tanjore. As the defection seemed growing general, M. D'Auteuil, who commanded for Dupleix, deemed it expedient to quit the field and hasten back to Pondicherry. Chunda Sahib, whose own troops began to desert, saw nothing better to do than to march after D'Auteuil. The whole excellent position was soon abandoned without a blow or a shot fired from it; and for a moment the triumph of the allies of the English appeared to be fully secured. But Nazir Jung, the real head of this confederacy, had little ability and still less energy; and, by refusing to grant to his English allies a territory near Madras which had been promised as the reward of their co-operation, he provoked Major Lawrence to return to Fort St. David with the 600 men. Nor had Dupleix lost heart by his most unexpected misfortune: by various arts he pacified the mutinous French officers, and put a new spirit into their little army; and he opened a secret correspondence with some disaffected chiefs, the leaders of the Patan troops, in the army of his enemy, Nazir Jung. These Patans were unprincipled and ferocious mercenaries, ever ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, or to betray their trust for money. Responding to the overtures of Dupleix, the Patan chiefs engaged to perform various important services, and, if necessary, to murder their present employer, Nazir Jung. D'Auteuil again took the field, and one of his officers with only 300 men was allowed to penetrate by night into the very heart of the enemy's camp, and to kill upwards of 1000 without losing more than two or three of his own people. Moreover, another small body of French troops sailed to Masulipatam, attacked it by surprise in the night, and carried it with a trifling

loss, and another detachment seized the pagoda of Trivadi, only fifteen miles to the west of Fort St. David. Continuing this career, M. Bussy, the Clive of the French, captured by storm the hill-fort of Gingee, which had been deemed impregnable and inaccessible. The event struck awe into the natives of India, and was viewed with astonishment even by Europeans. Soon after the storming of Gingee, Nazir Jung opened or re-

fired at his heart, and he fell dead at the feet of the traitors, who forthwith cut off his head, stuck it upon a spear, and exhibited it to the army. This was quite enough to effect an instantaneous revolution: Muzzuffer Jung, the ally of the French and of Chunda Sahib, was released from his confinement in the camp and installed as Soubahdar of the Deccan, although there were four brothers of the murdered Nazir Jung on the spot.¹ Muz-

zuffer Jung, who had so rapidly passed from a prison to a throne, hastened to Pondicherry to express his gratitude for the friendship and his admiration of the policy and decision of Dupleix. As substantial proofs of his thankfulness, he lavished upon the Frenchman a great part of the treasures of Nazir Jung, and nominated him governor of all the Mogul dominions on the coast of Coromandel from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin; appointing his close ally, Chunda Sahib, his deputy in the government of Arcot. But the new soubahdar and Dupleix failed in satisfying the cupidity of the Patan chiefs, who departed for the interior full of rancour and revenge. Mahomed Ali, late the ally of the English, sustained himself within the strong walls of Trichinopoly till the assassination of Nazir Jung,



THE HILL-FORT OF GINGEE.—Daniell's Oriental Annual.

newed a correspondence with Dupleix. The wily Frenchman replied to his letters in a friendly manner, and drew up a treaty of pacification which he professed would satisfy himself and his allies, and restore the blessings of peace to the Carnatic, the unfortunate inhabitants of which country had suffered nearly every extremity of misery from this and preceding wars.

But at the same time Dupleix had fully arranged a revolt in Nazir Jung's camp, and had collected a force of 4000 men, French or well-disciplined sepoys, under the high hill of Gingee, who were to obey the summons of the Patan traitors, and to co-operate with them. The doomed soubahdar signed the treaty as sent to him by Dupleix, and returned it to the headquarters of the French; but at the same moment, or shortly before the arrival of the peace-restoring document, there arrived in the same camp the concerted summons of the Patan conspirators; and the French force under the command of M. de la Touche silently moved off to attack, under cover of night, the betrayed army of Nazir Jung. DelaTouche encountered some resistance from the rest of the army, but the Patan mercenaries remained passive spectators. Nazir Jung mounted his war elephant and hastened to the lines of the Patan chiefs, ignorant of their treachery, and hoping to excite them to exertion; but, as he raised himself on the seat of his elephant to salute those ferocious chiefs, two carabine balls were

and the union of the Great Mogul's army with the French; but now he fled and offered to resign all claim to the Carnatic, provided Dupleix would obtain for him from the new soubahdar of his own making a separate command in some other part of the Deccan. In the beginning of the year 1751 it was found necessary to attend to insurrections which had broken out—not without encouragement from the English or the native friends of the Company—in various parts of the Carnatic; and the new soubahdar took the field accompanied by the French contingent, again under the command of the brave and skilful Bussy. On their march into the interior a revolt broke out in part of their own army; and it was discovered that a mountain-pass in their front was occupied by the fierce Patan chiefs with their hardy tribes. Bussy gave instant orders for clearing the pass, and this was soon done by the French artillery and grape-shot. But in pursuing the fugitive Patans the new soubahdar received a Patan arrow in his brain, which proved as instantaneously fatal to him as the carabines had been to his predecessor. The native army hereupon would have packed up their rice-kettles, to disband and to return to their homes; but Bussy instantly proclaimed a new soubahdar in the person of Salabut Jung, who

¹ Colonel Wilkes. Dupleix, to cast off the infamy of treachery, asserts in his memoirs that, on receiving the treaty signed by Nazir Jung, he wrote off immediately to De la Touche, to prevent further hostilities, but that his letter arrived too late.

happened to be in the camp. The native army received Salabut Jung with acclamations of great joy, and he forthwith confirmed to the French the splendid grants made by his predecessor. The army then continued its march to Hyderabad, one of the French officers informing Dupleix by letter that in a very short time the Mogul would tremble on his throne at the name of the French. The council of the Company were thrown into consternation, and almost into despair, by the sudden ascendancy acquired by Dupleix; and they endeavoured to encourage Mahomed Ali, and induce him to break off his negotiations by which Trichinopoly was to have been surrendered to the French. Mahomed Ali had courage enough left to return to Trichinopoly, and to declare that he would hold that important place to the last extremity; and hereupon the English pledged themselves to support and assist him with ships, troops, and money. But small was the force that the government of Fort St. David could collect for this purpose; and, as Major Lawrence had taken his departure for England, they were at a loss to know what officer they should appoint to the command of it. As Lieutenant Clive seemed too young and too low in rank, they at last gave the chief command to one Captain Cope, who might have been of the same stock as Sir John Cope, the hero of Prestonpans. With 600 men in all, including sepoy, Captain Cope advanced to Madura, which still adhered to Mahomed Ali; but he marched back again without striking a blow for his ally, who thereupon was speedily besieged in Trichinopoly by the French and the forces under Chunda Sahib. As Trichinopoly, on the south bank of the great river Cauvery, was a place of vital importance—the only place that remained of all the Carnatic in the hands of their ally—and as the French were proving to them what they might expect in their ill-defended factories and settlements on the coast, by planting white flags in almost every field around their boundaries, and in some instances even within their limits, the presidency of Fort St. David were roused to greater exertions, and they collected 500 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1000 sepoy to march to the relief of the besieged city. This time the command was given, not to Captain Cope, but to a Captain Gingen, who appears to have been as incompetent an officer, as weak and undecided as Cope. Clive went with the expedition, but unfortunately merely as commissary of provisions. Gingen, about the beginning of April, 1751, started from Fort St. David, and at nearly the same time Chunda Sahib, leaving part of his forces in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, began to march to meet him. The opposing armies met near the fort of Volconda, and the English behaved in such a

manner as English troops have seldom been guilty of—they fled almost at the first shot, leaving their Caffres and their sepoy on the field engaged in an unequal struggle, which these mercenaries maintained for some time with considerable spirit. Gingen, who was calling councils of war, and debating and wavering when he ought to have been fighting, retreated from position to position; but then, changing his line of march, he contrived eventually to reach Trichinopoly, and throw himself and his forces, considerably reduced, within its walls. Chunda Sahib was close at his heels, and the siege was renewed. Clive, after the disgraceful affair at Volconda, had returned straight to Fort St. David to storm and swear at the misconduct of our officers, and to solicit employment more suited to his disposition and abilities. In a lucky hour the council promoted him to the rank of captain, and adopted a plan which his daring genius had formed, and intrusted him with the execution of his own project. This was nothing less than to relieve Trichinopoly by making a sudden attack upon Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. Fort St. David and Madras were emptied of their troops and left with the weakest garrisons, and yet Clive's detachment when completed did not exceed 200 Englishmen and 300 sepoy. His whole staff of officers counted no more than eight, six of whom had never been in action, and four of these six being young men in the mercantile service of the Company, who, inflamed by Clive's example, took up the sword to follow him. The artillery attached to this force consisted of three light field-pieces. But Clive had learned something while acting as commissary, and had taken good care to provide supplies of provisions and abundant ammunition. He had already the forethought of a great commander. On the 26th of August, 1751, he started from Madras with a confidence of success. On the 29th he reached a pagoda about forty miles inland, and there received intelligence that the fort of Arcot had not been drained of its troops for the siege of Trichinopoly, but was actually garrisoned by 1100 men. Nothing daunted, he wrote to Madras for two eighteen-pounders to be sent after him without delay; and continuing his march, he halted on the 31st within ten miles of Arcot. The country people, or the scouts employed by the enemy, reported with consternation that they had seen the English marching without concern through a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. This was considered as a fearful omen by the native garrison, who instantly abandoned the fort. A few hours after their departure Clive and his men entered the city, which had no walls or defences, and marching through the streets in the midst of tens of thousands of timid spectators, they took possession of the fort, where they

found eight pieces of cannon from four to eight pounders, a great heap of lead for shot, and abundance of gunpowder.

Clive's adventures now assumed the most romantic and marvellous character. With a mere handful of men he sallied from Arcot, and cut up or scattered all the enemy's forces; he sent away his people to meet the two eighteen-pounders coming from Madras, and, with thirty Europeans and fifty sepoy, made good the fort of Arcot; he completely repulsed Rajah Sahib and his French allies, who brought up some good artillery with them; he skilfully counterworked two breaches which the French guns had made, and he triumphed over an assault which was made on the 14th of November by many thousands of Indians. The following morning the besiegers fled from the town of Arcot, leaving artillery and ammunition behind them. Thus ended a siege which had lasted fifty days. It raised the reputation of English arms in India from the lowest to the very highest pitch.

Being reinforced by Captain Kilpatrick with 150 men, Clive, leaving a garrison in the fort, went off from Arcot on the 19th of November, with 200 English, 700 sepoy, and three field-pieces, in pursuit of Rajah Sahib. Being joined by a small body of Mahratta horse sent to him by Morari Row, he gave the enemy battle at a place called Arnee; and, though they were 300 French and more than 2000 natives, horse and foot, with four field-pieces, he completely routed them. The valour of the Mahrattas was encouraged by the booty they made, for they took 400 horses and Chunda Sahib's military chest containing 100,000 rupees. Six hundred sepoy, who had been serving the French, immediately deserted with their arms and accoutrements, and joined Clive; and the killadar or governor of Arnee abandoned the cause of Chunda Sahib and the French, and declared for Mahomed Ali and the English. With admirable rapidity Clive next proceeded to Conjeveram, made a breach in that strong pagoda, and forced the French to flee from it by night. After destroying the defences of this place, and strengthening the garrison that he had left at Arcot, Clive returned to Fort St. David to report his successes and to suggest bolder and wider operations. Mahomed Ali, instead of being besieged in Trichinopoly, saw the country open to him and a great part of the Carnatic submissive to his will. Clive had not been long at Fort St. David when the enemy re-assembled, and with 4500 natives, horse and foot, 400 French, and a train of artillery, began to ravage the Company's territory and the districts which had declared for Mahomed Ali. Early in February (1752) Clive, having been reinforced from Bengal, went out to meet them

with 350 English, 1300 sepoy, and six field-pieces. Such was the terror of his name that they retreated before him, abandoning one strong position after another. Lengthening and quickening his marches, he, however, came up with them at the village of Coverypank, defeated them after a hard-fought battle, and took nine pieces of cannon and sixty Frenchmen. Fifty Frenchmen and 300 sepoy were found dead upon the field.

Clive the conqueror returned to Fort St. David, where the presidency determined to despatch him to Trichinopoly. But just at this juncture Major Lawrence returned from England and took the command as superior officer. Lawrence, however, who was wholly devoid of professional jealousy, and who had the warmest admiration for the daring self-taught soldier, took Clive with him when he set out for Trichinopoly, with 400 English, 1100 sepoy, and eight field-pieces. As 20,000 Hindoos from the kingdom of Mysore and 6000 Mahrattas were ready to co-operate with the English, the troops of Chunda Sahib and the French, who had again gathered in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, broke up in dismay, the French retreating to a strong pagoda in Seringham, an island formed by the rivers Coleroon and Cauvery, and burning part of their baggage and provisions which they could not transport with them. By the advice of Clive, Major Lawrence divided his small force, and sent a detachment across the Coleroon to intercept the enemy's supplies. Clive had the command of this detachment, and performed his duty so effectually that the French soon began to feel the horrible approaches of famine. Dupleix from Pondicherry sent M. d'Auteuil to supply and reinforce the French on the island; but D'Auteuil was driven back by some of the troops of Major Lawrence, forced into an old fort, and there compelled to surrender with all his convoy. A few days after, the French at Seringham capitulated and became prisoners of war; and their ally Chunda Sahib, who had so recently been lord of the Carnatic, finding himself deserted by the last of his troops, fled to the camp of his enemies and surrendered to the general of the Tanjore forces, a wily Hindoo, who had promised him protection and who now put him in irons. Forthwith a violent dispute arose between Mahomed Ali, the Mahratta chiefs, the Rajah of Mysore, and the Tanjorines, who each and all claimed the person of the prisoner. To put an end to this quarrel, Major Lawrence proposed that the fallen potentate should for the present be delivered up to the English; but the disputants separated without coming to any agreement, and before the discussion could be renewed the Tanjorines cut off the head of Chunda Sahib and

sent it to his now fortunate rival, Mahomed Ali, who exhibited it as a trophy to his army.

The English were now eager to advance against the fortress of Gingee, the only place in the Carnatic which remained to their enemies; but fresh and far more violent disputes broke out among their allies and retarded their departure. As the troops of Tanjore and other auxiliaries had marched to their homes, the English had few or none to advance with them to Gingee, except the sepoy in their own pay. They marched nevertheless to that strong place, which was held by a brave and well-trained French garrison, sustained a repulse, and were obliged to retreat with some loss. This gave new encouragement to Dupleix. Well acquainted with the dissensions prevailing between Mahomed Ali and the Regent of Mysore, he opened a secret correspondence with the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas, hoping to break the confederacy into pieces by force of intrigue and the vehemence of their own passions. In these labours it is said he derived wonderful assistance from his wife, who was born in India and perfectly understood not only the languages but also the character of the natives. In his union with this lady, who is described as being even more ambitious than himself, we may probably find the cause of the essentially oriental spirit of most of his proceedings. In a very short time Major Lawrence was recalled to the neighbourhood of Fort St. David by intelligence that Dupleix had another considerable army on foot. With 400 English, 1700 sepoy, 4000 troops in the pay of Mahomed Ali, and nine field-pieces, he encountered this French army near Bahoor, only two miles from Fort St. David, and obtained a victory which would have been far more complete if the nabob's troops had not thought more of plundering than fighting. Lawrence was now enabled to detach Clive to Covelong, an important fort in the Carnatic, about twenty miles south of Madras. The force which Clive took with him consisted of 200 recruits who had just been landed at Madras, and who are represented as being the very refuse of the jails of London, and of 500 newly raised sepoy. But, as Clive had become a general as if by inspiration, so had he the faculty of making soldiers in a week out of vagabonds and cut-purses. With this force, and with four twenty-four pounders, he attacked Covelong, which mounted thirty pieces of cannon, and was garrisoned by fifty French and 300 sepoy. At first the jailbirds showed some trepidation; but Clive shamed them out of their fears by exposing himself to the hottest of the fire, and by the time the fort surrendered they were heroes. The morning after the surrender of Covelong, Eusign Joseph Smith discovered a large body of troops advancing, and correctly judged that this must be a de-

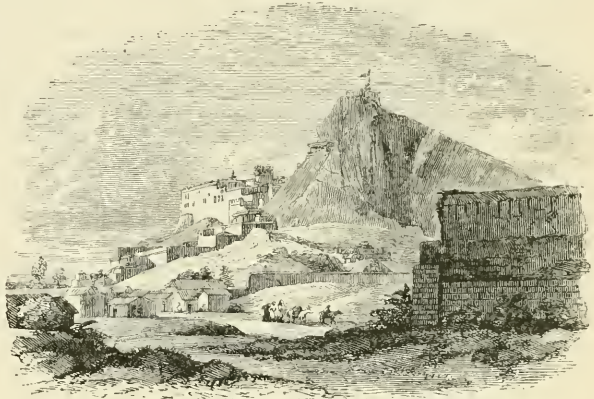
tachment from Chingleput intended to relieve Covelong. Clive instantly took every precaution to conceal from this corps that the fort had fallen; and then he laid an ambuscade in their route. The French fell into the trap, and the very first volley fired by the concealed English killed or wounded 100 men. The rest threw down their arms and fled or surrendered. The French officer commanding, twenty-five Europeans, and 250 sepoy, with two pieces of cannon, were taken. Clive next proceeded with all possible rapidity to Chingleput, which was about forty miles to the south-west of Covelong, the fort being completely defended on one side by a lake, and on another by a swamp; it was, moreover, surrounded by a broad and deep ditch. Clive presently erected a battery within 200 yards of the outer wall, made a breach, and prepared to storm; but the French commandant called a parley, and surrendered the place on condition of being allowed the honours of war. The French garrison evacuated Chingleput on the 31st of October (1752), and marched to Pondicherry; Clive returned to Madras, and, finding his health, which had never been very robust, greatly impaired by the incessant fatigues he had undergone, he proceeded to England by the first ship.

His back was scarcely turned when Dupleix's diplomacy and intrigue obtained the most signal triumphs. The Regent of Mysore abruptly broke his alliance and joined the French, and his example was followed by Morari Row, the chief of the Mahrattas, who considered that they had not been allowed their fair share of booty. Still further to increase this defection, Dupleix opened negotiations with the Mahometan governor of Vellore, and he gained this chief by flattering him with the nabobship of the Carnatic. Joined by the troops of these recent allies of the English, the French advanced once more to Trichinopoly, and laid close siege to that place. Major Lawrence soon discovered the defection of the Mahrattas, and he ordered an attack upon a part of their forces which yet remained within his reach. This attack was led under cover of the night by Captain Dalton, who penetrated their camp and committed some slaughter. But shortly after the Mahrattas made an attack upon an advanced post of the British, and cut to pieces seventy English and about 300 sepoy. Captain Dalton turned out of the city a large body of Mysoreans who were still pretending to be friends. Neither Mahrattas nor Mysoreans had any inclination to attempt the reduction of the fort by storm; but they hoped to be able to reduce it by famine. They watched every avenue to the place as closely as they could, they kept parties of horse constantly scouring the country to intercept the supplies, they prohibited the introduction of any kind of provisions,

and they cut off the noses of those whom they caught attempting to infringe their orders.

Captain Dalton made his situation known to Major Lawrence, who had retired to Madras, but who immediately took the field and marched to his relief. Lawrence arrived at Trichinopoly on the 6th of May (1753), but the hurried march and the heat of the weather had proved fatal to several of his English troops, who had died upon the road, and above a hundred more were sick and helpless, and only fit for the hospital. No attempt was, however, made to intercept him, or to prevent his entrance into the place. When his forces were joined to those of Captain Dalton they did not exceed 500 English and 2000 sepoys: there was indeed quartered in the town a body of Mahomed Ali's force, but these fellows were ill-paid and mutinous. Provisions now found their way into the town; but Dupleix and his allies made such exertions that in a short time nearly 30,000 men, including about 500 French, were gathered round the place. Major Lawrence made several sorties, and even attempted to drive the enemy from the strong pagoda of Seringham, which they had again occupied; but he failed, and was compelled to retire with some loss. The French drew nearer and made an attack upon a post called the Golden Rock, which Lawrence had established in order to keep open his communications with the country. The post was defended by sepoys, who gave way before the impetuous attack of M. Astruc; and the French flag was hoisted on the rock. Lawrence sent his grenadiers to recover the important position, and it was soon recovered at the point of the bayonet; but, as the whole French force came up to support their comrades, a general action ensued, in which the Mysore army and the Mahratta cavalry took part. The Mahrattas occasionally made a charge and did some mischief, but the Mysoreans kept themselves at a respectful distance in the rear; the stern contest was only between the British and the French; but the British bayonet finished the day, and the French fled from the field, leaving threefield-pieces behind them. Lawrence returned triumphantly to the walls of Trichinopoly; but his loss, considering the small number of his troops, was considerable, and forced him to confess that one or two more victories of the same kind would have ruined him. The Indian Rajah of Tanjore professed to remain steady to the English interest, but he sent little or no assistance to Trichinopoly. It was now resolved that Major Lawrence should proceed with Mahomed Ali to the Tanjore frontier, in order to obtain from the

rajah the fulfilment of some of his promises. At the hour of departure Mahomed Ali's own troops assembled in the court of the palace, declaring that they would not allow him to depart until he had paid their arrears. English bayonets opened a path through these mutinous natives; but as soon as the nabob was gone they went over in a



THE ROCK AND FORT OF TRICHINOPOLY, from the South-east.
Daniel's Views in India.

body to the enemy. The journey to the Tanjore frontier was, however, very successful; for the rajah sent 3000 horse and 2000 foot under the command of Monacjee, the general who had assassinated Chunda Sahib, to co-operate with the English and the forces of Mahomed Ali. Moreover, Lawrence was now joined by 170 British soldiers who had just arrived from England, and by 300 natives who enrolled as sepoys. Thus reinforced, with his carts well loaded with provisions, and with some thousands of bullocks in his train, Lawrence returned towards Trichinopoly. The French made a spirited attempt to cut off his convoy and impede his entrance into the town, but they were again repelled by the bayonets of the English grenadiers, and Lawrence and the nabob got to their old quarters without loss or damage. The French and their allies made no progress in reducing Trichinopoly, and the English and their allies had not sufficient force to compel them to raise the blockade. Many encounters took place, in one of which M. Astruc and several French officers were taken prisoners. Months were passed in this manner in foraging and skirmishing. In the autumn a party of Lawrence's troops took Weycondah, a post of some strength; and the French and their allies then retired from the vicinity of Trichinopoly, apparently with the intention of giving up the blockade. But on the 20th of November, when Lawrence was fifteen miles from the town, and when the Tanjore troops had quitted him to return to their homes, he was startled by news of

an attack made by the French on Trichinopoly. Before he reached that town he was, however, gladdened by the intelligence that the few English and the sepoys within it had repulsed the French with a terrible loss.

But in the meantime M. Bussy, who took his departure for Hyderabad in 1752, to establish Salabut Jung in the sovereignty of the Deccan, had gone through a series of brilliant and romantic adventures, and penetrated farther into the country than any European army had hitherto gone, and had to all appearance consolidated the authority of his ally. Bussy had been living with all the pomp and splendour of a vizier or a sultan at Golconda, and directing all the measures of Salabut Jung's government. To expel the French and their allies, and to place upon the throne of the Deccan, U-din the prince of the Mogul's choice, every exertion was made that the reduced means of the emperor would allow; an army of Mahrattas, who were ever ready to sell their services to any party, or to embark on either side in any war that offered a prospect of abundant booty, were engaged by the Mogul, and placed with other native troops under the command of U-din. But this unfortunate claimant was carried off by poison, or by his own excesses, as he was entering the province of Golconda with 100,000 horse. Upon this event many of his host took their departure; but the Mahrattas, eager for the spoil of a rich province, continued their advance, and encountered the French and the troops of Salabut Jung in several places. Bussy, who had the genius of Clive, defeated them repeatedly, and once or twice with so much slaughter that the Mahrattas became anxious for peace. Salabut Jung then purchased their retreat by ceding to them some districts near Berar and Boorhanpoor; and they gladly withdrew from the murderous execution of Bussy's quick musketry and artillery. The bold Frenchman had, however, soon to experience how slightly the ties of gratitude attached Indian princes and politicians. Disgusted at seeing Salabut Jung completely ruled by a handful of foreigners, and forgetting that those foreigners alone had gained and could defend the Deccan, the courtiers advised their master to reduce the power of the French, who did not enjoy or exercise it with much moderation. Taking advantage of the temporary absence of Bussy, Salabut Jung withheld the pay of the French troops, and then began to detach them in small parties to distant quarters. But some of the Mahratta tribes, continually on the watch, discovered this dispersion of the only force they feared, and instantly began to prepare for a new war in the Deccan. Quickened by the prayers of Salabut Jung, Bussy hurried back to his post, and was instantly allowed to reunite his scat-

tered forces and to dictate his own terms to that trembling court. The courtiers and ministers who had intrigued against him were forthwith exiled; and, as security for vast arrears already accumulated and for future pay, he obtained at the end of the year 1753, the cession of the five important provinces of Ellore, Rajahmundry, Cicacole, Condapilly, and Guntoor, called the Northern Circars, which made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa for an uninterrupted line of 600 miles. But neither the court of Versailles nor the French India Company at home had embraced the grand projects of Bussy and Dupleix; the court questioned the propriety of these wars with the English in a time of peace, and the company doubted whether these territorial acquisitions could be maintained profitably to themselves. The French directors or managers were all for trade and peace, and were quite incapable of the exertions which the joint-stock English Company could make with little inconvenience. Dupleix, too, had had his day; and, considering the mutations and intrigues of the old French cabinet, it had been a long one: his protectors and admirers were now out of office; his recall to France was procured, and a M. Godeheu was sent out to supersede him as governor of Pondicherry, with instructions to negotiate immediately a peace with the English and their allies. M. Godeheu arrived at Pondicherry in the beginning of August, 1754; and with the return ship that carried away Dupleix, the grand schemes of French empire and dominion in the East seemed to vanish into thin air. On the 11th of October, a suspension of arms was agreed to for three months; and on the 26th of December of the same year (1754) a provisional treaty was signed at Pondicherry. The French stipulated to withdraw their troops from the Carnatic, and to interfere no more in the affairs of the native princes there, thus leaving Mahomed Ali, the ally or creature of the English, undisputed Nabob of the Carnatic. They also agreed that the territorial possessions of the French and English should be settled and defined on the principle of equality, thus virtually resigning nearly all that Bussy and Dupleix had acquired by their wars and policy.

M. Bussy, however, left undisturbed at Golconda, continued his control over the Deccan; and the Mysoreans, alleging that the French had no authority to bind them by their paper agreements, seemed disposed to continue the blockade of Trichinopoly, and remained in that neighbourhood until they were scared away by the report that a Mahratta army was marching to attack them. Their departure finished a siege and blockade which had lasted altogether more than a year, and which had brought out on the part of the English troops uncommon bravery, steadiness,

and no inconsiderable skill. Yet the pacification was scarcely settled when the two rival European nations were involved in fresh differences. The French complained that the English continued to keep their troops with Mahomed Ali to assist him in collecting his revenues and reducing his refractory subjects; and the English justified their conduct by showing that M. Bussy and the French troops with him in the interior continued to render the same services, and on a more extensive scale, to Salabnt Jung. It soon became evident that no peace or truce could be of long duration. As there was no work to employ an English squadron which had arrived under the command of Admiral Watson, it was resolved to send some of the ships to destroy the nests of some powerful pirates who for fifty years had been committing depredations on the Malabar coast. The chiefs of these corsairs were a family of the Mah-

ratta race, and bore the name of Angria, who had established on the coast a power closely resembling that of the Algerines, and who nominally acknowledged the Peishwa, or the supreme head of the Mahrattas, as the Algerines nominally professed allegiance to the Ottoman Porte. But the Angrias had recently given such offence to the Peishwa that he determined upon their destruction, and consented to join his fleet to the English squadron. In 1755 the English ships, under the command of Commodore James, drove the pirates from two of their strongholds and took possession of them, the Mahratta fleet of the Peishwa never coming within reach of cannon-shot till the fighting was over. But the chief nest of the pirates—the fort and port of Gheriah—was not destroyed until the following year, when the adventurous Clive had returned from England with improved health and enlarged hopes.

CHAPTER XVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A D. 1756—1759.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—GEORGE II.

Clive's welcome in England—He returns to India with higher rank and appointments—Prosperity of Calcutta under the Great Mogul's viceroy, Ali Verdy Khan—His successor, Surajah Dowlah, quarrels with the English of the settlement—His pretexts for quarrel—He captures the English fort and factory at Cossimbazar—He assaults Calcutta—Its scanty means of defence—Its desperate resistance—Surrender of Calcutta—The Black Hole, and the agonies of its victims—Cruelty of the conqueror to the survivors—Surajah Dowlah's further aggressions—Clive returns to India at the critical moment—He defeats the enemy and recovers Calcutta—Surajah Dowlah repeatedly defeated—He allies himself with the French—Clive's great victory at Plassey—Flight of Surajah Dowlah—Clive establishes Meer Jaffier as nabob in his room—Capture and death of Surajah Dowlah—His French allies pursued by Eyre Coote—Trichinopoly besieged by the French—The siege raised—Indecisive movements between the English and French in the Carnatic—A French squadron flies from a dead English admiral—Alternate successes of the French and English—Reinforcements to the French arrive under Count Lally—He besieges and takes Fort St. David—He quarrels with the members of his council—Lawless proceedings of his troops—He attacks Tanjore—He is obliged to retreat—Quarrels between him and Bussy—Lally attacks Madras—The arrival of a British fleet compels him to decamp—Naval operations of the French and English at Trincomalee—Continuing disasters of Lally—The English defeat the French at Peddapoor—They take Masulipatam—Their growing ascendancy—Clive appointed governor of Bengal—Difficulties of Meer Jaffier—He applies to Clive for aid—Warren Hastings the new English resident at Moorshedabad—Troubled state of its government—Clive marches against the enemies of Meer Jaffier—He disperses them—The country restored to order—Rewards conferred on Clive by the native rulers—Meer Jaffier forsakes the English—He allies himself with the Dutch in India—The Dutch attempt to send him succours against the English—Clive detects their design—His arrangements to defeat it—He disperses the Dutch naval squadron, and defeats their troops on land—The Dutch factory compelled to submit—Clive returns to England.



RECEDED by glowing reports of his remarkable achievements at Arcot and in other parts of the Carnatic, Clive had been received in England with enthusiasm. Young as he was, he was hailed as the best of living English generals. The Company resolved in sending him back to appoint him governor of Fort St. David, with a provisional commission to succeed to the government of Madras. George II., who loved a soldier, gave him the commission of

lieutenant-colonel in the British army, which it was hoped would obviate the quarrels about rank which so frequently occurred between the king's and the Company's officers. After the reduction of the pirates' nest at Gheriah, Colonel Clive proceeded to Fort St. David, and assumed the government of that place on the 20th of June, 1756, the very day on which the Nabob of Bengal took Calcutta from the English, and disgraced his success with detestable cruelties.

The Company's settlement at Calcutta had

risen rapidly under the pacific rule of Ali Verdy Khan, the Mussulman viceroy of the Great Mogul, but who had become virtually the independent and absolute sovereign of all the rich kingdom or territory of Bengal—the richest country in all India, with the most pusillanimous Hindoo population. Ali Verdy was, for India, a prince of rare virtues; while his neighbours and brother potentates consumed their time and their strength in multitudinous harems, and, in defiance of the Koran, stupefied their intellects with excessive drinking, he adhered most scrupulously to the law of the Prophet, which prohibits the use of wine and strong drinks; and he neglected at the same time to avail himself of the Prophet's license for indulging in a plurality of wives and an *ad libitum* number of concubines. To the amazement of Hindoos and Mahometans, Ali Verdy rested satisfied with one faithful and beloved wife. He was orderly, prudent, just, and averse to all violence; he encouraged the trade of the English settled in his dominions, and derived a fair and growing profit from their prosperity. Their factors and their various agents travelled without interruption through every part of his dominions, finding everywhere protection for their property and safety and respect for their persons.

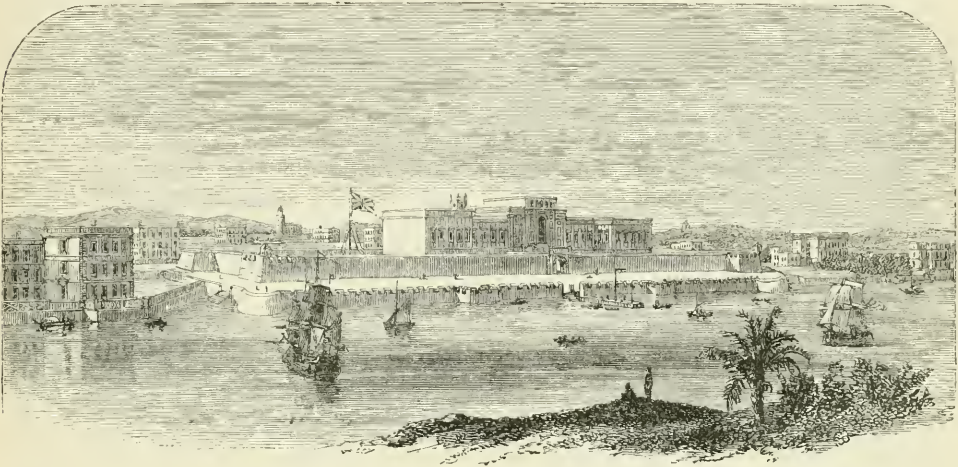
But Ali Verdy Khan died early in the month of April of this year, 1756, and his grandson and successor, Surajah Dowlah, a cruel, luxurious, and effeminate youth, proved altogether unworthy of him. As in these oriental despotisms nearly everything depends upon the personal character of the ruler, it was evident, from the first day of Surajah Dowlah's accession, that everything in Bengal would undergo a rapid and thorough change. He was known to entertain very hostile feelings towards the English, so that everybody at Calcutta ought to have been prepared for his hostile attacks; and the stories related of his violence and cruelty—of his delighting in seeing torture inflicted under his own eye—might have warned them of the fate that awaited them if they ever fell into his power. He had seen the coffers of his grandfather filled directly or indirectly by the trade of the English; he had been led to believe that the wealth and treasures these foreign merchants had accumulated within the walls of Calcutta were enormous in extent, and always ready and tangible; and, like the fool in the fable, he resolved to kill the goose that laid these golden eggs. It was very easy to find pretexts for quarrel. Alarmed by reports from England that a new war with France was inevitable, and would be prosecuted in all parts of the world, the English had begun to fortify Calcutta, so as to prevent any attack by the French on the side of the river. Moreover, they had granted refuge in their fort to a very

wealthy Hindoo native, called Kissendass, whom Surajah Dowlah wished to plunder, and they had refused to give him up to his officers. Other facilities were afforded by a Hindoo merchant, called Omichund, a man of intrigue and of enormous wealth, which he was constantly seeking to increase without any scruples as to the means he employed. Omichund had lived long in Calcutta, and had been permitted to engross much more of the Company's investment than was allowed to any other contractor. The presidency, moreover, had almost constantly employed him to transact their political business with the nabob and the minor potentates in the neighbourhood, and had paid him lavishly for all these services. The influence this intriguing Hindoo had acquired was immense, and his power was altogether so great that it was dangerous to offend him. Yet the presidency, disgusted by some dishonest practices, had deprived him of all his contracts, and given him the most mortal offence. Omichund retired to Muxadabad, or Moorshedabad, with 4,000,000 rupees; but he left his harem and a considerable part of his household property at Calcutta. It was believed that the vindictive Hindoo put himself in close communication with the French at Chandernagore, and advised Surajah Dowlah to annihilate the English settlement. After a short stay at Moorshedabad, Omichund returned to Calcutta to facilitate the scheme of destruction he recommended, and to act as a spy for the nabob. Surajah Dowlah despatched a peremptory letter to Mr. Drake, the governor, ordering him instantly to destroy all the works which had been added to the fortifications of Calcutta.

A few days after he collected his whole army at Moorshedabad, and sent a detachment of 3000 men to invest the small English fort and factory at Cossimbazar. This investment was begun on the 22d of May, but no hostilities were committed until the 1st of June, when the nabob arrived with the rest of his forces. The fort of Cossimbazar had neither ditch nor palisade; its walls were contemptibly weak, the largest of its guns were but nine-pounders, and those were honey-combed or shaking upon rotten carriages; the garrison consisted of twenty-two Europeans and twenty topasses, and of the Europeans the majority were Dutchmen. The nabob summoned Mr. Watts to come forth to him. Mr. Watts waited upon the savage in his tent, and was again threatened with impalement. He was compelled to sign a paper importing that the presidency of Calcutta should level whatever works they had raised; that they should instantly deliver up all subjects or tenants of the nabob who had taken protection in their settlement, &c. Mr. Watts was next required to sign an order for the surrender of Cossimbazar; but this he refused to do.

But that fort was utterly incapable of resisting a vast army; and on the 4th of June the crumbling old gates were thrown open to the nabob. His conduct was so brutal, that to escape from it the English commanding officer, Ensign Elliot, put a pistol to his own head and blew out his brains. On the 9th of June, Surajah Dowlah struck his tents and began his march upon Calcutta. In the meantime the terrified and stupified presidency at Calcutta lost days and nights in doubts and deliberations; vainly hoping to avert the storm, they engaged to obey the nabob's orders, and to demolish whatever he might require, if he would only withdraw his army; and they never seriously applied themselves to the defence of the place until Surajah Dowlah was within a few

days' march with a still increasing army. They then implored the Dutch at Chinsurah and the French at Chandernagore, for the sake of humanity, and for the common cause of Europeans in India, to afford them some assistance against the nabob, who, if allowed to exterminate the English, would not long respect the weaker settlements of the other European nations. The Dutch coldly and positively refused any aid or succour, and the French insulted their distress by advising the English to repair with their goods and chattels to Chandernagore. Letters had been despatched to Madras and to Bombay, requesting reinforcements, but the sea was shut by the south monsoon. Nothing therefore was left to do but to defend Calcutta with the force actually within



FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA, 1754.—From a print by Van Ryne.

it. This consisted of 264 regulars, 250 militia raised among the inhabitants, and 1500 native Indian matchlock-men. The genius of a Clive might, even with this defective force, have made good the fort against the disorderly, unwarlike host advancing against it; but there was no Clive in Calcutta, and too many of the English there whose voices were most potential were cursed with the selfish minds and narrow views of pedlers and trucksters. When all was at stake these men wanted to preserve their own dwelling-houses, their magazines, their gardens, and their outhouses from injury; and buildings which ought to have been blown into the air, because they commanded the ramparts of the fort, or covered the approaches, were left standing till Surajah Dowlah should avail himself of them. On the 15th of June, Surajah Dowlah reached Hooghly, about twenty miles above Calcutta, and prepared to cross the river in an immense fleet of boats. What the English ships were doing we know not; but it should appear that the fire of

two brigantines alone ought to have sunk and scattered these frail embarkations, and have effectually defended the passage of the river. On the morning of the 16th the nabob with nearly his whole force was on the Calcutta side of the river; the Indian inhabitants of the town were fleeing in all directions with their rice on their heads; and the Englishwomen, the Armenians, the Portuguese, and all who claimed to be Christians, were abandoning their houses in the city to take refuge within the fort, which was crowded and embarrassed in every part by women and children, and men as helpless or as timid. At the hour of noon the van of the nabob's army advancing from the northward was seen close on the Company's bounds, and shortly after a firing commenced across the Mahratta Ditch.

The defence of the fort was conducted without intelligence, and, save in a few cases, with very little spirit. Drake, the governor, embarked with the European ladies in ships on the river; others ran away from their posts at the moment of crisis,

and all would have fled if they had been able. Mr. Holwell, a member of council, was elected to the command of the hopeless place, which was now garrisoned by only 190 men, between regulars and timid militia.

By the direction of Mr. Holwell, signals were constantly thrown out, flags by day and fires by night, to call the shipping at Govindpore back to the fort; but no attention whatever was paid to these strong appeals to valour and generosity; the ships remained where they were, and merely sent a native boat down the river from time to time to see what was passing. Nothing but imbecility on the part of the commanders can account for this conduct in British seamen. On the following morning the assailants crowded round the fort in still greater numbers. Some of the English, who had seen how easy it was to scatter thousands with the well-directed fire of a single gun, recommended steadiness and perseverance in the defence; but others recommended with equal earnestness an immediate capitulation, without reflecting that Surajah Dowlah was the last man upon earth likely to observe any treaty, or to put any bounds to his wrath. Mr. Holwell at last consented to make his prisoner Omichund write a letter to one of the nabob's generals, stating that the English were ready to obey the nabob's commands, and were only defending the fort to preserve their lives and honour. This letter was carried into the Indian general's quarters, but it seemed to produce no effect, as the attack was continued and preparation made to escalate the walls. Advancing under cover of a strong fire from one of the neighbouring houses, a large party actually began to escalate the northern curtain of the fortress; but, after persevering for half an hour, they were hurled back and totally repulsed with great loss. But in this stern contest twenty-five of the garrison had been killed or desperately wounded, and more than twice that number had received slighter wounds. In this state, when the place was filled with moans and groans and shrieks of anguish, some of the remaining English soldiery broke open the arrack store-house, swallowed that ardent spirit as if it had been water, and became mad or stupid. About two o'clock in the afternoon, after a very faint renewal of the attack, the Indians sent a flag of truce towards the fort; but while Mr. Holwell was parleying with the messenger, and the garrison suspending their fire, hosts of the nabob's people flocked to the gates of the fort, to the palisades, and to the weakest parts of the works, where they applied their scaling-ladders and began again to ascend, firing at every one they saw. A gentleman was wounded at the side of Mr. Holwell, who thereupon broke off the conference and endeavoured to collect his

men on the ramparts. But the men who were sober could not be brought up in time, and those who were mad drunk were breaking open the water-gate to escape by the river. As this gate was forced, a mass of Indians who had climbed over the palisade beyond it, and were lurking under the walls, rushed in. About twenty of the garrison threw themselves over the walls; all the rest piled their arms and surrendered with prayers for mercy. At five in the afternoon Surajah Dowlah, who had kept at a distance so long as there was any resistance or the slightest chance of danger, entered the fort in triumph, accompanied by Meer Jaffier, his treasurer and commander-in-chief, and by most of his principal officers. He seated himself with all his pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell to be brought before him. He abused the English with oriental richness of language for their presumption in daring to oppose his will and defend the fort, and he bitterly complained of the small sum of money he had found in their treasury—a sum which in reality fell below 50,000 rupees, while his ravenous imagination had anticipated many millions. He dismissed Mr. Holwell, recalled him to ask if there was no more money, and then dismissed him again. Before seven o'clock he summoned the Englishman to his presence once more, and this time, in dismissing him, pledged his word as a soldier that he should suffer no harm.¹ Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in misfortune, whom he found surrounded by a strong guard, and gazing upon a terrible conflagration which by accident or by design had been kindled in the houses outside the fort. Asking where they were to be lodged for the night, they were ordered to march to a verandah or open gallery near the eastern gate of the fort. But about eight o'clock at night the principal officer who had charge of them commanded them all to go into a room behind the gallery. This room was the common dungeon of the garrison, and called the Black Hole. Many of the prisoners, knowing the narrowness of the place, imagined at first that the officer was joking, and, being in good spirits on account of the nabob's promise that no harm should be offered to them, they laughed at the absurdity of the notion; but when they perceived in the savage looks of the Indians that they were in earnest, they began to expostulate and implore; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated, and the captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword. The space was so thronged that the last could hardly find room to enter. The savages without then locked the door upon them; confining 146 persons in a room not twenty feet square, with only two small windows, and

¹ Holwell's *Tracts*.

those obstructed and deprived of air by the projecting verandah. It was the very hottest season of the year, and the night unusually sultry even for that season; for the atmosphere was heated by the burning houses and charged with the smoke that proceeded from the conflagration. As soon as the dismal door was closed upon them, the prisoners, crowded and wedged together in one living, desperate mass, began to feel all the unutterable horrors of their situation. They cried, they shrieked for mercy—they prayed to be removed to separate rooms, to any place but that—they attempted to burst open the door, but the door was strong and opened inward, and no impression could be made upon it or its fastenings. Mr. Holwell, having been one of the first to enter that infernal hole, had secured himself a place near one of the windows, and through the grating he addressed an old Hindoo, "who bore some marks of humanity in his countenance," and promised him 1000 rupees in the morning if he would separate the captives into two chambers. The old man said he would go and endeavour to obtain permission; but he soon returned, saying that the thing could not be done—that it was impossible. Mr. Holwell offered him a larger sum—the old man went again—and again he soon returned, pronouncing this time the inevitable doom—for the nabob, he said, had retired to rest and was fast asleep, and no man dared to wake or disturb him. Then the captives went raving mad with despair and a hell-like heat and thirst; they shrieked for water! water! and they fought with each other with maniac hands, feet, and teeth, for possession of the ground nearest the windows. The old Hindoo, at the prayer of Mr. Holwell, brought some skins of water to the grating, but the sufferers were too far gone in madness to wait their turn to drink; they battled with one another like demons for the first draught, and they spilt and wasted more than was drunk. But the contents of the largest and coolest water-tank in Hindoostan could not have quenched the inward fire that consumed them, or have cooled or sweetened the infernal air of their dungeon. They went madder and madder. To shorten their horrors and to provoke the Indians outside in the verandah to fire upon them, they made use of every kind of invective and abuse; but the blacks kept up their torture, and, staring through the windows, shouted with laughter at the frantic tricks of the white men. By this time many of the captives had been squeezed or trodden to death, or had died for want of air. At two o'clock in the morning not more than fifty remained alive; but even this reduced number could not long live in that close and poisoned air, which was rendered every moment more loathsome by the almost instantaneous decomposition of the

dead bodies. As the light of day glimmered through the narrow apertures the sight was too horrible to be borne; but the sun was allowed to rise high in the heavens before the tyrant quitted his soft and perfumed couch and inquired after his prisoners. At eight o'clock in the morning, after ascertaining that Mr. Holwell, whom he wished to question about money, was among the survivors, he sent an order to enlarge the captives. The narrow space was so blocked up with the dead lying one upon the other, and those who yet lived were so weak and faint, that it was with the greatest difficulty the door was opened and a passage made for egress. At length, however, twenty-three ghastly figures were brought out of that truly Black Hole—figures that would not have been recognized by the mothers that had borne them, or by the bosom friends that had seen them but a few hours before on the eve of their terrific incarceration. The dead, amounting to 123, were then dragged out and thrown promiscuously into a great pit outside the fort, and there covered in with earth and rubbish. Mr. Holwell, unable to stand, was carried to the presence of Surajah Dowlah, who, so far from showing any compassion for his pitiable condition, or any remorse for the dreadful death of his companions, talked of nothing but the treasures which, he said, the English had buried; and he threatened further severities if the concealed money were not instantly delivered up. Mr. Holwell, who knew of no hidden treasures, was consigned over to some officers of the nabob, who put his sinking and emaciated frame into irons and fetters.¹ Messrs. Court and Walcot underwent the same treatment, as they were suspected of knowing something of the hidden treasures which haunted the tyrant's imagination, and which only existed there. An Englishwoman, the only one of her sex among the sufferers, was reserved for the harem of the *buckshee* or chief general, Meer Jaffier, who sent her off in a palanquin to his palace at Moorshedabad. Little or no attention was paid to the obscurer part of the survivors, who were allowed to quit the fort and descend the bank of the river towards Govindpore, where the English shipping still lay at anchor.

Meanwhile the nabob's army were plundering all the warehouses and dwelling-houses in the town of Calcutta, making no distinction as to persons, faiths, or nations; but robbing alike Hindoos, Mahometans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English. Their booty in merchandise and in household property was very considerable; but, like their nabob, they too had visions of hidden treasures, to realize which they in many instances

¹ Mr. Holwell survived the catastrophe more than forty years, and died in 1798 at the age of eighty-seven.

tortured or barbarously maltreated their victims. Even the property of Omichund, who is supposed to have instigated the rajah's attack on Calcutta, was plundered with that of the other sufferers, and 400,000 rupees in his treasury were seized by the conquerors. On the 2d of July, the nabob proceeded up the river to fall upon his neighbour and near kinsman the ruler of Purneah. His departure from Calcutta was made in triumphal style. He left behind him in Fort William and in the town of Calcutta about 3000 men. As he passed by the French settlement at Chandernagore and the Dutch settlement at Chinsurah, which places lie close together on the right bank of the Hooghly, about thirty miles above Calcutta, he demanded tributes, and spoke at one moment as if he intended to complete his glorious career of victory by expelling both French and Dutch as he had expelled the English. The money demanded from the settlement at Chinsurah, and promptly paid by the terrified Dutchmen, amounted to 450,000 rupees; but the French at Chandernagore he let off for 350,000 rupees, in consideration, it is said, of their having furnished him with 200 chests of gunpowder when he was advancing against the English at Calcutta. On the 11th of July he arrived at Moorshedabad, and there liberated Mr. Holwell and his companions, on finding that they had no secret of hidden treasures to reveal.

The rainy season, which had begun before the nabob left Calcutta, and other circumstances, delayed the expedition into Purneah till the month of October. The nabob then marched with a large army, which was in reality commanded by Meer Jaffier, who gained a complete victory over the rash young ruler of that country. This prince, the relative of Surajah Dowlah, was slain in the battle; the whole of Purneah then submitted to the conqueror, who once more returned triumphantly to Moorshedabad, swollen with pride and elated by the conviction that nothing could resist him, and that the scattered and humbled English would never venture to renew hostilities in his dominions. But these dreams were soon to be dissipated; for Clive the avenger—Clive the "Daring in War"—was now preparing to come against him.¹ At Madras and Bombay, at every place in India in which there was an Englishman, exertions were made in order to recover Calcutta and take vengeance for the cruelties which had been committed; but the mighty moussoons would not yield nor change to suit the impatience of man; materials had to be collected from various parts of the coast, and ships to be waited for that were crossing the Indian Ocean from Europe.

Thus it was not till the 16th of October that Clive and Admiral Watson could sail from Madras for the Hooghly. The force consisted of five of his majesty's ships and five of the Company's, having on board 900 European infantry and 1500 sepoy. Five hundred more sepoys were expected from Bombay. Although 250 of his small European force, 430 of his sepoys, and almost all his artillery and military stores were on board some missing ships, Clive resolved to advance immediately towards Calcutta, and to capture on his way the fort of Budge Budge, a place on the left bank of the river. Monichund, who commanded for the nabob, came out from Calcutta, with 3000 horse and foot. Clive defeated him in a trice, and thereupon he ran away to Moorshedabad, to assure his master that the "Daring in War" was irresistible. The garrisons Monichund had left in Budge Budge and in Fort William soon scampered after him, and Clive took undisturbed possession of Calcutta. Early in January (1757) Hooghly, where Surajah Dowlah had stationed a considerable army, was reduced by a detachment under Major Eyre Coote, who returned to Calcutta with an enormous booty. The nabob now resolved to move with his entire army upon Calcutta. Clive prepared a fortified camp outside that city, and quietly waited his arrival. On the 3d of February the near approach of the barbarian was announced by burning villages to which he had set fire. On the morrow he was defeated, and a fearful vengeance was taken upon his troops for the atrocities of the Black Hole. He then retreated towards Moorshedabad and implored for peace with the English. A treaty, most advantageous to the Company, was concluded on the 9th of February. But no sooner had the faithless nabob returned to his capital than he opened a fresh correspondence with the French at Chandernagore, and even sent emissaries to Golconda to invite M. Bussy into Bengal. These secrets were revealed to Clive (most probably by Omichund, who was smarting under his losses at the sack of Calcutta), who thereupon resolved to drive those dangerous neighbours, the French, out of Chandernagore. That strong and well-prepared place was attacked by ships and troops on the 14th of March; nearly all its guns were silenced by the 24th, and on the 25th the garrison surrendered. Though still professing friendship to Clive, and confidently believing that his secret correspondence with the French was unknown, Surajah Dowlah, sent an elephant and jewels to meet Bussy, and kept in his pay Monsieur Law, whose European force had been raised to above 100 French, through broken paroles and flights from the English camp. No doubt was entertained that Bussy's junction with the nabob would be fatal to the English interest.

¹ The name of "Sabut Jung," or the "Daring in War," was given to Clive by the natives, and was applied to him by Surajah Dowlah himself.

But Clive anticipated events; and he was favoured by a combination of circumstances. The nabob was detested by most of his subjects; some of the greatest of his ministers and officers, who had long been conspiring against him, began a correspondence with the English commander, by means of Omichund; and Meer Jaffier Khan, who commanded a part of the nabob's cavalry, agreed to desert his master at the hour of need. With these encouragements Clive marched up the country; and, on the 23d of June, a year and three days after the Black Hole tragedy, he fought and won the remarkable battle of Plassey. Meer Jaffier Khan kept aloof, and did not join him until he had seen that he was victorious without his assistance. Clive had only 1000 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and eight field-pieces: Surajah Dowlah had 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty heavy cannon, besides some field-pieces which were managed by the French;—his cavalry was far superior to any that the English had yet seen in Bengal, both men and horses being from the hardier clime of Upper India. When the last of the gallant little band of Frenchmen, abandoned by the natives, fled from their position and left their guns behind them, the affair was settled. There was no more fighting; the nabob's tens of thousands were fleeing towards Moorshedabad; the whole camp, with tents, baggage, artillery, and oxen, was left in the undisputed possession of the English, whose booty, upon that spot alone, was of immense value. Surajah Dowlah was the foremost in the flight.

The English pursued the fugitives for about six miles and then halted for the night at Daudpore, where Clive received a congratulatory letter from Meer Jaffier, who came and encamped in his neighbourhood that night. At midnight the fallen nabob arrived at his palace in Moorsheadabad, and assembled all the officers that had escaped with him to deliberate what next was to be done, or what means were most proper to save him from the wrath of his enemies. Some were of opinion that he ought to deliver himself up to the English, and trust to the magnanimity of the "Daring in War," and some proposed that he should dispense his treasures with a liberal

hand to his officers and troops, collect all of the army that he could, place himself at the head of it, and try once more the fortune of war. He agreed, or at least seemed to agree, with these bolder advisers; but, dismissing the council and retiring to the apartments of his women, his fears overcame him, and he made up his mind to flee from his capital. The circumstances of his flight were essentially oriental, resembling scores of other stories told of dethroned eastern princes, Indians, Persians, Saracens, or Turks. He took with him, grasped in his own hand, or hid under his own vest, a rich casket of jewels; and his chosen companions were his favourite concubine and his confidential eunuch: with no other attendants

than these, and disguised in a mean dress, he descended in the darkness of night from a window of the palace, threw himself into a boat, and ascended the river towards Patna.

On the morning of the 24th of June, the day after the battle, Meer Jaffier waited upon Clive at Daudpore to claim the throne. Conscious how strange his conduct at Plassey must have appeared to the English, he was not without his fears and trepidations; and, when Clive's troops drew out to receive him with



ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.—From the picture by Dance, engraved in Malcolm's Life of Clive.

military honours, he fancied they intended to kill him or make him their prisoner. He started back in a cold agony; but Clive, hastily advancing to receive him, and embracing him, hailed him as Nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. His fears were then sufficiently removed to allow of an hour's consultation with the English nabob-maker, who accepted the excuses he offered, and advised him to push forward to Moorshedabad with all his horse, in order to secure the palace and the treasury of Surajah Dowlah. Jaffier and his cavalry reached the capital that evening, and the English made another advance of six miles. The treasury was secured; and some elephants loaded with gold, dresses, furniture, and women, which Surajah Dowlah had sent away previously to his own flight, were overtaken and brought back to the palace. Hopes were also entertained of capturing the fleeing nabob himself, as troops of horse were sent in pursuit in various directions. On the 25th Clive arrived at Mandipoor, and sent Messrs. Watts

and Walsh, with an escort of sepoys, to pay a congratulatory visit to Meer Jaffier, and to look after the English share of the treasure. Watts, who was at home in Moorshedabad, where he knew all classes and conditions of men, was secretly assured that the Mahometan and Hindoo conspirators were resolved to withhold the treasure from their English allies; and that Roydullub, Meerun the son of Jaffier, and Cuddum Hussein Khan, an officer of distinction, were in a new plot to assassinate Clive. Whether true or false, Mr. Watts thought fit to believe this information, and Clive judged it prudent to postpone his entry into Moorshedabad until the 29th; and when he entered he was surrounded by 200 English and 300 faithful sepoys. Moreover, he took up his quarters in a strong palace, spacious enough to accommodate his 500 men. In a short time young Meerun waited upon him with all the flattery and adulation of the East; and Clive—we presume with a good escort—accompanied Meerun to pay a visit to his father. Meer Jaffier was found installed in the royal palace, in the splendid hall where Surajah Dowlah had been wont to give audience. The *musnud* or throne was at the top of that hall; and Clive, perceiving that Jaffier kept at a distance from the regal seat, took him by the hand, led him up the hall, and seated him upon the *musnud*. That ancient maker and unmaker of kings, the gaunt Earl of Warwick, never displayed more might, dignity, and decision. When Jaffier was thus put in his master's place, Clive completed the eastern ceremony by presenting to him, on a golden platter, a heap of gold rupees, and then all present prostrated themselves before Jaffier as their lawful sovereign. The next morning the new nabob paid a visit to the English commander and entered upon the delicate subject of the division of the spoils. Clive obtained an enormous sum in coin, plate, and jewels, and the promise of a sum equally large to be paid in three annual instalments. Two days after this conference the fugitive Surajah Dowlah was taken at Rajamahall, on the information of a poor dervise, whose ears he had cut off about a year before: he was brought back to Moorshedabad, and there, in a vile dungeon, he was murdered at night by Meerun, the son of Meer Jaffier.

M. Law, on receiving Surajah Dowlah's last summons, had commenced his march back to Moorshedabad; but, upon receiving intelligence of the battle of Plassey, he stopped short when within twenty miles of the place where the fugitive nabob was taken. If the Frenchman had continued his march for a single day he might have met and saved the nabob. Law soon got the news of the capture and death of the wretched man, upon which he retreated with all speed into

Bahar, intending to offer his services to Ramnarrain, the vice-nabob of the province, and a Hindoo. This movement excited alarm in the new government at Moorshedabad, and Clive readily agreed to send troops in pursuit of the dangerous Frenchman, Meer Jaffier being afraid to trust his own army. Coote was appointed to the command of this flying column, which consisted of 230 Europeans, 300 sepoys, fifty lascars, and two field-pieces. The baggage, stores, carriages, ammunition, and provisions were to be conveyed up the river in boats; but there was so much difficulty and delay, that the column could not begin its march till the 6th of July, when Law had got half way to Patna. The intrepid and indefatigable Coote, who was worthy of serving under Clive, led his small column into districts and through wide provinces which had never yet heard the ring of the English musket; but, although his progress was wonderfully rapid, considering the climate and the difficulties he had to encounter, he could not overtake the nimble Frenchman, who threw himself into Oude. Further pursuit was utterly hopeless, nor was it considered prudent to cross the frontier of the powerful ruler of Oude with so small a force. Exhausted by fatigue, and deprived of many of their materials of war by the sinking of some of the boats, Coote and his people returned. But the route had been traced to new connections and conquests, and it was pretty clearly demonstrated that the British flag would ere long be planted at Patna, Allahabad, and Benares.

On the 16th of August, Admiral Watson, who had very materially contributed to the success of the war in Bengal, died of a jungle fever.

For some time while Clive was changing nabobs and rooting out the French in Bengal, his countrymen on the Coromandel coast endeavoured to preserve a truce with the French at Pondicherry. The presidency of Madras, which had despatched most of the troops and ships to co-operate on the Hooghly, instructed Captain Calliaud, who remained with Mahomed Ali in Trichinopoly, not to engage in any warlike operations. But when they got intelligence of some of the successes obtained in Bengal, and perceived that the French in the Carnatic were receiving no reinforcement, they resolved to make an attempt upon Madura. Calliaud made an unsuccessful attack on the place, and before he could repeat the assault he was recalled to Trichinopoly by information that the French were showing themselves in that neighbourhood; this was on the 21st of May (1757). He instantly made up his mind to leave tents, baggage, and artillery behind him, and to flee to the relief of Trichinopoly, which was garrisoned by 150 European infantry, fifteen artillerymen, 700 sepoys, 600 men furnished by a Hindoo chief

of Tanjore, and about 400 worthless fellows belonging to Mahomed Ali. There were no fewer than 500 French prisoners within the walls, who had found means to maintain a correspondence with their countrymen outside, and who were prepared to rise upon the garrison. The besieging army, which had commenced operations several days before Captain Calliaud received the letter at Madura, consisted of 1000 Europeans, infantry and artillery, 150 European cavalry, and 3000 sepoys, supported by several field-pieces, all under the command of M. D'Auteuil. D'Auteuil threw shot and shell into the town during four successive days. It was expected that he would attempt a storm, but he remained quiet behind his batteries; and a day or two after, Calliaud, with admirable rapidity and skill, reached the vicinity, completely deceived the French, got between the besiegers and the besieged, and finally entered Trichinopoly in triumph. D'Auteuil raised the siege the same day and retreated to Pondicherry. After his retreat the war again languished in the Carnatic until the French, by an unexpected movement, took the important English factory of Vizagapatam. While the presidency of Madras were demanding money from Mahomed Ali by letters and messengers, Bajee Rao's Mahrattas burst into the country to exact at the sword's point tribute or black mail from the same poor potentate. The nabob bought them off for the present with 200,000 rupees; but this made him so much the less able to pay his debts to the English, whose treasury was almost empty. But worse followed; for Mahomed Ali, besides the 200,000 rupees in hand, had promised the Mahrattas 250,000 more *in futuro*; and he pretended that the English should furnish this sum out of the rents of the lands he had assigned to them for their services in establishing his authority. This demand was at first met by the presidency with anger, and a resolution to resist it. Morari Row, and the chiefs of some of the other Mahratta tribes, offered to assist the English; but their services would have cost as much as the sum in dispute, and their return into the country would have been a fresh scourge, and a new cause of impoverishment. "The English," says Orme, "had no alternative but to pay or fight." For fighting they had not men enough, and for paying they had not money enough; but the credit of the Company was known even in the camps of the wild Mahrattas, and when the English consented to pay, they agreed to take part of the amount in coin and part in bills.

In the month of September a hostile squadron of twelve ships that at first was mistaken for a British fleet with reinforcements, appeared off Fort St. David. This French force was commanded by M. Bouvet, who enjoyed the reputa-

tion of being one of the best naval officers of France; and it had on board twenty pieces of battering cannon, some mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls, the regiment of Lorraine, nearly 1000 strong, fifty artillerymen, and sixty volunteers; the troops being under the command of the Marquis de Soupires. The English from Fort St. David saw these ships repair to Pondicherry and there land the troops; this was on the 9th of September, and a day or two after the whole fleet disappeared. Bouvet apprehended that the junction of Watson with some English ships already on the coast would form a force superior to his own, and he determined to flee while there was yet time; but in so great a hurry was he, that he would not even wait to land the heavy artillery and the ammunition which he had brought, for the landing must have occupied some time, and then the taking in of ballast would have occupied more. Crowding all his canvas he bore away for the Mauritius or Bourbon—fleeing from Watson, who had been nearly a month in his winding-sheet, and whose fleet, under the command of Rear-admiral Pococke, was still in the Hooghly. On the very day on which Bouvet took his departure, Captain Calliaud took Madura by making a fresh expedition from Trichinopoly, and by carrying a military chest, well filled, with him. On the other side, however, the French, reinforced as they had been, were not inactive, or without triumphs and successes. Their dread of the arrival of Watson's fleet deterred them from attacking Fort St. David; and, as the Marquis de Soupires' orders forbade his engaging in any distant expedition, they could not try their fortunes again at Trichinopoly; they therefore confined their operations to the country between Pondicherry and the Palar river, where they took Clittapet, and two or three other inferior forts garrisoned by natives.

As soon as war had been declared in Europe the government of Louis XV. had commenced preparations for a formidable expedition to the East. It was not, however, until the 28th of April, 1758, that a squadron of twelve ships reached that coast. These ships were commanded by Count d'Aché, and they had on board a regiment of infantry nearly 1100 strong, a corps of artillerymen, and a number of officers of distinction, all under the command of Count Lally, a veteran officer of Irish extraction, who had been all his life in the service of France, and who had fought against the English at Fontenoy. So high did Lally stand at this time, that he had been appointed governor-general, with the most extraordinary powers, over all the French possessions and establishments in India. The court of Versailles confidently anticipated that this new force, being added to the troops under the Mar-

quis de Soupires, would be sufficient to clear the whole Coromandel coast of the English. Lally was to commence operations by the reduction of Fort St. David. He dropped into Pondicherry with two of the ships, and D'Aché repaired at once to Fort St. David, where two English frigates, the only ships on the station, were run ashore and wrecked to prevent their being captured. But, on the very next day, Admiral Pococke, who had brought Watson's squadron round to Ceylon, stood into the road and brought D'Aché to action. The English squadron was inferior in number; some of the ships were scarcely fit for service. Nevertheless Pococke inflicted a very severe blow on the French, who lost 500 men in killed and wounded, and one ship. Pococke's ships, however, had suffered greatly in their spars and rigging; and, in the various manœuvres which followed the battle, they drifted to leeward. Before the sea-fight began, some of the French troops from Pondicherry, hurried on by the impetuous Lally, without baggage, or even provisions, got to the rear of Fort St. David and drove in some English outposts. On the following day, the 30th of April, the Marquis de Soupires joined them with more troops, some heavy cannon found in Pondicherry, and a convoy of provisions.

On the 1st of May, Lally arrived in person, and the siege of Fort St. David was commenced. That place was defended by a garrison of 619 Europeans, and 1600 natives, sepoys, lascars, and topasses; but Major Polier, who held the command, was wretchedly deficient both in military judgment and in spirit. Admiral Pococke was kept at a distance by contrary winds; and on the 2d of June the fort surrendered. Lally next obtained possession of Devicotta, a weak garrison of thirty English and 600 sepoys abandoning that place at the approach of the French. After these successes Lally returned to Pondicherry in triumph, and celebrated a *Te Deum*. But he had scarcely done praising the Lord ere he began quarrelling with the gentlemen of the council, on account of the emptiness of the treasury, which seriously impeded his future operations. He thus early prepared in India a strife and a hatred which, in the end, brought him to a lamentable death; and he continued to accuse powerful and resentful men of having appropriated the public money to their own use. By the strength of their credit, or the reliance on their good commercial faith, the English had often been enabled to raise money among the native bankers; but it was not so with the French, nor did Lally pursue a line of conduct proper to create credit. He made an incursion into Tanjore. The march was long, and the disposition of the country-people everywhere unfavourable, for the treatment he had given the natives during the siege of Fort

St. David had revolted their prejudices. No bullock-men or market people would follow him except by compulsion, and every act of compulsion tended to spread and increase the ill-will against him. His want of money and almost total want of provisions, even at the beginning of the march, induced him to rob and plunder; and the French soldiery, when once they got accustomed to these operations, considered everything as their own that they could seize or extort at the point of the sword. A regiment of hussars was constantly employed in cattle-lifting, and the unfortunate natives saw their cows and their oxen driven into the French camp, where no price was ever paid, or even promised. The effect of this, however, was slight and trivial, compared to the excitement produced by the outrages the French offered to the women and to the Brahmins. All who had money fled at Lally's approach, and carried their property with them. He could do nothing but plunder the poor, and destroy houses and pagodas, and at Kivalore he put six Brahmins to death by blowing them from the mouths of his field-pieces. On the 18th of July he halted near to the walls of the city of Tanjore, and began to throw shot and shell at the principal buildings. In the meantime English assistance had been called for, and 600 sepoys were on their march from Trichinopoly to Tanjore. After five days' firing a breach was made in the walls; but by this time Lally had burned nearly all his gunpowder, and notwithstanding all his cattle-lifting, he had not provisions for more than two days. On the 8th of August his uneasiness was increased by intelligence that another engagement had taken place between the French and English squadrons. Early the next morning the English sepoys entered Tanjore, and made a destructive sortie. Lally, who narrowly escaped being slain, spiked his heavy guns, threw the shot into wells, destroyed most of his baggage, and then, in the darkness of night, began a disastrous retreat from Tanjore. On his road he was informed that M. d'Aché was determined to sail away for the Mauritius, without seeking any further action with Pococke. The engagement between the hostile squadrons, reported to Lally while at Tanjore, had been a closer and hotter affair than the former encounter, and D'Aché at the end of it had run before the wind and escaped, though with two or three of his ships much shattered in their hulls. No prayers, no reproaches, no threats could induce the French admiral to remain any longer on the coast; and, on the 2d of September, he took his departure.

To procure money for the siege of Madras, which he had determined to undertake, Lally now made predatory but very useless excursions to Arcot, where he could find nothing worth the

taking. He returned to Pondicherry, to blame everybody and everything except his own folly and presumption. On his first arrival in the country he had resolved to be sole hero in India; and as soon as he had reduced Fort St. David he recalled M. Bussy from the Deccan, speaking contemptuously of the character and exploits of that truly remarkable man. Lally was a loud and bold talker, he made no secret of his sentiments, and Bussy would have been no Frenchman if he had not resented with vivacity these various attacks on his fame. Ill assorted and ill agreed, with rancorous feelings on both sides, they were to proceed together to capture Madras and root out the English power on the Comandel coast, even as Clive had rooted out the French in Bengal. By contributing 60,000 rupees

of his own, and setting a subscription on foot among the gentlemen of the council of Pondicherry—all very poorly provided with cash or averse to giving or lending—Lally raised 94,000 rupees; and with this insignificant treasure, and an army of 2700 Europeans and 4000 native troops, sepoys and others, he repaired to Madras, where he arrived on the 12th of December, without money and almost without food for the troops. Major Lawrence, Clive's old superior, and Mr. Pigott, held command within the walls of Madras, where the total of the force collected was 1758 Europeans, 2220 sepoys, and 200 of Mahomed Ali's cavalry—these last being scarcely worth their rations. On the 14th of December the French took possession of the Black Town, which was open and defenceless; and there the soldiers,



FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS, 1754.—From a print by Van Ryne, Royal Library, British Museum.

breaking open some arrack stores, got drunk and mad, and committed great disorders. Batteries were erected, and a siege was begun in form. But Lally's condition was rendered desperate by the return of Admiral Pococke to the coast, and by the entrance into the harbour of Madras of two frigates and six of the Company's ships, having on board 600 king's troops fresh from England. This was on the 16th of February, 1759, when Lally had been two months and four days under the walls of Madras. Again pouring out invectives and blaming everybody but himself, Lally on the night of the 17th decamped assilently as he could with his army in a mutinous state.

On the 6th of March, Major Lawrence, with 1156 Europeans, 1570 sepoys, 1120 Colliers, 1956 horse, and ten field-pieces, of which two were twelve-pounders, commenced his march to Conjeveram, where Lally had concentrated his forces, but where he was looking in vain for some small detachments which he had intrusted to the rebellious brother of Mahomed Ali—for they had all been murdered by the ally whom they had been sent to assist, and who was now anxious to renew his friendship with the English and his

allegiance to his brother, seeing that the star of Lally's fortune was becoming but a glimmering and uncertain light. For twenty-two days the French and English armies lay encamped in sight of each other. After this inactivity the English struck off for Wandiwash, entered that town, and began to break ground against the fort. The French hurried to defend the place; and the English, giving them the slip, hastened back and took the more important fort of Conjeveram. On the 28th of May both Lawrence and Lally put their armies into cantonments.

Towards the end of June, three of the Company's ships reached Madras with 100 recruits, and the welcome intelligence that the enterprising Coote, now a lieutenant-colonel, might be shortly expected on the coast with 1000 of the king's troops. At the end of July the first division of the promised troops arrived at Negapatam. On the 20th of August, Admiral Pococke bore away for Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, where, to his astonishment, he discovered his old adversary M. d'Aché with eleven ships of the line and three frigates.

The English squadron consisted of nine ships

of the line, one frigate, two of the Company's ships, and a fire-ship; their entire number of guns being 174 less than that of the French. Pococke determined on an immediate action, but the currents, the wind, and the weather prevented the close meeting of the fleets till the 10th of September, when, after a sharp action of two hours' duration, the careful Frenchman once more retired before the flag of Pococke. From the usual difference in their modes of firing, the English suffered most in their rigging, and the French lost the greater number of men. D'Aché, having all his topmasts standing, got safe to Pondicherry—which was his object—several days before Pococke could reach Negapatam. The arrival of the squadron saved the French council from absolute despair: it brought to them only 180 men, but it brought what was more needed than soldiers, it poured into the empty coffers at Pondicherry, specie to the amount of about £16,000 sterling, and a quantity of diamonds valued at £17,000, which had been taken in an English East Indiaman. But D'Aché had scarcely landed these precious commodities, when he again intimated he must leave the coast immediately and return to the Mauritius; his orders being peremptory to take care of his ships, whose loss France could ill afford at this crisis of a losing war in Europe, in Canada, and nearly everywhere else. But the French on shore represented that Pondicherry must be lost, that everything they had obtained on the coast of Coromandel must be sacrificed to the English fleet and army, if the ships were withdrawn; all the inhabitants of Pondicherry, civil and military, assembled in council and signed a vehement protest; but neither this nor anything else could prevail upon D'Aché to alter or delay his departure. He was, however, induced to land and leave behind him 400 Caffres who had been serving in his fleet, and 500 Europeans, partly marines and partly sailors.

Before the arrival of the dollars and diamonds, the French army in cantonments were reduced to an extremity of distress, and even Lally's own regiment had mutinied for want of pay. The English, who had surprised and taken the fort of Coverypauk in July, were encouraged, by the disorganized state of the enemy, to make an attack upon Wandiwash; and on the 26th of September their whole army, under the command of Colonel Brereton, marched from Conjeveram for this purpose. Their approach, however, restored the French to some discipline and spirit; they gathered within and around the menaced fort, and an assault was repelled with the loss of 200 of the English. But in other directions the French lost ground almost daily; they were in rags and half starved, and Lally's only remaining hope was, that the money received at Pondicherry was

more than was reported, and that he and his troops might obtain the greater part of it. Nor were quarrels and cabals in his own camp and quarters the only bitter fruit which Lally gathered by recalling Bussy from the Deccan. The English took advantage of the absence of that prevailing man to commence negotiations with several native chiefs in the Deccan, and even with Salabut Jung himself; and Clive from Bengal had detached Colonel Forde to the Northern Circars, those valuable provinces which had been ceded to Bussy. Forde, with 500 British troops, 2100 native troops, six field-pieces, twenty-four six-pounders for battery, a howitzer, and an eight-inch mortar, proceeded by sea to Vizagapatam. There he landed and joined the army of Anunderauz, who had engaged to co-operate against the French in the hope that the English would secure him in sundry territorial claims, and eventually make him sovereign of the Deccan. Before starting together a treaty was made between the English colonel and the Indian rajah; and it was finally agreed on the part of the rajah that he should supply 50,000 rupees per month for the expenses of the English army.

Forde and the rajah then advanced to Peddapoor, and there encountered M. Conflans, who had been left by Bussy in command of a French force, strong enough to have kept in awe the unwarlike Hindoos, but too weak to stand against the English force now unexpectedly brought against them. The French were thoroughly defeated by the English and sepoys alone. Conflans had had the forethought to send off the military treasure on two camels, but the spoils of the field were very considerable: thirty pieces of cannon, most of which were brass; fifty tumbrils and other carriages laden with ammunition; seven mortars from 8 to 13 inches, with a large provision of shells; 1000 draught bullocks, and all the tents of the French battalion. When the rout of the French began, Forde, thinking that they might then have some heart and be of some use, called up Anunderauz's horse; but he might as well have called spirits from the vasty deep, for these black cavaliers, and all their infantry as well, with the rajah in the midst of them, had conveniently found a deep but dry tank, where they had remained cowering during the whole of the action, and from which they refused to move so long as there were cannon-balls and bullets flying about.¹ And, unfortunately, Anunderauz would no more pay than fight; so that for several weeks Forde, who had spent all the money he had brought with him, was reduced to a standstill. The French, however, still worse off, kept retreating; Rajahmundry was abandoned, and Conflans sought refuge in Masulipatam, urging

¹ *Opine.*

Salabut Jung to send him some assistance. Salabut Jung responded to these appeals by putting an army in motion, and by collecting other troops at Golconda and Hyderabad. After a mischievous delay Colonel Forde obtained a little money from the rajah, and marching through Ellore, where several native chiefs joined him, he arrived on the 6th March, 1759, in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, Conflans' abiding-place, and the most important and strongest place the French had on that coast. The troops within were more numerous than the besiegers; yet Colonel Forde, by making an assault on three points at the same moment, induced Conflans to surrender, and after a siege of only twelve days Masulipatam remained to the English.

The victorious flag had not been hoisted a week over the walls, when two French ships with a reinforcement of 300 men appeared in the offing. They went back; but the army of the soubahdar, which had been marching to the relief of Conflans, halted where it was, and soon received in their camp the English commander, not as an enemy, but as a friend and ally. Salabut Jung, seeing that the English were everywhere victorious, and considering that their protection and assistance would be as valuable as that of the French had been, readily entered into a new treaty, by which he ceded a considerable territory about Masulipatam to the English, bound himself not to permit for the future any French settlement in his dominions, and to oblige the French army of observation collected at Rajahmundry, to evacuate the country and cross the Kistna within fifteen days; the English on their part agreeing to support him against his enemies in general, and his rebellious brother Nizam Ali in particular. As Forde prepared to march against them, the French broke up from Rajahmundry, crossed the Kistna, and marched to the westward, the soubahdar's elder brother having promised that he would take them into his pay in a short time.

The English factories which had been swept away by the successes of Bussy were immediately re-established, and Forde with his little army remained at Masulipatam till he should receive further orders from the presidency of Bengal, or rather from Clive, who originated and directed every great measure, taking, in all cases of indecision and doubt, the responsibility upon himself, and not unfrequently treating the council with contempt. For many months he had acted as if he had been governor-general of Bengal or of all India, though his real place was on the Coromandel coast, and his rank merely that of governor of Fort St. David. The directors at home, after the catastrophe at Calcutta and the misconduct of Mr. Drake, had appointed a very absurd sort of government by rotation, but the

members of this government themselves made Clive their president; and immediately after, learning the particulars of his victory at Plassey, the court of directors sent out his appointment to be governor of Bengal.¹

Meer Jaffier very soon required the assistance of those who had made him nabob. Many native chiefs rebelled against him, and, far and near, he was almost surrounded by enemies, all eager for his throne, or for a slice out of his rich territories. Mahomed Cooly Khan, the lord of Allahabad, the rajahs Sunder Sing and Bulwant Sing, and, most powerful of all, his neighbour Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, were united—as far as such beings could unite in one object—against Meer Jaffier; and their cause received the high sanction of the name and afterwards the assistance of the Mogul of Delhi's eldest son, the Shah Zada, who had established himself in Rohileund, and had, at the time, a considerable army of Rohillas, half soldiers and half robbers by profession, but a hardier and a braver race than any in the lower parts of Hindoostan. In a short time the Shah Zada descended from Rohileund with an army of 40,000 men, Rohillas, Maharrattas, Jauts, and Afghans; and other forces were expected to join him on his advance. The successor of Snrajah Dowlah thought he had no help or hope except in Clive, and he showered letters and messages upon him, and constantly besieged with prayers and agents the new English resident at Moorshedabad—MR. WARREN HASTINGS—who had arrived in India as a young writer in the year 1750, as poor and as friendless as Clive, who, if not the first to discover his abilities and energy of character, appears to have been the first that gave him any important promotion. Warren Hastings had a near view of the imbecility and confusion of the nabob's court and government—a confusion worse confounded by the intrigues and vices of the nabob's son Meerun—and he wrote nearly every day to his patron Clive that all classes confided in him, and in him alone; that without his intervention the whole fabric of government would fall to pieces by intestine broils, and Orissa and Bahar be severed from Bengal even before the arrival of the invaders from Rohileund. Weakened by the force detached to the Circars under Forde, and by other detachments sent to Madras, Clive at this moment could only count in Bengal about 300 British infantry, 100 artillery, and 2500 disciplined sepoys. Yet with this force he not only resolved to meet the mighty confederacy which threatened Meer Jaffier, but he also sent orders to Forde to continue his conquests, and then to proceed not to Bengal, to join and assist him, but, if needed, to Madras, there to finish

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Life of Clive*.

the Indian story of Count Lally. Clive began his march on the 25th of February, and arrived in a few days at Moorshedabad. On the 13th of March, he left Moorshedabad to advance upon Patna. Just before starting he wrote a letter to the secret committee, telling them that the enemy from the north had reached the river which divides Oude from Bahar, and were expected soon to beat Patna, the capital of the latter province; but he added, in a tone of perfect confidence, that with his 400 English and 2500 sepoys he would soon give a good account of the Shah Zada, although his army was estimated to be 50,000 strong. At this moment he did not know whether M. Law and his fugitive band had joined the invaders or not. On arriving at Shahabad, Clive received intelligence that Ramnarain, the governor of Patna, had abandoned his post and gone over to the shah. Upon this he wrote to Meer Jaffier, telling him to give over the sports and pastimes of the Hooley—the carnival of the Indians—in which the nabob was then busily engaged at Moorshedabad, and hasten to the field if he desired to preserve his country. To Ramnarain, whom he had served on many occasions, and whom he had preserved from the treachery and rapacity of Meer Jaffier and Meerun, he wrote at the same moment—"I have neither eyes to see nor ears to hear the letter I have now received from Mr. Amyatt; nor could I aught but the great confidence I have in him induce me to give credit to its contents. Have you no sense of the obligations you are under to me for all the cares and pains I have taken for you? If you had not courage equal to the occasion, yet what could have induced you to act so imprudent a part? What power has the Shah Zada to resist the united forces of the nabob and the English? Think then what will be your fate." The fact, however, proved to be that Ramnarain had not run away to the enemy, but was only thinking of doing so; and when he received this letter, after some few words on the insufficiency of the means of defence, he declared that he would defend Patna, and prove true to the nabob. In effect, encouraged by the rapid marches of the English, that Hindoo did prove true and steady, and the next news Clive received of him was, that he had repelled two assaults made upon the place. However, not to trust too much to Hindoo valour, Clive hurried forward a detachment of his own sepoys under the command of Ensign Mathews to assist in the defence. But the dread of Clive's name alone was sufficient to disperse the invading army; and on the 5th of April, the day before Mathews could reach Patna, the Shah Zada, though he had possessed himself of some of the bastions, raised the siege, and began to retreat in the greatest disorder. M. Law with his

small party joined the prince on the day of this retreat, but could not prevail upon him to halt and make another attack. The "Daring in War," the "Protector of the Great," entered Patna without any parade of triumph; but there were few that saw him there but felt he was in reality the lord of all that part of India. Meanwhile the Shah Zada, continuing his precipitate retreat, had crossed the river Caramnassa into Oude. The Nabob of Oude, who had prepared to join him if he had been successful, now, with true Indian faith, declared himself the enemy of the fugitive prince, who, deserted by the troops and abandoned by his followers, knew not whom to trust or whither to flee. Considering that Clive had more power and more generosity than any one else to whom he could address himself, he wrote an humble and imploring letter to him, and forwarded it by an officer who enjoyed his confidence. Notwithstanding the decided answer he got, the fugitive prince, in the extremity of his distress, sent several more letters or messages to Clive, who resolutely persisted in his first determination; but, out of compassion, sent his unhappy correspondent a present of 500 gold mohurs, or about £1000 sterling, to enable him to escape to some safer country. The Shah Zada took this last hint, continued his flight, and was reported to be going to take refuge in the Ghazipoor country. Clive then directed his arms against some Rajpoot and hill chiefs of Bahar, who had invited and assisted the Shah Zada; and having reduced them to submission rather by policy than by fighting, having tranquillized the whole country by processes which seemed as rapid as magic, and having left a small force in Patna to aid Ramnarain, he returned quietly to Moorshedabad, and thence to Calcutta.¹

Great were the services he had rendered to his ally Meer Jaffier, and, if not to that poor phantom the Great Mogul, to the grand vizier who reigned in his name, and whose firmans were considered by the natives as the voice and will of the descendant of Aurungzebe. The vizier, as one mark of favour, informed Clive that the English might establish a factory at Delhi, the royal city; and he assured the "Daring in War" that the Mogul would show him the greatest favour, and that his honours should be increased. Meer Jaffier, who owed everything to him, gave more substantial and personal proofs of his gratitude, conferring on Clive, for life, as a jaghire, or estate, the quit-rent which the Company was bound to pay to the nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, which quit-rent

¹ *Orme*; Sir John Malcolm, *Life of Clive*. Sir John proves, by documents and incontrovertible facts, that a very considerable portion of Mr. Mill's account of Clive's proceedings at this critical moment in Bahar is seriously incorrect.

was reputed to be worth thirty lacs of rupees, or about £30,000 sterling, per annum. Mr. Warren Hastings had the satisfaction of drawing up, at the nabob's request, the form of the letter to be written to the council at Calcutta, to acquaint them with this splendid donation to his patron. But the gratitude of Meer Jaffier was not of a very enduring or steady kind. The nabob was made to feel every day that the power and consideration of the Englishman were far greater than his own; and that he, who had put him on a throne and defended him upon it, could at any time overthrow him, or abandon him to the tender mercies of his enemies. He looked round for some other support, and for some alliance with strength enough to curb the authority of Clive and impose on his own discontented chiefs, whose animosities, though secret, were sharp, and every day increasing through the rash violence of his son Meerun, and his own insincerity and broken agreements. No native prince could furnish a force that would look the little English army in the face. As for the French power, broken by Colonel Forde in the Circars and the Deccan, and fast breaking in the Carnatic by the folly of Lally and the bravery and skill of Major Coote, it was utterly annihilated in Bengal. The old might and fame of the Portuguese was now only a tradition, nor could it be said that the Dutch on the Indian continent possessed much more power than the Portuguese. Yet, in his impatience of the English supremacy, and in his total ignorance of the decline of the Dutch government in Europe, Meer Jaffier looked to this people for assistance; and though they had been slow in acknowledging his authority, and had been guilty of several slights very offensive to his pride, he opened secret communications with the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, which had witnessed with jealousy and dread the British conquest of Chandernagore in its near neighbourhood. The places were only two miles distant from each other, and the near sight of the English flag was worse than a nightmare to the Dutch factory, who now wrote the most urgent letters to the governor of Batavia exhorting him to fit out an expedition for the Hooghly, in order to balance the English power in Bengal. There was at the moment no war in Europe between Holland and England; but the governors and factors of the various European nations in India seem to have been wont, whenever it suited their purposes, to adopt and act upon the principle of the old buccaneers in America—that European treaties did not extend to the regions in which they were living, and that there was no peace beyond the equinoctial line. The authorities of Batavia were as eager to send an expedition as was the factory at Chinsurah to request it; and

in a short time accounts were received at Calcutta that the Dutch were preparing a strong armament. The nabob played his part well. When Clive sent notice to him of the Batavia armament, he pretended to be greatly alarmed, and expressed his hope that the English, in virtue of the treaty subsisting, would join their forces to his to oppose and prevent the invasion of his dominions. He also sent Clive the copy of a strong letter he had addressed to the Dutch factory. Early in the month of August a Dutch ship arrived in the Hooghly with European troops on board. Clive reported this arrival to Meer Jaffier, who, after betraying some confusion, sent a second letter to the Dutch factory, and ordered his troops at the town of Hooghly to join the English and prevent any Dutch ships or troops from ascending the river. The Dutch solemnly protested that the ship which had arrived in the lower part of the river had been driven in by stress of weather, and that she and the troops on board would depart in peace as soon as they had obtained water and provisions. The vessel, however, continued to lie where she was, and attempts were made to send soldiers up to Chinsurah by concealing them in the bottom of native boats; but Clive issued his mandate that every Dutch or native boat should be stopped and searched. The gentlemen at Chinsurah remonstrated and protested against these proceedings on the part of a friendly power; but Clive continued to stop their soldiers and to send them back to their ship, telling the gentlemen of the factory that he was in Bengal in a double capacity; that as an English officer, while England was engaged in a war with France, he was justified by the laws of nations in searching all vessels whatever, not knowing but that they might introduce French troops into the country; and that as an auxiliary to the Great Mogul, he was under the necessity, by a solemn treaty, to oppose the introduction of any European or foreign troops whatsoever into Bengal. Early in October Meer Jaffier arrived in person at Calcutta, as if merely intending to honour Clive with a visit. A day or two after advices came from below of the arrival of six more Dutch ships of a large size, and crammed with troops, partly Europeans and partly Malays, from Batavia and other Dutch settlements in the islands. "Now," says Clive, or a pen that wrote for him, "the Dutch mask fell off, and the nabob (conscious of his having given his assent to their coming, and at the same time of our attachment and his own unfaithful dealings with us) was greatly confused and disconcerted. He, however, seemed to make light of it; told the governor (Clive) he was going to reside three or four days at his fort of Hooghly, where he would chastise the insolence of the Dutch, and drive them soon out of the river again.

On the 19th of October he left Calcutta; and, in place of his going to his fort at Hooghly, he took up his residence at Cojah Wazeed's garden, about half-way between that and Chinsurah;¹ a plain indication that he had no apprehensions from the Dutch, whom he received there in the most gracious manner he could, more like friends and allies than as enemies to him and his country."² In three or four days Clive received a letter from the nabob, informing him that he had thought proper to grant some indulgence to the Dutch in their trade, and that the Dutch on their part had engaged to leave the river with their ships and troops as soon as the season would permit. But this reference to the seasons was unfortunate, inasmuch as, at the time of his writing, the season permitted their departure with the greatest safety. Clive, from the tenor of the letter and the whole course of the nabob's conduct, felt assured that the Dutch had no intention to quit the river, and that Meer Jaffier had given his permission to them to bring up their troops if they could. A very few days later, intelligence was received that the Dutch armament was actually moving up the river towards Calcutta, and that the Dutch agents were enlisting troops of every denomination at Chinsurah, Cossimbazar, and even as far up the country as Patna, and this plainly with the connivance of Meer Jaffier, and the more open assistance of his son Meerun. Clive saw that the junction of the armament from below and the troops from above, with the force already collected within the walls of Chinsurah, would be followed by the declaration of the nabob in favour of the Dutch, and an immediate movement upon the English settlements. His force in Europeans was, at the moment, actually inferior in number to that of the Dutch on board the seven ships alone, without counting those in garrison at Chinsurah; for the force from Batavia, now accurately reported, consisted of 700 Europeans and 800 Malays—the latter a far braver race of men than the natives of Bengal.

There was no time to be lost—this was no season for indulging in subtleties and nice distinctions, or for turning over the pages of Grotius and Puffendorf—and Clive resolved to proceed at once against the Dutch as if they were open instead of secret enemies. At the critical moment some of the council were startled by the notion of infringing the treaties of peace existing

between the United Provinces and Great Britain, and of commencing a war on their own responsibility. But Clive said that "a public man may sometimes be called upon to act with a halter round his neck." His private interests must have been in conflict with his public duty, for he had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe through the Dutch East India Company, who might have kept the money in the banks of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, both in revenge and in compensation. These considerations might have induced another man to avoid extremities, but they appear to have had no weight whatever with the "Daring in War," who was equally daring in policy. It was not known whether the Dutch would come up the river and pass the English batteries with their ships and troops on board, or whether they would land the troops below the batteries, and march them thence by land; but Clive made the necessary dispositions against both these plans of operation, as far as comported with the smallness of his disposable force, consisting only of about 320 English, 1200 sepoys, and three of the Company's ships, which were all that were then in the river. Just at this juncture Colonel Forde returned to Calcutta from his career of conquests in the Northern Circars and the Deccan: he had quitted his command on account of ill health and disgust at the conduct of the directors, who had not confirmed his appointment, and with the intention of returning to England by the first opportunity; but, at the invitation of his friend and patron Clive, he readily agreed to take the command of part of the forces. On the 19th of November Forde moved from Calcutta to the northward, took the Dutch settlement at Barnagore, on the left bank of the Hooghly, crossed the river the next day with his troops and four pieces of artillery, and marched towards Chandernagore, to strike terror into the factory of Chinsurah, and to be ready to intercept the Dutch troops in case they should land. The rest of his troops, and the best and largest proportion, with many volunteers drafted from the militia, and part of an independent company mounted as cavalry, Clive sent down to the forts on the river under the command of Captain Knox. Mr. Holwell, who had survived the Black Hole and the subsequent barbarity of Surajah Dowlah, took charge of Fort William with the militia, consisting of about 250 English and a few Portuguese. Clive remained at Calcutta, but went and came, dividing his attention and presence between the two divisions of his army under Forde and Knox. It was noticeable that men who had been absolute cowards under Governor Drake, and the other imbeciles that presided over the defence of Calcutta at the time of Surajah Dowlah's siege, were now brave, alert, and

¹ This Cojah or Khodja Wazeed, who was distinguished by the title of the "Glory of Merchants," was a person of great wealth and importance—a sort of second Omichund, who had lived a life of intrigue, serving and betraying all parties in turns. He had been an agent for the French, an agent for the English, but was latterly become an agent for the Dutch, and the secret medium by which they communicated with the nabob, and the nabob with them.

² Account from a MS., entitled, *A Narrative of the Disputes of the Dutch in Bengal*.

confident. The three English East Indiamen which had arrived after the Dutch were lying in the lower part of the river, between that squadron and the sea; but, as the Dutch ships now began to ascend the river, these Indiamen were ordered to pass them and station themselves above the English batteries at Charnock and Tanna, where fire-boats had been prepared to assist in destroying them. The Dutch commodore, on seeing the three Indiamen coming up, sent to tell Commodore Wilson that if he attempted to pass him he would fire upon him. On the 21st of November the Dutch cast anchor within range of the English cannon on the batteries; on the 23d they landed on the Chinsurah side of the river their army of 1500 men, and then dropped down with their ships to a place called "Melancholy Point"—for them appropriately so named—where the three English ships were lying ready for action. The moment the Dutch troops were landed Clive sent Captain Knox across the river to reinforce Colonel Forde, and ordered Commodore Wilson to demand immediate restitution of our vessels, subjects, and property; and, on their refusal, to fight, sink, burn and destroy the Dutch squadron. The next day (the 24th) the demand was made and refused. The Dutch had seven ships, four of them being called "capital ships;" the English had only three, and they appear to have derived no assistance whatever either from the land batteries, which were too far off, or from the fire-boats. Nevertheless, Commodore Wilson, who began the attack, ended it in two hours with the total defeat of the enemy. Apparently alarmed and stupified by the loss of their squadron, the Dutch and their Malays halted and wavered on their march to Chinsurah; and on the 25th, the day after the fight on the river, they blundered upon a wretched position, from which retreat was difficult and a further advance impracticable. Forde, with the quick eye of a soldier, saw their blunder—saw that he had them upon the hip; but there came over him a doubt and a misgiving; and, hesitating to attack the troops of an European nation not in a state of declared war, he sent a hasty messenger across the river with a note to Clive, saying "that if he had the order of council, he could attack the Dutch, with a fair prospect of destroying them." Clive, who was playing a quiet game at cards when the note reached him, took out his pencil, and, without quitting the table, wrote on the back of it—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of council to-morrow."¹ Accordingly, Forde fought the Dutch; and the engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. It took place in the valley of Bedarra, about four miles from Chinsurah, part of the garrison of

which place had contrived to join the Dutch, who were badly commanded by one Roussel, a French soldier of fortune, and who were put to a total rout in less than half an hour. The fugitives left on the field 120 Europeans and 200 Malays in killed; about 150, including M. Roussel and fourteen other officers, were wounded, and about 350 Dutch and 200 Malays were taken prisoners. The total loss of the English was inconsiderable. From the field of his easy victory Forde marched to Chinsurah, and, sitting down before that place, which he could have taken by a *coup de main*, he wrote to Calcutta for further orders. But the Dutch factory, in abject submission, implored for a cessation of hostilities. Deputies were appointed on both sides; the Dutch disavowed the proceedings of their squadron, humbly acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages; and upon these conditions an amicable settlement was arranged, and their captured ships were all restored to them. Three days after the battle of Bedarra the nabob's son Meerun, whom Clive seldom mentioned without the affix of "scoundrel," encamped within two miles of Chinsurah with about 6000 or 7000 horse. If the Dutch had proved victorious, he would have joined them in plundering and destroying the English; but, now that the English had obtained a complete triumph, he hoped to be allowed to share with them in the spoils of the Dutch. The terrified factory instantly applied to Governor Clive, entreating him to interpose, and not abandon them to the violence of the Mussulmans. Clive, losing no time, crossed the river to tell the young nabob what he might and what he might not do, and to save the Dutch factory from the chances of a Black Hole, or some other atrocity. Under his dictation Meerun agreed to a treaty, and then withdrew.

The few remaining months of Clive's present stay in India were devoted to various arrangements and precautions for securing the tranquillity of the country, and maintaining the always tottering authority of the pusillanimous nabob. When his intended departure was announced it filled Warren Hastings, and every one else interested in the continuance of peace, with doubt and alarm; for by all these men Clive was considered as the only Atlas that could prop up the ponderous machine. But Clive, on the other hand, had great objects in view. He knew that a peace with France was in contemplation, and he earnestly wished to arrive before such peace should be concluded, lest our negotiators, through a want of local and other knowledge, should surrender by treaty advantages and prospects which had been obtained by arms. He had previously announced his intention and wishes to the first great Pitt, then one of the principal secretaries

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Life*.

of state, and one of the warmest of his admirers, who, improving, as orators do, upon Major Lawrence's plain dictum that Clive was born a soldier, had called him in the British House of Commons "a heaven-born general—a man who, bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia." To excite what seldom required exciting—the warlike spirit and imagination of the great orator, he laid before him in this letter the immense advantages and the gorgeous empire which might be obtained in the East if the English government would only send out a thousand or two of their best troops; he remitted an exact account of the revenues of Bengal, genuine and to be depended upon, as he had got it faithfully extracted from the books of the nabob's minister;

and, as the English people were prematurely complaining of the amount of the national debt, he hinted that that burden might be got rid of by means of Indian rupees. Having prepared his way in this and in other quarters, having called that most able officer Major Calliaud from the Carnatic to Bengal, and having paid a farewell visit to Meer Jaffier at Moorsshedabad, Clive sailed from India on the 25th day of February, 1760. He had provided for the future to the extent of his means, information, or foresight; and he left brave and experienced men, trained by himself, behind him. Clive's prediction as to the result of the war in the Carnatic was justified by the fact, and by the fall of Pondicherry to English arms, an event which took place within a year after his departure.

CHAPTER XIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1759—1769.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—GEORGE II. TO GEORGE III.

Colonel Coote's successes in India—His victory over Lally at Wandiwash—He captures Arcot—Capture of French settlements—Lally forms an alliance with Hyder Ali—The English troops reinforced—Pondicherry taken by the English—Clive's return to England—He is created Baron Clive of Plassey—Hostility of the Butc administration against him—Complication of Indian affairs—Clive appointed governor of Bengal—He returns to India—Shah Alum usurps the throne of the Great Mogul—He is defeated by Colonel Calliaud—He unsuccessfully attacks Patna—Difficulties of Meer Jaffier, the ally of the English—The English depose him—They set up Meer Cossim in his stead—Shah Alum defeated by Major Carnac—The English abandon their ally, Ramnarrain, to Meer Cossim—Meer Cossim turns against the English—He captures Patna—The English restore Meer Jaffier to his government—Meer Cossim's troops routed—His signal defeat at Gheriah—His cruelty to his English prisoners—He flees to Oude—Meer Cossim and his allies routed by Major Carnac at Patna—Major Monro defeats them near Sone—Negotiations of the Nabob of Oude with the English—He is defeated by General Carnac near Kurrah—He submits to the English—Increase of territory and resources to the East India Company—Clive restores order—He leaves India for the last time—War renewed in the Carnatic by Hyder Ali—His character, and the growth of his dominions—The English form a confederacy against him—The Nizam of the Deccan forsakes the confederacy and joins Hyder Ali—They compel Colonel Smith to retreat—The territories of the English wasted—Hyder Ali defeated by Colonel Smith—The English under Smith carry the war into the Mysore—The campaign planned by the civilians of the presidency—Blunders of the campaign—Its failure—Hyder's successes—His treaty with the English—The Mysore invaded by the Mahrattas—Hyder applies to the English for aid—He makes peace with the Mahrattas.



WHILE the French army was cantoned in the country round about Wandiwash, and Lally and Bussy quarrelling more violently than before, Colonel Coote with the last division of his regiment arrived on the coast, and, on the 21st of November (1759), proceeded to Conjeveram, where the rest of the English troops were cantoned. As rapid as Clive, Coote fell upon the fort of Wandiwash, carried it by storm on the 29th, marched to Carangoly, and took that place also by the 10th of December. Having obtained the services of a considerable body of Mahratta horse, Lally, by some artful movements, surprised

and took Conjeveram; but he was disappointed in his expectation of finding there magazines and provisions for his half-famishing people. He next attempted to recover the fortress of Wandiwash, where the breaches they had made were still open, and where the English had hardly any artillery. But while he or his engineer officers were formalizing as to the proper construction of the battery of assault, Coote reached the spot and compelled the French to retreat. Lally's pride, however, forbade his retreating far, and he drew up in order of battle near the walls of Wandiwash. He had with him 2250 Europeans and 1300 sepoys; but as for his Mahratta allies, they kept aloof. Coote had only 1900 Europeans,

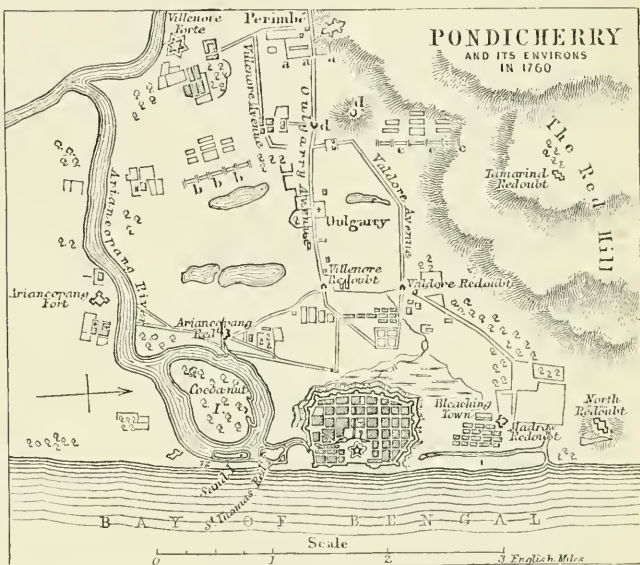
but he had 2100 sepoys, 1250 black cavalry, and twenty-six field-pieces.¹

The French were more thoroughly defeated than ever they had been up to this time. Bussy, who gallantly put himself at the head of a regiment to try a bayonet charge, was abandoned by his men and taken prisoner. Lally escaped, protected by a small body of French cavalry. He collected his shattered army and retreated to the strong hill-fortress of Gingee. Instead of following him, Coote resolved to strike across the country to recover Arcot, where Lally, some short time before, and with much theatric pomp, had proclaimed the son of Chunda Sahib Nabob or Soubahdar of the Carnatic; and the very day after the battle of Wandiwash, which was fought on the 22d of December, he hurried forward a detachment in that direction. On the 1st of February, 1760, Coote himself arrived at Arcot, and on the 5th he began to cannonade the town from three batteries. On the 6th he commenced making approaches, and by the morning of the 9th the sap was carried to the foot of the glacis, and by noon of the same day two small breaches were made. Not three men in the garrison had been killed; the breaches were impracticable, and yet a flag of truce was held out, and Arcot was surrendered. Lally found it impossible to remain on the strong but barren hill of Gingee, and he retreated with what remained

of his half-naked famishing army, to the vicinity of Pondicherry. Repairing himself to that city, he quarrelled anew with the council and all the authorities there, blaming them for the destitute state of his troops, and calling them embezzlers and peculators; and they, retorting with true Gallic vehemence, accused him of folly, imbecility, treachery, and even cowardice. During these unseemly altercations the French flag was struck down from nearly every place where it yet floated: Timery surrendered, Devicotta was evacuated, Trinomalee surrendered, Permacoil and Alumparva were taken by storm, and the whole country between Alumparva and Pondicherry was laid waste by fire and sword. Carrical, the most important place on the coast next to Pondicherry, was soon invested by an armament sent from

Madras, and by a detachment which descended from Trichinopoly; the garrison made a miserable defence, and surrendered on the 6th of April, before a relief despatched by Lally could reach the place. The fall of Vallore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore followed in rapid succession.

By the 1st of May the English, who had been reinforced, encamped within four miles of Pondicherry; and the French, who had received no succour from their impoverished mother country, were in a manner cooped up in that strong town, looking with a faint, declining hope for the arrival of a squadron, or some ship with help from the Mauritius or Bourbon, or some other



a a a, First encampment July 17. b b b, Second encampment, Sept. 10.
d d d, Redoubts erected, July 18. c c c, Third encampment, Oct. 6.

quarter. In his extremity Lally turned his eyes towards the country of Mysore, where Hyder Ali, who was afterwards to fill a wider scene, had established his authority by force of arms, and by force of intrigue and treachery. To bring Hyder on the back of Coote, Lally offered him present possession of the fort of Thiagur, which commanded two passes into the Carnatic, and future possession of Tinnevely and Madura—that is, when Lally and Hyder should turn the tide of war and dispossess the English of those two places. A bargain was concluded, Hyder agreeing to send droves of bullocks to feed the French, and troops to fight for the French. A detachment sent by Coote to stop the march of Hyder's people, was too weak for the purpose, and sustained a defeat; but, when the Mysoreans obtained a nearer view of the English army, and a correcter notion of the real and deplorable condition of Lally's forces, they thought their bargain

¹ Coote's black horse, however, did no more for him than Lally's Mahrattas did for the French:—they kept out of the reach of shot, and would not even pursue the routed enemy.

a bad one, and, breaking it with the ordinary Indian unscrupulousness, they marched back to their own country, with troops and bullocks. Shortly before their departure six of the English Company's ships arrived at Madras, and there landed a reinforcement of 600 men. More and more force continued to pour in, and still not a ship, not a man, not a barrel of beef or biscuit arrived to sustain the French in Pondicherry. In the course of the month of October, the English fleet was raised to seventeen sail of the line, and a picturesque regiment of kilted men from the bleak Highlands of Scotland was disembarked to try their mettle and their power of enduring heat in the lowlands of Hindoostan. By means which are not explained, and which are difficult to understand, as the French had neither money nor credit, and as Hyder Ali had done little for them in that way, Lally succeeded in obtaining some supplies of provisions. On the night of the 4th of September he made a sortie, in the hope of surprising the English camp; but his troops no longer acted with concert or spirit; one of his divisions lagged behind, and the whole plan failed. The siege of Pondicherry, after the cessation of the rains at the end of November, was pressed with great vigour. Several batteries played against the town from the 8th to the 30th of December; and on the 12th of January, 1761, the trenches were opened, and the place was reduced to extremity. Nothing, therefore, was left to the fiery proud man who had arrived in India with the confident hope of extirpating the English and realizing the grand schemes of Dupleix, but to seek conditions and surrender. And, on the 14th of January, a commissioner from Lally and a deputation from the council of Pondicherry, entered the English camp, and made an unconditional surrender to Colonel Coote. By order of the council of Madras, immediate preparations were made for levelling the town and fortifications of Pondicherry with the ground. The white flag of the Bourbons still floated over the hill-fort of Thiagur, fifty miles in the interior of the country—the place which Lally had promised to Hyder Ali—and over the other strong hill-fort of Gingee, about thirty-five miles north-west from Pondicherry; but the garrisons, isolated and without any hope of relief, soon surrendered; and, by the beginning of April, the French had not a single military post in all India.

In the meanwhile Clive had been received with all honour in England. The fortune he had accumulated, even without counting the jaghire conferred upon him by the nabob, amounted to £300,000, the jaghire rendered from £27,000 to £30,000 a year, and he had credit for being even far richer than he really was. He was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Clive of

Plassey, and was flattered by the prospect of a speedy elevation to the English peerage, which would give him a seat in the British House of Peers. For the present he took his seat in the House of Commons, where his wealth and his influence filled several other seats, and commanded votes besides his own. All parties courted him; but his admiration for Pitt increased on a personal acquaintance, and he steadily adhered to him till he was driven from office by the accession of George III. and the brief preponderance of Lord Bute. When Bute made overtures to him, Clive rejected them; and when this most unpopular minister precipitated his negotiations for a peace with France, he avoided consulting Clive as to the Indian clauses and conditions. The conqueror of Bengal foresaw what would follow the restitution of Pondicherry and other places. Unable to gain Clive, the Bute administration leagued themselves with Mr. Sullivan and other directors of the East India Company, who entertained a personal animosity against Clive, and aimed at diminishing both his wealth and his reputation. As yet, neither these personal enemies nor any one else raised a breath of scandal or reproach about his conduct towards Surajah Dowlah, or against his acceptance of the treasure from Meer Jathier after the battle of Plassey; but what Sullivan and his colleagues challenged as objectionable and criminal was Clive's acceptance of the jaghire, and his insisting on payment of those quit-rents from the Company. In the opinion of the best English lawyers of the day, the grant of rent which Clive had received was valid; had been made by exactly the same authority from which the Company had received their chief possessions in Bengal. It was in every respect unwise to enter upon a too nice and close examination of any of these Indian rights and titles; yet the hostile directors, in their anxiety to appropriate £30,000 a year, which they were bound to pay to the nabob before his transfer of the rent, and in their envy and hatred of Clive, who had treated some of them very superciliously, persevered in their attempt, and actually confiscated the jaghire, or, which was the same thing, they stopped payment of the rents, and put the money into their own coffers. Clive indignantly, and without an hour's delay or hesitation, filed a bill in chancery against the court of directors. At the same time Clive had written to his agents at Calcutta to institute a suit at law against the Company there, and to transmit a very exact account of all proceedings, that they might be taken up in England. But while the "Daring in War" was thus involving himself in the mazes of law, and the Company were battling with the man who had re-established their declining power, and

gained provinces equal to kingdoms for them, news arrived that the garrison and all the English residents at Patna had been massacred, that revolutions, undertaken and made by the council at Calcutta, had proved miserable failures, and, in short, that everything in Bengal was falling into confusion and ruin. It was felt immediately, even by the most violent of his enemies, that Clive, and Clive alone, could remedy these evils, and overtures were made to him for his instant return to India. The proprietors of East India stock, who elected the directors, and who were now determined that those directors should not through pique and party commit their property and future hopes of gain, called a meeting, and at a very full general court Clive was unanimously solicited to return. He was nominated governor and commander-in-chief of the British possessions in Bengal, with the express understanding that no other officer of whatever rank should have the power of interfering with his command there. The court took the subject of the jaghire into consideration, and soon agreed to the proposals which Clive himself made; that is, they confirmed his right to the full amount of the jaghire rents for ten years, if he should live so long, and provided the Company should continue during that period in possession of the lands round Calcutta charged with those rents.

Clive then sailed, for the third and last time, to India. He reached Calcutta on the 3d of May, 1765, and found everything in confusion and a disorganization more fearful than he had anticipated. He called the council together, and told them that he had come out to effect a thorough reform in their conduct, the source of most of the mischief which had happened; that it was his full resolution to effect a thorough reform, and for that end to make use of the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been intrusted to him.

But these gentlemen of the council, and the weak and incompetent governor, Mr. Vansittart, had, during Clive's five years' absence from India, done deeds fitted to make men's faces pale and red alternately. At the period when Clive had taken his departure for England it was rumoured that the Shah Zada had collected another army and was again advancing against Patna; but it

was conceived that a body of troops sent under that excellent officer Colonel Calliaud would enable Ramnarain, the Hindoo governor of Patna, to repel the invasion if really made. Glazi-n-din, the vizier and master of Delhi, against whom the Shah Zada pretended in the first instance to have taken up arms, murdered the Great Mogul in a fit of desperation, and after this tragical event the Shah Zada took the state and title of emperor, and conferred the office of vizier upon Sujah Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, who

had shown no great devotion to his person or fortunes the year before, when, as the rebellious son of the emperor, he was fleeing before the arms of Clive and Ramnarain.

Shah Alum—"King of the World"—was the name which the new emperor chose for himself. With the assistance of the Nabob of Oude, he soon collected a numerous army, and began his march to the Caramnassa. Crossing that river he advanced to Patna and defeated Ramnarain, who came out of the city to meet him with a very inferior force, and with only seventy Europeans and one battalion of English sepoy under the command of Lieutenant Cochrane, Colonel Calliaud being at the time engaged in some important operations on the left bank of the river between Patna and Moorshedabad. In this



SHAH ALUM.—From a Hindoo miniature, copied in Franklin's *Life of Shah Alum*.

affair Ramnarain was wounded, and the sepoy were cut to pieces; but most of the English fought their way to the city, the enemy not daring to resist them, but opening to the right and left to let them pass. And Colonel Calliaud having soon come up with his 300 English and 1000 sepoy, and with a native army commanded by Meerun, Shah Alum was completely routed, and compelled once more to retire from before Patna. As, however, Meerun would not pursue with his cavalry, and as a strong body of Mahratta horse joined the other side, the young emperor, instead of retiring towards Benares, took the route of Moorshedabad, being also joined at this time by the erratic M. Law and his small body of French. But being soon pursued, Shah Alum set fire to his camp, and fled towards Oude. Encouraged by the junction of the Naib or sub-governor of Purneah, who, after many intrigues, threw off the mask and repaired to the imperial standard with a considerable army, Shah Alum, doubling upon those who were pursuing him, got back to

Patna, which had been left almost without troops. Mr. Fullerton, an English surgeon, was the chief manager of the defence, and M. Law of the attack. Two assaults were repulsed by the gentlemen of the English factory in Patna; part of the wall was demolished and the rampart was scaled by the French; the French were again beaten back; but a renewed assault in greater force was expected, and hope was abandoning the bold little garrison, when Captain Knox, who had marched from Moorshedabad, in the hottest season of the Bengal year, with extraordinary rapidity, appeared in the neighbourhood, broke through the camp of the besiegers, and drove them from their works. A few days after, Knox, with 200 English, one battalion of sepoy, five field-pieces, and about 300 horse, crossed the river opposite to Patna, and completely defeated the Naib of Purneah with his army of 12,000 men.

The unlucky naib retreated with all speed towards the north, but he was soon followed by Colonel Calliaud's fresh troops and Meerun's cavalry, who crossed the Ganges, and moved on the more rapidly, from the belief that he was carrying all the treasure of Purneah with him. Being overtaken, the naib put the treasure and the richer part of the baggage upon camels and elephants, skirmishing for a short time to give those useful animals a start, and then ran after them, leaving his artillery and his heavy baggage to the pursuers. On the 2d of July, the fourth day of the pursuit, a tremendous storm necessitated a halt, and at night the tent of Meerun was struck with lightning, which killed him and some of his attendants on the spot. After this evil omen Meerun's troops became unmanageable, and Calliaud was obliged to retrace his steps to Patna, where he arrived on the 29th of July. He quartered the Europeans and the sepoy in English pay in and round about that important town; but Meerun's people made the best of their way to Moorshedabad, where they surrounded the palace and threatened the life of Meer Jaffier, in order to obtain payment of their arrears. Nearly at the same time other bodies of men took up arms against the old nabob, whose coffers were empty, and whose former friends were nearly all alienated from him, partly on account of his poverty, and partly because he had made several treacherous attempts against them; and the weak old man's misfortunes seemed to be completed by the predatory incursions of hordes of Mahrattas, who destroyed even more than they plundered.

On the other hand, Mr. Vansittart, the new governor at Calcutta, found the treasury empty, and the English troops and sepoy almost mutinous through want of pay; and he was induced

to acquiesce in all the notions and schemes of Mr. Holwell, who had come to the conclusion that Meer Jaffier, by his treachery, cruelty, weakness, and extravagance, was the cause of all these evils, and that the English, who had made him nabob, ought, not less for the good of the natives than for their own benefit, to unmake him without loss of time. And in effect on the 27th of September (1760), before Mr. Vansittart had been two months at Calcutta, a treaty was concluded with Meer Cossim Ali, son-in-law to Meer Jaffier, and general of his army, engaging that he should be invested with full power as Nabob or ruler of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, upon condition of his making over to the Company the fruitful provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. Governor Vansittart, though a mild, formal man, and one that paid homage to rules and conventionalities, went in person to Moorshedabad with the modest intention of persuading Meer Jaffier that he was unfit and unworthy to be nabob, and that he ought at once to resign his power into the hands of his more competent son-in-law. The old nabob stared with astonishment and chafed with wrath; but the quiet peace-loving governor had brought 180 English soldiers, 600 sepoy, and four pieces of cannon to second his persuasions, his own army had declared for Meer Cossim, many of his own chiefs were seeking his life, and there was no help for him. Accordingly, the old man, with his women and children, was conveyed to Calcutta, where alone he could be safe; and Meer Cossim Ali was proclaimed nabob, with a firing of guns, and a beating of drums and tomtoms, and other ceremonials that would suit the winding-up of a melodrama in a playhouse. But Messrs. Vansittart and Holwell, and the other gentlemen of the council, who had driven on this revolution, had committed a capital mistake in assuming that the new nabob would suit their purpose better than the old one. Meer Cossim soon let them know that he had a will of his own, and that he had abilities and a kind of courage which, for Bengal, might be called heroic, but which was accompanied with cruelty and ferocity.

In the month of January, 1761, Major Carnac, who had succeeded Colonel Calliaud in the command of the Company's troops in Bahar, advanced from Patna against the Emperor Shah Alum, who was once more making head in that province. Meer Cossim placed some of the troops which had belonged to Meerun under the orders of Carnac, who, being also joined by Rannarain and his forces, gained an easy and complete victory over the Mogul. In this affair M. Law, who had been so long flitting from place to place, seated himself cross-legged on one of his guns,

and in that curious attitude surrendered to Major Carnac and Captain Knox. The French, his companions, tired of the wandering life they had led with him, deserted him when the retreat began, and followed the emperor, who retired towards Delhi, and shortly after sent the new nabob, Meer Cossim Ali, his investiture as Soubahdar or Nabob of Bengal, &c.

At the same time Shah Alum offered the English the *deewanee* or receivership of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, if they would send an army into Central India to secure him in possession of Delhi, and of a throne that was tottering as it had been for generations. The project was entertained by the council at Calcutta, but they had been obliged to send a great part of the money they had received from the new nabob to Madras, to enable that presidency to prosecute the siege of Pondicherry, not yet brought to a close. Meer Cossim was incessantly called upon for more money; but he had given in presents to the governor and council for his elevation upwards of £200,000;¹ in ceding to the Company the countries of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, he had given away a third part of his revenues. The Company's servants of all sorts, by the abuse they made of the *dustuks* or permits, exempting goods from the payment of duty, stopped another source of revenue; and he was soon as poor as his predecessor. Casting about him for some great prey, his greedy eye fell upon Ramnarain, the celebrated governor of Patna, whose treasury and life had been aimed at by Meer Jaffier, but preserved and declared sacred by Clive. Mr. Vansittart, being warned of Meer Cossim's designs, at first instructed Major Carnac to afford every protection to Ramnarain, who had received so many pledges from the English, and who had recently rendered them such valuable services in repelling the attacks of the Mogul. But it appeared to be the fate of Mr. Vansittart never to persevere in any one line of conduct, good or bad, honourable or dishonourable; he listened to the suggestions and promises of Meer Cossim, he took great offence at the free and spirited language of Major Carnac, and he sent Colonel Coote, now returned from the conquest of Pondicherry, to supersede the major at Patna. But Coote had as high a sense of honour as Carnac, and upon

seeing what was expected from him, he refused to be an active agent in, or a passive spectator of the betrayal and ruin of the Hindoo governor. Vansittart and the council then recalled Coote, and Ramnarain was left to the mercy of the new nabob: he was thrown into prison, his house was broken open and plundered, his friends and servants were tortured in order to make them confess where lay his hidden treasures—for the money actually found was a mole-hill instead of a mountain. The disappointed tyrant, fearing the indignation of the English, did not put his prisoner to death immediately; but two years later, when he had drawn the sword against those who had made him nabob, he murdered Ramnarain, together with several other chiefs, both Mussulmans and Hindoos.

The immediate consequence of this base abandonment of Ramnarain was the cessation of all friendly correspondence between the English and the native nobility, who could no longer repose confidence in the government of Calcutta. Both Hindoos and Mussulmans, thinking it wiser to conciliate the new nabob than trust to the foreigners, made offers of their money and their services; and Meer Cossim, encouraged by their adhesion and by the general and increasing unpopularity of the Company, flattered himself that he might soon be in a position to defy the English authority. He began by complaining and protesting against the abuses made of the *dustuks* or permits, by which he was deprived of his revenue; and, soon proceeding from words to deeds, he stopped goods protected by the *dustuks*, and he even stopped and searched boats going up the Ganges, not merely with the *dustuks*, but also with the Company's flag. In nearly every instance he found salt, or betel, or tobacco, or some other of the articles prohibited or reserved to the nabob in the treaty; and in many instances he ascertained that the servants of the Company had sold the *dustuks* to natives—to his own subjects, who had no right to them. Mr. Vansittart negotiated a new treaty, which, while leaving some advantages to the servants of the Company, made a surrender of others. But this inept governor had not the faculty of enforcing obedience on the wilful, rapacious crew at Calcutta and the other English factories, and Meer Cossim had neither the power nor the will to make the treaty be observed on his side.

The vacillation and infirmity of purpose displayed by the council at Calcutta led the nabob to despise what he and all Bengal had feared. Throwing down the pen, and writing no more letters of complaint, he called the boldest of his officers round him, seized two of the Company's boats that were proceeding to Patna with arms, and made preparations for getting Patna into his

¹ The following is a list of the presents acknowledged to have been received:—

Mr. Vansittart . . .	500,000 rupees, ...	£58,333
Mr. Sumner . . .	240,000 „ ...	28,000
Mr. Holwell . . .	270,000 „ ...	30,937
Mr. M'Guire . . .	180,000 „ ...	20,625
Mr. Smith . . .	134,000 „ ...	15,354
Major Yorke . . .	134,000 „ ...	15,354
General Calliaud . . .	200,000 „ ...	22,916
Mr. W. M'Guire . . .	75,000 „ ...	8,750

£200,269

own hands. Apprised of this latter intention, the majority of the council remitted orders to Mr. Ellis, the chief at Patna, to anticipate the nabob's design by seizing upon the citadel. Ellis no sooner got the order than he acted upon it, by surprising and taking the citadel of Patna by night, on the 24th of June, 1763. On receiving the news of this event Meer Cossim's rage knew no bounds. Exclaiming against the treachery of the English, he murdered Mr. Amyatt, who had formerly been chief at Patna; he murdered two Hindoo bankers, supposed to be attached to the English interests; threw forward a great army to Patna; drove the English from the town to their factory outside of it, and from the factory

dates to the chiefs and to the cities of the three vast provinces, he joined the English, who were now advancing upon Moorshedabad. Meer Cossim sent three of his generals to meet them on their march, and an encounter took place on the 19th of July. The three native generals were completely routed; but they made head again near Gheriah, whither Meer Cossim sent the greater part of his remaining troops to join them. Among these large reinforcements was a regiment of sepoys, disciplined in the European manner, and commanded by an European adventurer, whose real name is lost in his Indian designation of Sumroo, and whose real country is unknown, though he is generally called a German,

and is known to have first gone to India as a sergeant in the French army.¹ On the 24th the English dispersed some detachments, and took possession of Moorshedabad without opposition; and on the 2d of August they gave battle in the plain of Gheriah. Their force amounted to about 750 Europeans, 1500 sepoys, and some squadrons of native cavalry. The number of Meer Cossim's army was as ten to one; it was supported by an immense train of artillery; the sepoys under Sumroo were perfectly well trained, and most of



PATNA.—From Daniell's Views in India.

to their boats. These English troops, who had behaved as disgracefully as the supreme council at Calcutta had behaved unwisely, fled up the Ganges to Chuprah, where they were surrounded, deprived of provisions, and reduced to lay down their arms. They were sent prisoners to Monghir, where they found for their companions their countrymen from Cossimbazar, which factory had been attacked and plundered by the nabob.

In the meantime the supreme council at Calcutta had entered into new arrangements with Meer Jaffier, and had determined, as the best mode of checking the career of his son-in-law, to let him loose upon him, and set him again upon the musnud from which they had so recently pulled him down. The old nabob, passive as a nine-pin, confirmed the grants of territory made by Meer Cossim, granted an exemption to the Company's servants from all search, and from all duties except upon salt, and engaged to pay to the Company thirty lacs of rupees for the expense of this new war against his son-in-law, and to maintain at his own charge an army of 24,000 men, horse and foot. Having issued his man-

the other corps were better disciplined and appointed than any native troops the English had yet encountered. Thus the battle was maintained for nearly four hours. But at last the nabob's army was thoroughly defeated and driven off the plain, with the loss of all their cannon. They fled to an intrenched camp which Meer Cossim had formed at Oodwa. That nabob, after executing some of the chiefs who were in the English interest, and sending his family and treasure to a strong fort, left Monghir in person with the avowed intention of throwing himself into the camp at Oodwa; but when he came near that scene of danger he halted, wavered, and turned back. Yet so strong was the position at Oodwa that it detained the English for three whole weeks. At length, however, on the 5th of September, the camp was carried after some hard fighting, and the whole army of the nabob was scattered. Murdering one or two more chiefs,

¹ Sir John Malcolm says that he was told by a well informed friend that he was not a German, but a Frenchman or Swiss, of the name of Sombre, which, perhaps, had been only his *nom-de-guerre* when in the French service.

Meer Cossim fled towards Patna, and was followed by such portions of his disheartened troops as still kept together. The English advanced and laid siege to Monghir, which had been carefully fortified, and which was defended by 2000 sepoys, disciplined by Sumroo. After nine days of open trenches, the garrison surrendered early in October. Meer Cossim, who had made Monghir his capital, in preference to Moorshedabad, the old residence of the Nabobs or Soubahdars of Bengal, who had expended large sums in fortifying it, and who had entertained the hope that it could repulse the English army, was thrown into a paroxysm of rage by the news of the surrender, and his fury vented itself in ordering the execution of all the English who had been taken at Patna, with Mr. Ellis, the chief. The European adventurer, Sumroo, undertook the execution, and directed the massacre of 150 Englishmen; every soldier and every servant of the Company being brutally murdered, with the single exception of Mr. Fullerton, the surgeon. After this bloody deed Meer Cossim abandoned Patna to the care of one of his chiefs, and retreated towards the Caramnassa. The British army took Patna by storm on the 6th of November, and then continued their march to the Caramnassa, which they reached early in December, but too late to catch the fleeing nabob, who had crossed that river some days before, and had gone with Sumroo to seek the protection of the Nabob of Oude. Sujah Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, and recently appointed vizier to the young emperor, was at Allahabad, and Shah Alum was with him. He had previously concluded a treaty with the ejected nabob, and, pretending to be earnest for his restoration, he marched his army to Benares, and encamped not many miles from the English.

At this critical moment an alarming mutiny broke out in the English camp, and many of the sepoys deserted. Major Carnac was soon followed by Sujah Dowlah, Meer Cossim, and Shah Alum. He encamped under the walls of Patna, and was there attacked, on the 3d of May, 1764, by an overwhelming force, foremost in which was the devil Sumroo, with the best of the disciplined infantry. But the spirit of disaffection and mutiny had vanished at the sight of the enemy; the sepoys in English pay rivalled in bravery and steadiness the native English troops; attack after attack was repulsed; and the battle, which began at noon, was ended at sunset by the defeat and rout of the assailants, whose loss had been tremendous. Almost immediately after this reverse the Nabob of Oude opened a correspondence with Meer Jaffier, the restored nabob, and offered to support him in Bengal and Orissa, if he would only cede to Oude the whole country of Bahar;

and nearly at the same time the Emperor Shah Alum sent a private message to Major Carnac, offering to abandon both the Nabob of Oude and Meer Cossim for English protection and alliance. These negotiations, however, came to nothing for the present, and the two nabobs and the emperor retreated together from Bahar into Oude. In the month of May, 1764, Major Hector Monro reached Patna with a considerable reinforcement of British troops, and assumed the command of the whole army. To put a stop to the mutiny of the sepoys, whom he found clamouring for higher pay, Monro blew twenty-four of their ringleaders from the mouths of his cannon. This extreme measure was attended with complete success: there was no more mutiny from that day forward.¹ As soon as the rainy season drew to its close, Monro led his reformed army against the enemy; and on the 22d of October, having crossed the Sone, he gave them a defeat which entirely broke the power of the Nabob of Oude, the only Mogul prince that the English had to fear. One hundred and thirty pieces of artillery were left on the field by Sujah Dowlah, who, cursing his allies, fled towards Lucknow. Shah Alum immediately repeated to Major Monro the overtures he had before made to Major Carnac, complaining that Sujah Dowlah treated him more like a state-prisoner than an emperor. Monro wrote to the presidency at Calcutta for instructions. When Monro arrived at the city of Benares, Sujah Dowlah sent to offer him twenty-five lacs of rupees for the Company, twenty-five lacs for his army, and eight lacs for himself, if he would consent to a peace and quit the country of Oude; but the major refused to treat unless the nabob previously delivered to the English Meer Cossim and Sumroo. Sujah Dowlah, who had already quarrelled with the ex-nabob and seized the treasure he had with him, urged that he could not be guilty of a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality, but that he would undertake to induce Meer Cossim to abandon all thoughts of sovereignty and flee to a distant country, where he could give no umbrage to the Company or to Meer Jaffier. As for the European, Sumroo, he was not so scrupulous, proposing to invite him to a feast, and there have him murdered in the presence of any English gentlemen Monro might choose to send to witness the punishment. These proposals were not relished in the English camp, and the negotiation with the Nabob of Oude was broken off. The treaty with the emperor was then hurried to a close, Shah Alum, as Mogul and lord of the whole, granting to the English

¹ The twenty-four victims were selected out of a whole battalion of sepoys, who, after threatening the lives of their European officers, were marching off by night to join the enemy. They were tried by a field court-martial composed of their own black officers, who found them guilty of mutiny and desertion.

the country of Ghazipoor, with all the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, and the English agreeing to put Shah Alum in possession of the city of Allahabad and the remainder of the dominions of Sujah Dowlah. As a last expedient, the Nabob of Oude, who was thus to be deprived of all his dominions, applied to Ghazi-u-din, vizier and murderer of the late emperor, Shah Alum's father; and this chief, of Mahratta race, being joined by Mulhar Rao Holkar, descended into Oude with a great army of Mahratta horse. With these allies Sujah Dowlah once more tried his fortune against the English, who had taken possession of Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and of Allahabad, the strongest fortress of the country. On the 3d of May, 1765, a battle was fought near Kurrah, the English being again under the command of Major Carnac (now General Carnac). The Mahrattas were quickly dispersed by the English artillery, and the whole of the confederate army was broken and driven across the river Jumna.

In the meantime Meer Jaffier had again vacated the musnud, and this time for good; for it was death, and not the supreme council at Calcutta, that had removed him. Having no longer any money to give, and being harassed and fretted into a fever by importunities and menaces, he was allowed to repair to Moorshedabad, where he breathed his last in January, 1765, about four months before General Carnac's great victory.

Moreover, on the very day of that victory, Clive had arrived at Calcutta. Before mentioning his bold proceedings in council, we may relate the conclusion of the operations in Oude. A few days after his defeat at Kurrah, Sujah Dowlah, having announced his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy of the English, repaired to the camp of General Carnac. The nabob assured the general that Meer Cossim had fled into Rohilcund, and that Sumroo had escaped to the far-off regions on the Indus. Carnac readily agreed with him that the Company could not safely or profitably occupy the extensive dominions of Oude; that he was more capable of defending those territories than Shah Alum, to whom they had been promised by the recent treaty; and that in his hands they might be made a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghans. As soon as Clive heard of these events, which was almost as soon as he arrived at Calcutta, he set off for Allahabad to take the negotiations into his own management, and to conclude a settlement with Sujah Dowlah and the emperor. His lordship, however, found important business to settle at Moorshedabad, where affairs had fallen into a chaos of confusion; and it was not till the end of July that he reached the English camp at Allahabad, which then contained the persons

both of the Mogul of Delhi and the Nabob of Oude. The new treaty was then taken up, the old one with the emperor—if we can call old what had been made only a few months before—being torn up as waste paper; and it was agreed that Shah Alum must rest satisfied with the possession of Allahabad and Kurrah, and that all the rest of Oude should be restored to Sujah Dowlah, who was to continue vizier to the emperor, and never on any account to employ or give shelter to Meer Cossim or Sumroo. Sujah Dowlah engaged to oppose the Mahrattas and defend the frontiers of Bengal, and the English bound themselves to afford him assistance in case of invasion. Shah Alum, in right of the imperial authority, which would have been a shadow without the Company, granted to the English the dewannee, or collection of the revenues, in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in return for which he was to receive, in addition to the revenues of Allahabad and Kurrah, twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum. Along with this dewannee—which, in fact, constituted the Company masters and sovereigns of the vast and rich regions named in the grant—the young emperor confirmed the right of the Company to all the territory which they possessed in any other part of India.

To Clive's bold proceedings in council we can but briefly advert, important though they were, and encumbered with greater difficulties than all his military operations. It was as a reformer of the British rule in India that he had been sent out for the third and last time, and this mission he was resolved to accomplish, let the obstacles be what they might. He disapproved of the feeble, wavering, double-dealing policy that had first deposed Meer Jaffier, the nabob of his own making, and had afterwards turned upon Meer Cossim, the creature whom the council had set up in his room; and he showed how little reliance the natives could place upon a rule that was subject to such uncertainty and mutation. Another evil which he condemned and denounced, was the greed of the Company's officials in India; their eagerness, like the Roman proconsuls of old, to wring immense fortunes from the subject provinces during their short sojourn in India, and the manner in which they had monopolized for this purpose the whole internal trade of the country. "They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with perfect impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependants, who ranged through the provinces spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes

were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the last extremity of wretchedness.”¹ Such were the evils which Clive set himself to redress, and in doing this he had nearly the whole of the British population in India arrayed as one man against him. But, in spite of their remonstrances, their prayers, and their opposition, he persisted, and was successful. He deprived the Company’s servants of the privileges they had usurped, and prohibited their receiving or extorting presents from the natives. But this was not enough; he must strike at the root of the evil, otherwise it was certain to rise and flourish in double luxuriance as soon as he had departed; and this evil, he was aware, had originated in the miserably inadequate salaries of these lordly officials, which served both as incentive and apology for every kind of peculation. He therefore raised these salaries from their former low condition, to one that was more adequate to the rank, the style of living, and reasonable expectations of the holders. It was necessary, also, to find or create a fund to supply this augmentation, as he knew that however necessary the change might be, its pecuniary liabilities would not be defrayed out of the general fund by the sanction of the council. His only resource in this difficulty was the monopoly on salt, which time out of mind had formed a principal part of the revenues of the native Indian sovereigns, and which, he thought, might now be better employed for the government of the people if administered by their new British rulers. “The monopoly of salt,” says the eloquent writer we have quoted, “had been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born; it continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue, and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly but surely acquiring a competence.”

But the most formidable difficulty which Clive had to encounter arose from the army itself, which he had so often led to victory: the sword with which he had won an empire was uplifted against his own head. After the battle of Plassey, additional pay, which was called “double batta,” had been given to the officers by Meer Jaffier, for whom the victory was won, and by whom the expenses of the war were supported; but this addition, which at first was only a gratuity, soon began to be considered as a right, and as such had been peremptorily demanded during Clive’s

absence in England. At his return, he issued decrees by which the double batta was only to be allowed in certain cases of actual service; at which restriction the greater part of the officers mutinied, and organized themselves into a regular conspiracy. Two hundred officers who were thus confederated, threw up their commissions in one day, thinking that, as a Mahratta invasion was impending, Clive would be dismayed at their secession, and glad to recall them upon their own terms. But instead of yielding, as even heroes have done in such a crisis, he resolved to put down the mutiny and punish the mutineers. He arrested the ringleaders, and summoned a court-martial; he gave commissions to young clerks who might be converted into good officers, to fill the places of those who had resigned; and to overwhelm those British revolvers with shame, he ordered double pay for two months to those faithful sepoys whom he employed in services which he could not intrust to his own soldiers. These instances of terrible decision arrested the mutiny; the dismay of the officers was succeeded by remorse; and those who had resigned, implored him with tears to restore to them their commissions, and accept their services upon his own terms. Availing himself of the opportunity, he made the rules of discipline and subordination more strict, and enacted severe regulations against that luxury, gambling and dissipation, by which military life in India was distinguished, and through which this dangerous outbreak had mainly originated. By these proceedings, in a few weeks every trace of discontent had vanished, and the army was restored to greater order and efficiency than before.

The power of the English in Bengal, hitherto undefined, was fixed, and became a real and sole sovereignty, by the bargains Clive had concluded with Shah Alum and the son and successor of Meer Jaffier. He, however, thought that the name of a nabob might still be of some use, particularly in dealings with the other European nations, like the Dutch and Danes, who retained their possessions in Bengal, and the French, who had obtained repossession of theirs by the recent treaty of peace. But the phantom he left at Moorshedabad, surrounded by guards and silver maces, was in fact a mere pensioner of the Company, alike incapable of doing either good or evil in the political affairs of the country. Having restored discipline to the army, checked the rapacity of the civilians, and, as he considered, done all that he had come to do, Clive was anxious to return home, for his health was again very seriously affected. On the 16th of January, 1767, he attended for the last time a meeting of the select committee at Calcutta. In his farewell address he told them that he could now leave the

¹ Lord Macaulay.

country in peace and in a flourishing state; but he strongly advised them not to be over-anxious to increase the revenues, especially where increase could only be effected by oppressing the native landholders and tenants. A few days after, he took his final farewell of India, embarking for England in the *Britannia*. He arrived at London in the month of July, was hailed with acclamations by the court of directors, was received with unusual regard by George III. and Queen Charlotte, to whom he brought letters and presents from the Nabob of Oude,¹ and was then carried by his family and friends to Bath, to seek a cure or an alleviation to some of the worst ills that flesh is heir to—spasms, indigestion, loss of sleep, and hypochondriasis.

In the course of the year 1767 the Afghans created some alarm in Bengal by marching upon Delhi; but after devastating several provinces the invaders returned to their mountains. The presidency made a feeble attempt to restore the Rajah of Nepaul to his dominions, which had been seized by a neighbouring chief of Ghoorka. The country of Nepaul, almost surrounded by mountains, was found too difficult of access by the small force sent against it; and the officer in command of the expedition thought proper to return, after a vain application for reinforcements, which the government at Calcutta could not spare, as they had been obliged to send several large detachments to the Carnatic, where the flames of war were rekindled by Hyder Ali. This great adventurer, who became one of the most formidable of our opponents in India, had, since his expedition to the neighbourhood of Pondicherry as the ally of M. Lally, greatly increased his army, which was originally formed out of the freebooting bands and tribes that abounded in Western India, and that sought no other reward than the right and privilege of plunder. Instead of paying them, Hyder, in a manner, received pay from them—for, in enrolling under his banner, they engaged to give him half of the booty they might make. By degrees he acquired more horses, camels, and elephants, more money, and the command of more men, than his benefactor and nominal master, the Rajah of Mysore; and he accordingly made war upon the rajah, whose court and army had the usual number of disaffected chiefs and traitors; defeated him, took him prisoner, and, as a climax to his ingratitude, kept possession of all his dominions, and pensioned him off with three lacs of rupees per annum. At the end of the year 1761 Hyder's authority seemed firmly established in Mysore. But his own disposition and the habits of the marauders in his service led him to look to an extension of dominion, or to the plunder of the neighbouring

states; and the success which attended his banner, and the high notions entertained of his ability and lucky star, attracted others of the loose tribes that owned no sovereign, and no law or right save that of the sword. His abilities were undoubted—they were altogether surprising, considering the circumstances of his life and his total want of education—and they improved by practice, age, and experience. Still, however, he remained a barbarian, and the plaudits bestowed upon him by many European writers are exag-



HYDER ALI.—From a drawing by J. Leister of Madras, 1776.

gerated and absurd. That such a man could ever have extended his sway over the greater part of India, or at least that he could ever have rendered that sway durable, appears to us a most fantastic dream; and that a character stained by the darkest treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty should have found admirers in historians pedantically moral and severe in their estimates of other actors in these wars and revolutions, must be attributable to a love of paradox and contradiction, or to the predetermined plan of praising all that prevented, and blaming all that promoted the establishment of the British empire in India—that great result, not unattended with faults and crimes, which no conquest ever yet was, but admirable in its general operation, as conferring more happiness upon many millions of people than they ever had enjoyed, or could ever hope to enjoy under their native Mahometan or Hindoo rulers.

Notwithstanding some serious checks, Hyder soon undertook and achieved the conquest of the province of Malabar, and kept that country by cutting off all the nairs or Hindoo chiefs. Soon, however, he was recalled to the city of Seringa-

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Political History of India*.

patam, which he had made his capital, and had already strongly fortified, by intelligence that a league had been formed against him by the English, the Mahrattas, and the ruler of the Deccan. The Deccan was no longer in the hands of Salabut Jung, the old ally of M. Bussy, and then of Colonel Forde. Fresh revolutions had been effected at Golconda and Hyderabad; Salabut Jung had been made a prisoner by his brother, Nizam Ali, who occupied his throne, and respected his life until the arrival of the treaty of Paris, which recognized and acknowledged Salabut as lawful sovereign, and which induced Nizam Ali to order his immediate murder. At first the new sonbahdar, or as he is more generally called by our writers, the Nizam, seemed unfavourable to the English, and he actually had invaded the Carnatic and made war upon Mahomed Ali in the most barbarous and destructive manner; but he had fled before Colonel Campbell and a small British force, and since then he had concluded a treaty with the Company, confirming to them the conquests which Colonel Forde had made in the Northern Circars, on condition of their paying a small tribute or quit-rent, and holding in readiness a body of their troops for his service whenever he might want such aid. By this latter engagement, and by their conviction that it was necessary for their own safety to stop the career of Hyder Ali, the English were carried into the confederacy with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and into the war with Mysore.

The first of the confederates to take the field was the peishwa, who covered the high tablelands of Mysore with his Mahratta cavalry. Colonel Smith, after a visit to Hyderabad, followed with a small English corps and the large but disorderly army of the Nabob of the Carnatic. He was joined by another large force raised by the Nizam of the Deccan, but before he could arrive near the Mahrattas the peishwa had listened to a Brahmin, despatched to him by Hyder Ali, and had consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacs of rupees, to quit the country and break all his engagements with the Nizam and the English. This defection rendered success doubtful, and Colonel Smith was soon obliged to think of his own safety by the important discovery he made, that the Nizam himself was privately negotiating a treaty with Hyder, the main scope of it being the expulsion of the Company from the Carnatic, from the Circars, and from every place they held on the Coromandel coast. Colonel Smith instantly separated from the Nizam's army, and hastened to defend the Carnatic, by taking possession of the ghauts or passes leading through the mountains into that country. He received some reinforcements from Mahomed Ali, the Nabob of the Carnatic; but he could not secure all the

passes against three numerous armies, and his rear was soon threatened by the rapid Mahratta cavalry. Smith retreated for Changama, a town about sixty miles from Madras, but before he could reach that place he was attacked by the three armies of Hyder Ali, the peishwa, and the Nizam. His well-disciplined infantry stood their ground and repulsed their countless assailants; but the marauding Mahrattas got at their rice-bags, and carried them off, and, to avoid starving, Smith's forces were obliged to continue their retreat, and to march day and night until they reached Trinomalee, a town strongly situated on a hill and well supplied with provisions. Plundering, burning, and destroying all the open country, the enemy followed closely upon the steps of Colonel Smith, who, receiving reinforcements of sepoys, did not long remain inactive at Trinomalee, but, issuing into the open country, he endeavoured to save it from the scourges and firebrands. His efforts were not very successful, as he had scarcely any cavalry. Seizing a favourable moment, Hyder Ali detached his son Tippoo, then a youth of seventeen, to beat up the neighbourhood of Madras with 5000 horse. Tippoo's advance was so secret and rapid that he nearly succeeded in seizing the members of the presidency and the chief and richest of the English in their country-houses without the town. The fortress of Madras itself, which had repulsed Lally and a French army with battering cannon, had little to fear from Mysorean cavalry; but the town, the Black Town, the magazines or warehouses, villas, gardens, villages, all things in its vicinity, were ransacked or destroyed, the country was laid as waste and bare as a desert, and an immense loss was sustained by the English and the poor natives, their tenants or dependants. Tippoo retired as fast as he had come, and with considerable booty; but his father and his allies were not left long unmolested, being attacked and routed by Colonel Smith, near Trinomalee. The Nizam of the Deccan, who was the first to recommend this pitched battle with the English, was also the first to flee. By this time he had enough of the war and of his new alliance, and he lost no time in signifying to Colonel Smith that he was exceedingly anxious to be restored to peace and to the friendship of the English. After very little negotiation the Nizam agreed to separate his troops from the Mahrattas and the Mysoreans. Bolder and more persevering than he, Hyder and the Mahrattas resolved to try the chances of another pitched battle; and in the month of December they took the field and posted themselves near Amboor, a town in the Carnatic, about 108 miles from Madras. Colonel Smith met them there and gave them another defeat, more decisive and complete than the preceding

one. Hyder and his ally fled to Caverypatam, on the river Panaur; and the Nizam, who had waited the event of the battle before he entirely forsook the confederacy, drew off all his troops

and concluded his separate treaty with the English.

Encouraged by their successes, by the departure of the peishwa, and by the despondency of



THE BLACK TOWN, MADRAS.—FROM DANIELL'S ORIENTAL SCENERY.

Hyder, the presidency at Madras determined to carry the war into the very heart of his own dominions; and Colonel Smith, who had displayed so much bravery, rapidity, and skill, received orders to march into Mysore. Unfortunately, the civilians took it into their heads that they could direct the campaign from their sofas and easy chairs at Madras; and, instead of leaving the plan and conduct of the war to Colonel Smith, they prescribed rules for him to follow. To make matters worse still, they sent to the army two members of council as field-deputies, who were to act in concert with the presidency, and keep the war entirely under their control. Functionaries like these are sure to ruin what they meddle with. The presence and interference of the two civilians disgusted alike officers and men, and from the moment of their arrival in camp the spirit of the army seemed to evaporate. To favour its operations the presidency of Bombay sent a force to the western coast to fall upon Hyder's recent conquests in Malabar and Canara. This force, favoured by the Hindoo natives, captured Mangalore, Onore, and other places, and drew Hyder down to the western coast. This enabled Colonel Smith to arrive in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, and Colonel Wood to overrun the fertile country near the frontiers. But Hyder, having succeeded in the west in expelling the English force from Bombay, returned rapidly to the east to face them there. He made overtures for a peace, but they were rejected by the two field-deputies. At this juncture the presidency, moreover, dissatisfied with Colonel Smith because he treated the deputies or their opinions in war with little respect, and because he had not taken the strong city of Bangalore, recalled that able

officer to Madras, and intrusted the entire command—always, however, subject to the benumbing influence of their deputies—to Colonel Wood, who, in a very short time, was compelled to call in all the advanced forces, to abandon every place which had been taken, and to retreat before Hyder Ali. He even allowed himself to be surprised, beaten, and deprived of all his baggage. The presidency then discovered that Wood was not the man to conquer Mysore, and they superseded him by Major Fitzgerald, who arrived just in time to save the fleeing and confused army from annihilation. By the end of the year Hyder recovered every inch of territory he had lost; and in the month of January, 1769, carefully avoiding a battle, and marching rapidly by some of the less-frequented ghats or passes, he poured down again into the Carnatic, laid waste the English provinces of Madura and Tinnevely, and penetrated into the district of Pondicherry, where the French flag was again flying, and where there were many Frenchmen indulging in the hope that time and fortune might restore their power in that part of India.

As the most dangerous enemy of the English, Hyder was regarded as the best friend of the French, and several adroit and experienced men quitted Pondicherry to join the Mysorean chief, and to give him the benefit of their advice. These Frenchmen confirmed him in the opinion he had already formed—that he ought to avoid pitched battles with the English, and make use of his advantage in rapid light cavalry to cut off their detachments, and plunder, burn, and destroy the country from which they and their nabob, Mahomed Ali, drew their supplies. Pursuing the scheme, Hyder surprised several English posts,

took a considerable number of prisoners, whom he sent off to Seringapatam, where they were barbarously treated, and devastated all the country through which he passed. Having scarcely any cavalry, the English could neither come up with him nor intercept him: while they were wearing themselves out by forced marches on their own legs, his people on horses flitted from place to place, being seldom seen, and even seldom heard of, until they had plundered and burned some town or village. The presidency of Madras, becoming sensible of some of their follies, now restored Colonel Smith to the command, and recalled the two deputies, who had long before arrived at the conviction that their proper place was not the camp or the field, but the council chamber. They could not, however, improvise regiments of cavalry, and for want of that arm Smith's operations were for the most part impeded or frustrated. Smith did all that an able officer could do; he covered and protected several rich districts, he checked the career of many of the flying squadrons; but he could not move with sufficient rapidity to prevent the execution of a plan which Hyder had formed after paying two visits to Pondicherry, and conferring with the French there. The Mysorean, having previously sent off all his plunder and heavy baggage, made a rush upon Madras with 6000 horse, and appeared, sudden and unexpected, as a cloud in the Indian summer, upon the heights of St. Thomas, which overlook Madras. The presidency eagerly proposed terms of peace, or listened to terms proposed by Hyder, who was anxious to be well on his road homeward before Smith should draw near Madras. Negotiations were begun and finished in a very few hours. It was agreed that Hyder should restore whatever he had taken in the way of territory from the English, and that the English should restore all that they had taken from him; that he should assist the English in their future *defensive* wars, and that they should assist him, not in any offensive war, but in the defence of Mysore if it should be invaded by any of his neighbours. The treaty, concluded on the 4th of April, 1769, was soon followed by the invasion of Mysore by the Mahrattas, whose alliance with Hyder was as little binding and of as short a duration as Indian alliances usually were. The peishwa, Madhoo Row, whose cavalry was as rapid as Hyder's and

far more numerous, swept everything before him, and, burning towns and cutting off noses and ears, this savage seemed to threaten Mysore with a far more extensive ruin than that which the Mysoreans had recently inflicted on the Carnatic. Hyder called upon the presidency of Madras for the assistance agreed upon in the late treaty; but the presidency—and apparently with perfect truth—affirmed that Hyder had brought the war upon himself by making preparations to invade the territory of the peishwa, and by leaguering himself with some disaffected Mahratta chiefs; he was not, they said, engaged in a purely defensive war, and therefore they were not bound to send him aid and succour.

The Mahrattas and Mysoreans were left to fight out their own battles. Hyder and his son Tippoo were defeated in several encounters; once the father owed his life to the swiftness of his horse, and once the son saved himself by putting on the disguise of a beggar. Seringapatam, their capital, was surrounded and besieged, but could scarcely be taken by an army of horse without battering cannon. In the month of November, 1771, the Mahrattas seemed in possession of all Mysore



MAHRATTAS.—From Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, and Burnouf, *L'Inde Française*.

except Seringapatam and some of the strongest forts, and were certainly pressing upon and plundering the frontiers of the Carnatic. The presidency sent an army towards the frontiers; and the Mahrattas, who had only entered upon the skirts of the Carnatic in small plundering squadrons, withdrew altogether from that neighbourhood.

Afraid of provoking the English to join Hyder, distressed by want of provisions in the country which he had ravaged, and now not unfrequently

harassed or defeated by the Mysoreans, who had recovered heart, the peishwa listened to the mediating voice of Mahomed Ali, accepted some money from him, and finally agreed to make peace with Hyder. For a time Hyder remained humbled and quiet. During the war between him and the Mahrattas, the Rajah of Tanjore attempted to seize some territory belonging to, or claimed by Mahomed Ali, who called upon his allies, the English, for assistance and vengeance. Another war of invasion was the consequence. In the course of the year 1771 the Company took the strong Tanjorean fortress of Vellum, and occupied two districts in the neighbourhood of Madura; in 1772 they conquered the two Marowars; and in 1773 they took by storm the often-assailed city of Tanjore, which was then defended by 20,000 fighting men. The unfortunate rajah and his family were made prisoners, and the long-coveted sovereignty of Tanjore was *nominally* vested in Mahomed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic.

CHAPTER XX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A D. 1769—1773.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—GEORGE III.

Arrangements in London for the Anglo-Indian government—Three directors sent out to Calcutta—They are lost at sea—Rise of Warren Hastings in India—Writings published on our Indian conquests and rule—Attention called in parliament to the affairs of India—Sullivan's bill on the subject—His attack on Lord Clive—Attempt of the directors of the India Company to blacken the reputation of Clive—His eloquent defence of himself in parliament—Attack made on his earlier career in India—A committee of inquiry appointed—Its hostile proceedings—Pecuniary difficulties of the East India Company—Their applications for parliamentary aid—Rigid terms on which it is granted—Changes decreed in the court of directors by the "Regulating Act"—Opposition of the directors to the innovations—Warren Hastings appointed the first Governor-general of India—Continued proceedings of Clive's enemies in parliament—They complain of the dethronement of Surajah Dowlah—Debate on the subject—Proposal to despoil Lord Clive of his Indian grants and pensions—Clive's answer—His indignation at the attack—Inconclusive end of the debate—Clive's ruined health—He commits suicide—Proceedings of Warren Hastings in his government—Famine in India—Offences charged against Hastings—Shah Alum's pension from the Anglo-Indian government stopped—He allies himself with the Mahrattas, and makes war upon the English—Troubles in India from freebooters, fakirs, and fanatics—Hastings makes a visit to Oude—His arrangements to compose the troubles of the country—His exertions for the internal government of Bengal—His success—The English invade the Rohilla country—They defeat the Rohillas—Conclusion of the Rohilla war—The parliament's new constitution for India comes into operation—Colleagues of Warren Hastings—Their hostility—Their unjust charges against him—They thwart his arrangements—Their harsh proceedings against the new Nabob of Oude—The presidency obtains a grant of the Island of Salsette—Proceedings reversed by the supreme council at Calcutta—Their tortuous proceedings.



UNIVERSAL attention was attracted to the affairs of the Company shortly after Clive's return to England; and the territorial acquisitions made in India, being exaggerated even beyond their real extent and importance, were forced upon the serious consideration of the ministry of the day. In April, 1769, an act was passed confirming to the Company the revenues of the countries they had obtained in India for five years to come, upon consideration of their paying the British government £400,000 per annum, and exporting to India certain quantities of British manufactures, &c. At the same time the court of directors resolved to send out to Calcutta three supervisors, to complete the work of reformation, and to put the revenues and finances of Bengal under better management. The three individuals selected were, Mr. Vansittart, who had so miserably misgoverned Bengal before; Mr. Scrafton, whose abilities and

local knowledge and acquaintance with the language of the country were of inestimable value; and Colonel Forde, who had conquered the Northern Circars and disposed of the Dutch at Bedarra. They took their departure in the *Aurora* frigate, which is supposed to have foundered at sea with every soul on board, for she never reached Bengal, and was never heard of anywhere else after leaving the Cape of Good Hope.

Without supervisors, the government of Bengal was left in the hands of Mr. Cartier; but in less than two years it was notified by the court of directors to Mr. Warren Hastings, who had continued to rise in estimation, that he was nominated to the place of second in council at Calcutta; and that, as soon as Mr. Cartier should retire, it was their wish that he should take upon himself the charge of government till further orders. The transactions in India, which for a long period were regarded with indifference, or with the feeling that it was impossible for people

in England to comprehend them, were now daily attracting more and more attention. Orme, the friend of Clive, who had himself taken no inactive or unimportant part in those affairs, had published the first part of his *History of the Military Transactions in Hindoostan*, and had spread the renown of Clive, the real hero of the romantic story, making known at the same time the vastness and importance of that Indian world. Other works of less name had treated the same subject, and many pens and tongues had been engaged in demonstrating that the glory acquired by British arms was now tarnished by abuses and corruption; and that the splendid fabric, like a *fata morgana*, was disappearing faster than it had risen. Moreover, few men not holders of India stock could reconcile themselves to the anomaly presented in Leadenhall Street, nor possibly conceive how a dozen or two of plain citizens called directors, and some hundreds of shareholders called proprietors, could be competent to the management of 15,000,000 of people at the distance of many thousands of miles. Nor was there much faith in the disinterestedness or moderation of a body so constituted, nor any confidence that their uncontrolled power could be exercised upon pure principles of right and wrong.

Indeed, in opening the session of parliament in January, 1772, the speech from the throne had, by implication, recommended to attention the subject of India, as being among the dependencies of the empire, of which it was said that "some of them, as well from remoteness of place as from other circumstances, are so peculiarly liable to abuses and exposed to danger, that the interposition of the legislature for their protection may become necessary." And about two months after this speech, and about four months before the first application of the directors to the Bank of England for money, Clive's old antagonist, Mr. Sullivan, then deputy-chairman of the court of directors, moved in his place in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill "for the better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company and of their servants in India, and for the due administration of justice in Bengal." Sullivan's principal object in the speech with which he introduced and supported this motion was to shift all blame from the court of directors, and to throw it wholly and solely upon the servants of the Company abroad. He did not spare the great Clive himself, but pointed at him more or less directly as the fountain-head of mischief. There was little danger in pursuing this course, as Sullivan well knew that the conqueror of Bengal was hated at the India House, was now unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided parliament, was considered too proud and unbending to procure the support of the court

and ministry, and was rendered by various arts and practices an object of popular odium and detestation. These practices had begun on the same day with his stern reforms at Calcutta, and they had been kept up ever since by many heads, hands, and purses.

Sullivan and his party, which had now become the stronger in Leadenhall Street, were alarmed and exasperated by reports, not unfounded, that the premier, Lord North, and Lord Rochford, then secretary of state for the colonies, had invited Clive, through his friend Wedderburn, to aid them with his counsel and experience in settling some plan for the better government of India; and it was no secret that Clive, on all occasions, insisted that the cause of what was wrong lay rather in the court of directors than in their servants abroad; that all attempts at reformation abroad, until a thorough reformation took place at home, could only be temporary, and in the end futile; that if an able, honest, and independent court of directors could not be procured at home, there was no salvation for the Company.¹ Under these feelings the directors had recently put every engine in play to blacken his reputation; and about a fortnight before the opening of the present session of parliament they had, by the Company's secretary, informed him that the court of directors had lately received several papers containing charges respecting his management of affairs in Bengal, and that copies of these papers were inclosed. These charges were signed by no one, and they were vague as well as anonymous. They, however, were known to the public before parliament met; and Sullivan, in his speech, hinted at them. Clive, who was in the house, rose to speak in his own defence, and he delivered a speech which astonished every one, by its strong sense, high spirit, and even high eloquence. He had seldom spoken before, and on those few occasions in a brief and homely, or negligent manner; but this time he had prepared himself for the defence of his honour and his property, which were equally aimed at, and he convinced the most practised and most applauded speakers that he might easily have made himself a great orator. The first Pitt, now Earl Chatham, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and he declared that it was "one of the most finished pieces of eloquence he had ever heard in that house."

One effect of this remarkable speech was that Clive's enemies changed their mode of attack, and, leaving his last administration in India as unassailable, turned their arms against the events and deeds of his earlier life. On the 13th of April it was represented by the opposition that the suspicions of the country were excited, and

¹ Clive's letters, in *Life* by Sir John Malcolm.

that a full inquiry into the past ought to precede any legislation for the future; and a motion was made and carried for the appointing a select committee. Thirty-one in number were appointed by ballot, and Colonel Burgoyne, who had proposed it, was chosen chairman. Burgoyne, who was distinguishing himself as a debater, and giving that trouble to ministers which is said to have led to their employing him in America a few years after, was exceedingly hostile to Clive. Governor Johnstone, another leading orator in the house, and brother to Mr. Johnstone, a very corrupt member of council at Calcutta, whose face Clive had made pale and long, was also a member of the committee, and took a leading part in their proceedings. There were other men in it almost equally hostile to Clive; but his lordship himself was a member, as was also his friend and dependant, Mr. Strachey, who had accompanied him in his last mission to Calcutta. The most violent personal feelings instantly showed themselves; instead of inquiring, in the words of Burgoyne's motion, into the nature, state, and condition of the East India Company, and of the British affairs in the East Indies generally, the select committee directed their inquiry almost exclusively to the conduct of Lord Clive, carefully shunning his last administration, and going back fifteen years to the dethronement of Surajah Dowlah.

The parliament had hardly risen when the pecuniary embarrassments of the Company became too great and pressing to be concealed. On the 17th of March, in their anxiety to captivate the shareholders, the court of directors had recommended an augmentation of the dividend from twelve to twelve and a half; and the necessary votes were carried through both courts by overwhelming majorities, and this, too, though many must have known there was not money enough in the treasury to meet the bills that were falling due. On the 15th of July the directors applied to the Bank of England for a loan of £400,000 for two months, which was granted; and on the 29th of July they asked a further loan of £300,000, but only got £200,000, the bank directors being somewhat alarmed. On the 10th of August Mr. Sullivan and the chairman waited upon the minister, and announced the insolvency and ruin of the Company as inevitable if they were not allowed to borrow at least a million more from the public. It happened to them as to other men when reduced to the disagreeable condition of borrowers: those from whom they asked money thought proper to give them advice, and to interfere in their affairs. They were in a manner at the mercy of ministers, and ministers soon determined to re-model their constitution. For the present, however, Lord North received the

chairman and deputy-chairman with dryness and reserve, merely referring them to parliament for the aid and assistance they wanted.

The dissatisfied court of directors had therefore no resource but in parliament; and, on the 24th of February (1773), after having reduced their dividend from 12½ to 6 per cent., a general court passed a vote that application should be made to the House of Commons for a loan of £1,500,000 for four years, at 4 per cent. interest. This demand, or humble petition, was presented on the 9th of March. Ministers, making some material alterations in the Company's propositions, offered to lend £1,400,000 at 4 per cent., and to give up the claim of £400,000 a year, which the Company had been paying from their territorial revenues, till this debt should be discharged; but insisted upon binding them strictly never to raise their dividends above six per cent., until this liquidation was effected. By complying with these and some other restrictions and conditions, the Company were to remain in possession of all the territories they had acquired for six years to come, when their charter would expire. The Company petitioned against these terms, as harsh, arbitrary, and illegal; their orators in the house harangued vehemently: but all was of no use; they could not do without the money, the minister was determined to let them have it only on his own conditions, and everything he proposed was carried by a large majority. Nor did Lord North cease his interference here. Clive and others had represented to the minister, and also to the king, who was neither without previous information nor the previous determination or wish to un-democratize the constitution of the East India House, that the court of proprietors was a bear-garden, ever full of noise, confusion, anarchy, and the lowest and most selfish intrigues, and that their mode of checking the court of directors, and the direct influence and intimidation they exercised over the directors when elected, must for ever prove an obstacle to all good and permanent management and government. As if to prepare his way by an act of kindness, the minister, on the 27th of April, granted the Company that fatal leave to export tea to America duty free—a bonus which led to the tea riots at Boston, and which assuredly hurried on the American revolution—and then, on the 3d of May, he introduced a series of propositions, tending to an entire, and, as we think, beneficial change in the constitution of the Company. The principal of these were:—1st. That the court of directors should in future, instead of being chosen annually, be elected for four years; six members annually, but none to hold their seats for longer than four years; 2d. That the qualification stock should be £1000 instead

of £500; that £3000 should give two votes, and £6000 three votes; 3d. That, in lieu of the mayor's court at Calcutta, the jurisdiction of which was limited to small mercantile causes, a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief-justice and three puisne-judges, should be appointed by the crown, with great and extended powers of cognizance over the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the subjects of England, their servants and dependants, residing within the Company's territories in Bengal; 4th. That a governor-general, with four counsellors, should be appointed to Fort William, and vested with full powers over the other presidencies. When any differences occurred, the opinion of the majority was to be decisive; and this board was to be directed by the act to transmit regular reports of its proceedings to the directors, who were, within fourteen days of the receipt of their despatches, to furnish copies of them to one of his majesty's secretaries of state, to whom they were also to send copies of any rules and ordinations which they made; and these were, if disapproved by his majesty, to become null and void. It was further proposed that the nomination of the first governor-general and members of council should be vested in parliament by the act, and should be for five years, after which the nomination to those high offices should revert to the court of directors, but still subject to the approbation of the crown. Lastly, it was to be enacted that no person in India, in the service either of the king or of the Company, should henceforth be allowed to receive any presents from the native nabobs, rajahs, ministers, agents, or others; and that the governor-general, members of council, and judges, should be excluded from all commercial pursuits and profits. The "Regulating Act," as it is called, was to come into operation, in England, on 1st October, 1773, and in India on 1st August, 1774.

The court of directors, the court of proprietors, and nearly all men who had a personal interest in the affairs of the East Indies, raised a storm ten times louder than before; and they courted and obtained the influence of the corporation of the city of London, which was then in the most determined opposition to government, and to everything done or proposed by Lord North. Remonstrances and petitions were poured in upon parliament, but they did not affect the votes of the large ministerial majority.



WARREN HASTINGS.—From a picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

In proceeding to the choice of the first Governor-general of Bengal there was scarcely any difference of opinion as to the person most fit for the responsible, delicate, and difficult post. Long experience, proved ability, and other merits, all pointed to Mr. Warren Hastings, who was accordingly named by the new parliamentary authority. Clive, though he had not invariably had cause to be pleased with the conduct of Hastings, once his *protégé*, considered him the best man that could be selected; and he hastened to congratulate him on the honour of being the first GOVERNOR-GENERAL; in so doing, however, Clive expressed a doubt, in the shape of a hope, and this was, whether his colleagues in the council would act in harmony with him. It is especially deserving of observation that the principal misgiving Clive entertained with regard to Warren Hastings was, that he might err through overmuch good nature and easiness and amiability of temper. The four members of council appointed with Warren Hastings, and each with powers nearly co-extensive with his own, were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Philip Francis.

In the meanwhile, two Indian committees of the House of Commons, the "select" and the "secret," had continued their occupations; and the first of the two, urged on by Burgoyne, the

chairman, by Governor Johnstone, and by other men from whom impartiality and candour were as little to be expected, had taken a still more inquisitorial and personal turn. Clive was subjected to incessant examinations and cross-examinations; mutilated evidence, taken out of the Company's records by the Company's own servants, was received as good evidence, upon the plea that it was impossible to spare time sufficient to search for facts among the vast mass of papers at the India House. The palms of the patriots sitting in either committee must have itched at the long array upon paper of rupees and lacs of rupees; and it may be pretty safely doubted whether there was one of Clive's accusers and tormentors that would, at Moorshedabad, have rested satisfied with the large sum he took, when it was so easy to make it larger, when there was absolutely no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. On one occasion, the scenes of the past were forced upon his mind and upon his vision as a present reality; he vividly described his entrance into Moorshedabad and into the rich treasury of the fleeing tyrant, Surajah Dowlah:—"There was the new nabob, Meer Jafier, a creature of his making, and absolutely dependent on his will; there was a populous and opulent city offering immense sums to be saved from a plunder which was never intended: there were the Hindoo seits or bankers bidding against each other for his favour; there were vaults piled with gold and crowned with rubies and diamonds, and he was at liberty to help himself;—and then, bursting away from a picture as dazzling as Sinbad's valley of diamonds, he exclaimed, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

On the 10th of May of the following year, 1773, on the order of the day being read for taking into consideration the report of the select committee appointed in the preceding session, and also certain reports lately presented from a similar committee appointed in the present session, Colonel Burgoyne, who, as chairman, had brought them up, declared the said reports contained an account of the most atrocious and most revolting crimes. The Black Hole and its horrors were all forgotten; the cruelty, the perfidy of Surajah Dowlah were consigned to the same charitable oblivion; and it was represented by the military orator, who had no friend or brother in the horrible catastrophe at Calcutta, that the dethronement of that prince was the greatest of crimes, and the real cause of all the revolutions and mischiefs which had ensued since then. He maintained that Clive ought to be stripped of his wealth, as it had been extorted by military force, and as, like all acquisitions made from foreign powers, it of right belonged to the state; and he

moved three resolutions to this effect. Clive made another very able speech, but a speech not calculated to conciliate any party. His were not the parliamentary tactics of a mean, low mind, of one to whom truckling, duplicity, and deception cost nothing when they suited his interest and purpose. His friend Wedderburn, who was at issue with Thurlow, the attorney-general, but backed by the other great lawyers, made an eloquent and argumentative speech against Burgoyne's resolutions, representing that they were founded in envy and illiberality, narrow, pointed at individuals, and not at that future reformation of our management of Indian affairs which ought to have been the grand object of the committee's inquiry; and that above all, the evidence on which some of the facts rested was indecisive and defective, and the conclusions drawn from other facts erroneous and unjust as far as concerned Lord Clive personally and without the council. Thurlow, who is said to have been previously consulted, and to have recommended the spoliatory process as a good means of making up part of the deficiencies in the Leadenhall Street treasury, replied as a lawyer to Wedderburn; and in the end Burgoyne's resolutions were carried without a division. Just one week after this—on the 17th of May,¹ 1773—Burgoyne followed up his successes by pointing his charges directly against Clive. He protested that he wished not to plunder or impoverish his lordship; yet nothing was so clear as that he must reduce him to poverty as well as disgrace, if he could command the majorities which had hitherto gone along with him. Thus the donation at Moorshedabad was to be annulled; thus the jaghire was to be made void! But it entered not into Burgoyne's law or morality, or into the notions of any of them, that the money and rents ought to be restored, or the right of the nabob to give them questioned.

Wedderburn again took an active part in the debate, strenuously opposing the motion on grounds both of law and equity. He said that the house was in danger of being led to commit rashly and inconsiderately an act of crying injustice against one of the most illustrious men of the age. He argued that the acceptance of presents by Clive was justifiable by the ancient laws and usages of India; that there was no law, order, or by-rule of the Company prohibiting their servants from accepting them; and that to adopt the present resolution would be to condemn his lordship upon an *ex-post-facto* law. He treated the select committee with very little respect; said that the evidence they had gone upon was of the most unsatisfactory kind, that their report was necessarily a prejudiced one, and that for the house to proceed upon it would be an act of flagrant

¹ The *Parliamentary History* says on the 19th.

injustice. In the course of the debate Clive once more spoke for himself, and with the same uncompromising, unconciliating tone as on the previous occasions. He said, "After rendering my country the service which I think I may, without any degree of vanity, claim the merit of, and after having nearly exhausted a life full of employment for the public welfare and the particular benefit of the East India Company, I little thought that such transactions would have agitated the minds of my countrymen in proceedings like the present, tending to deprive me not only of my property, and the fortune which I have fairly acquired, but of that which I hold more dear to me—my honour and reputation." He observed that, trained in the school of war and politics as he had been for twenty years, he was now improving in the school of philosophy, and, if patience was a virtue, he had no doubt of soon being very virtuous indeed. But in reality this long-enduring patience was foreign to his nature, and was incompatible with his present state of bodily suffering. Always quick and susceptible, he had become morbidly sensitive and irritable, from the continuance of mental torture and bodily disease, in reciprocal action and reaction. The insults he had received from the select committee had gone through him like an Indian arrow, and as he spoke he seemed to show the barb with the poison and his heart's blood upon it. "I have served my country," said he, "and the Company faithfully; and, had it been my fortune to be employed by the crown, I should not have been in the situation I am in at present: I should have been differently rewarded; no retrospect would have been had to sixteen years past, and I should not have been forced to plead for what is dearer than life—my reputation. . . . The two committees seem to have bent the whole of their inquiries to the conduct of their humble servant, the Baron of Plassey, and I have been examined by the select committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of this house." After some debate, further consideration of the motion was

deferred till Friday, the 21st of May. On that day the active Burgoyne moved that certain witnesses should then be examined. The examination was ordered, and Clive's own evidence before the committee was read; upon which his lordship said a few words; concluding with—"Take my fortune, but save my honour"—and then retired from the house. Burgoyne's triumphant course stopped here; the house would not follow him from generalities to special facts, and to individuals; would not, upon loose and defective, and for the most part *ex-parte* evidence, find a distinguished man guilty, and then apply to him an *ex-post-facto* law. There was a spontaneous reaction in favour of Clive, a reaction apparently not explicable by any of the then ordinary rules of parliamentary management and manœuvre. After a variety of inconclusive motions and rapid divisions, it was moved by Wedderburn—"That Robert, Lord Clive, did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to this country," and this passed in the affirmative. And thus terminated all these proceedings as far as Clive was concerned.¹

But "the be all and the end all" was not there, nor could depend any further on resolutions, motions, and votes. The "Daring in War" had received his death-blow from orators' tongues; or, at the least, his mind and body had been so harassed for many months, and his cruel maladies so exacerbated, that there no longer remained a gleam of health, or hope, or cheerfulness. He had been acquitted—he had been applauded; some of the highest in the land and some of the most liberal and intellectual abroad—men like Voltaire, who had the right of genius to be the dispensers of fame—testified their admiration, and admired him the more for the ordeal he had gone through; but he could not take these flattering unctions to his soul; he brooded over the indignity of having been accused, charged in the eyes of the whole world, not only with horrible crimes, but with mean, petty vices, most hateful and maddening to his pride. His liver was en-

¹ Of the proceedings of parliament on this occasion, Mr. Macaulay says:—"The result of this memorable inquiry appears to us, on the whole, honourable to the justice, moderation, and discernment of the commons. They had indeed no great temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad judges of an accusation brought against Jenkinson or against Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party question; and the house accordingly acted with the good sense and good feeling which may always be expected from an assembly of English gentlemen not blinded by faction. The equitable and temperate proceedings of the British parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foil. The wretched government of Louis XV. had murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman who had served his country with distinction in the East. Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastille, and after years of suffering left it only to die. Dupleix, stripped of his immense fortune, and broken-hearted by humiliating attendance in ante-chambers, sunk into an obscure grave. Lally was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag between his lips. The commons

of England, on the other hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed out wherein he had deviated from those principles; and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy. The contrast struck Voltaire, always partial to England, and always eager to expose the abuses of the parliaments of France. Indeed, he seems at this time to have meditated a history of the conquest of Bengal. He mentioned his design to Dr. Moore when that amusing writer visited him at Ferney. Wedderburn took great interest in the matter, and pressed Clive to furnish materials. Had the plan been carried into execution, we have no doubt that Voltaire would have produced a book containing much lively and picturesque narrative, many just and humane sentiments poignantly expressed, many grotesque blunders, many sneers at the Mosaic chronology, much scandal about the Catholic missionaries, and much sublime theophilanthropy, stolen from the New Testament and put into the mouths of virtuous and philosophical Brahmins."—*Crit. and Hist. Essays.*

tirely deranged, his attacks of bile were frequent and dreadful; he suffered the excruciating agonies of gall-stones, and he had long had recourse to the dangerous aid of opium, which in many cases maddens or depresses in the morning more than it soothes or exhilarates at night. In the month of November of the year which followed his acquittal by the commons (1774), being at his splendid town-mansion in Berkeley Square, he had a violent access of his most painful malady. On the 21st and 22d he endured extreme agony, and had recourse for relief to additionally powerful doses of laudanum; the drug did not soothe, and a paroxysm of irritability and impatience was added to the paroxysm of the disease: in the course of the 22d he died by his own hand. He had only just completed his forty-ninth year.

Warren Hastings, who extended and consolidated the empire which Clive had called into existence, and whose Indian career ended in a prosecution more famous and more formal than that to which his lordship was subjected, began his administration at Calcutta under every possible disadvantage. A famine occurred in 1770, under the government of Mr. Cartier, and only a few months before Hastings succeeded him. It was a tremendous visitation; the natives, and above all the Hindoo portion of them, who, on religious grounds, make little or no use of animal food, perished by hundreds and thousands; and it was calculated that, in all, from one-fourth to one-third of the teeming population of Bengal was swept away. In the summer of 1769 the rains had failed; hence the earth was parched up, the tanks for the purposes of irrigation became empty, and the rivers shrank within their beds. The same natural causes had always been attended by the same dreadful consequences, and wide-wasting dearths were frequent in India long before Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape, or the name of the English was known. But natural causes did not satisfy the popular mind in England, where it was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by buying up all the rice of the country, and by refusing to sell it except at ten or twelve times the price at which they had bought it. A short time before the breaking out of the famine, Syef-ul-Dowlah, the son and successor of Meer Jaffer, died of small-pox; and his brother Muharek-ul-Dowlah, a boy, was appointed to the musnud. Not a few had

been inclined to apply to Syef the process of rapid curtailment and reduction which Regan applies to the household of old King Lear; and it appears to have been pretty generally thought that too much money was wasted upon a merely nominal nabob, a puppet, a man of straw—for so had Syef-ul-Dowlah been designated by a leading member in the Calcutta government. But as soon as the magnates in Leadenhall Street knew that Syef was dead, they sent out orders for making retrenchments on the allowance of his young brother. It fell to Mr. Hastings to carry these orders into execution, and he was afterwards censured and condemned as if the acts had originated with himself. The saving made, however much it may have improved the morals of the young nabob's court, had no visible effect on



CALCUTTA, BAZAAR ON THE CHITPORE ROAD.—Fraser's Views in Calcutta.

the treasury at Calcutta; and Hastings was left to struggle through all the perplexities and cares resulting from an empty exchequer, and a daily increasing debt, while every ship, every despatch from his masters, brought demands for money—money—money. Other and much more questionable instructions were sent out by the directors, and were carried into effect by Hastings—at times sorely against his conviction and will. Yet his obedience to orders was afterwards imputed to him as a crime, and the very body who had sent him his orders and had profited by their execution, appeared among his accusers and prosecutors.

Clive, in his treaty with the Emperor Shah Alum, had guaranteed to that poor and forlorn potentate the quiet possession of Kurrah and Allahabad, and the annual tribute or stipend from the Company of twenty-six lacs of rupees—about £260,000 sterling. In the profundity of their own debts and embarrassments, the court of directors and the court of proprietors at home, and the impoverished people of Bengal abroad,

had long grudged this money. It appears that the lacs were at no time very punctually paid, and that for considerably more than two years payment had been withheld altogether. Hastings had good reasons to plead for stopping the stipend, though it unfortunately happened that the cases were not specified or provided for in Clive's treaty, or, as it is usually called, the treaty of Allahabad. In spite of the disapprobation of the government of Calcutta, Shah Alum had thrown himself into the arms of the Mahrattas; and, quitting his territories of Allahabad and Kurrah, the only possessions he had, and which he owed entirely to the English, he, in the beginning of the year 1771, took the field with a mixed but numerous army. It is said that he was secretly encouraged by Sujah Dowlah, Vizier and Nabob of Oude, who wished to be free of his presence in order to recover possession of Kurrah and Allahabad, which had formerly belonged to Oude, and which, he calculated, might be restored to his dominion with permission of the English, and upon a pecuniary bargain with them. By the end of the year 1771 the Mahratta chiefs carried the poor Mogul in triumph into Delhi; but, though in the palace of Aurungzebe, Shah Alum found that he was a mere state-prisoner, compelled to do whatever the turbulent chiefs required of him. He was soon hurried into the field by these Mahrattas, who were eager for the plunder, if not for the permanent possession of Rohilcund, a country which was equally coveted by the Nabob of Oude, who had for some time kept his eye upon it, in the hope of obtaining it by the assistance of English troops or English-trained sepoys. The Rohillas, however, found themselves obliged to apply for the insidious aid of this vizier-nabob; and they obtained his promise not only to assist them himself, but also to procure for them the more potent co-operation of the Company. At the same time he intimated to Sir Robert Barker, the general commanding the Company's forces, and to the governor and council at Calcutta, that to allow any stipend or tribute to the Mogul would be only sending money to the rapacious and turbulent Mahrattas, who were deadly enemies to him, the close ally to the English, and who were, or soon would be, the most powerful enemies of the Company itself. But long before this intimation, and apparently before Shah Alum marched away from Allahabad with the Mahrattas, the payment of the tribute had been suspended, upon the cogent pleas that the trade and revenue of the English provinces suffered a visible decay by this annual diminution of their specie.¹ But if this had been held sufficient cause

to suspend the Mogul's allowance, his departure with the Mahrattas was considered as a throwing up on his part of all right or claim to English money and English protection, and the strong arguments of the Nabob of Oude had no doubt presented themselves to the mind of Hastings before he received that nabob's letters and messages.

It was perfectly clear that twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum was too great a price to pay for the merely ceremonial investiture of the Company in the dewannee of Bengal, over which neither the reigning Mogul nor his predecessor had ever had the least control; and the state of mutual obligations between Shah Alum and the English appears to be not unfairly described by Hastings, who taxes the Mogul with the basest treachery and ingratitude, and says, "Of all the powers of Hindoostan the English alone had really acknowledged his authority; they invested him with the royalty he now possesses; they conquered for him and gave him a territory; they paid him an annual tribute, the only pledge of fealty which he has ever received."² The territory here spoken of was Allahabad and Kurrah; and shortly after Hastings learned that the helpless Mogul had ceded both Kurrah and Allahabad to the Mahrattas, who were declaring their intention of taking immediate possession. This was considered as equivalent to a complete discharge from all the obligations of Clive's treaty. Moreover, the Nabob of Oude, as the faithful ally of the English, claimed their assistance in preventing the Mahrattas from obtaining a settlement in provinces that lay in the heart of his own country, and that would bring them close upon the frontiers of the Company's territories. The English at once threw a garrison into Allahabad, where the Mogul's deputy or governor received them with a welcome, declaring that his master was no longer a free agent, but a prisoner to the Mahratta chiefs, who were in the habit of subjecting him even to the degradation of blows and other personal chastisement when he hesitated to sign such grants, firmans, or decrees as they required. Hastings, who was most anxious for the preservation of peace, as the only possible means of restoring the prosperity and trade of Bengal, would gladly have stopped here, and for some time he was deaf to the prayers and representations of Sujah Dowlah, who continued to believe that the Mahrattas, after subduing the Rohillas, would overrun the whole of Oude, and then, descending the Ganges, spread havoc over Bahar and Bengal. As a little episode, however, Hastings sent a detachment, under Captain Jones, to drive the Bootans, a resolute and daring people, out of

¹ Letter from Hastings to Sir George Colebrooke, in Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*.

² Letter from Hastings to Sir George Colebrooke, in Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*.

Cooch-Bahar, and to annex that healthy and fertile province to the Company's dominions, to which, geographically considered, it belonged. At the same time the attention of the governor was called to the inroads and devastations of the Senassie fakirs, an assemblage of men who



SENASSIE FAKIR — From an original sketch in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society

united the several characters of saints, living martyrs, jugglers, robbers, and cut-throats, which, according to Indian notions and superstitions, were not irreconcilable. Tribes and hordes of the same species had long been in the habit of wandering throughout India, almost naked, pretending to live by alms, but stealing, plundering, murdering, and committing every act of obscenity and violence. A host of this kind, headed by an old woman who pretended to the gift of enchantment, had defeated an army of Aurungzebe, and caused that emperor, when at the height of his power, to tremble on his throne at Delhi. They were not the least of the many scourges and curses to which the country was periodically liable under the weak and divided empire, and imbecile government of the native princes. The present swarm fell upon Bengal, rapidly and silently, like a flight of locusts. They rushed in search of their prey in bodies each two or three thousand strong, and wherever they penetrated they burned and destroyed the villages, and committed every abomination. Hastings hurried on detachment after detachment to follow the track which the fakirs usually took on their return. Yet, after every possible exertion by all these corps, no great execution could be done upon the marauders, who, crossing rivers and mountains, got back to the wild country that lies between India, Tibet, and China.

Soon after the departure of the fakirs, Hast-

ings set out on a visit to Oude; for various circumstances had induced him to change or modify his pacific policy, and to give a more ready ear to the prayers, plans, and suggestions of the ambitious nabob of that country, who now earnestly solicited a personal conference at Benares, in order to arrange new bargains and treaties with the English.

The Mahrattas, too, were really making war upon the Rohillas, the allies of Oude; and a considerable part of the English army, under Sir Robert Barker, had marched into Rohilcund, where they found the Mahrattas more inclined to retreat than to fight, and the Rohillas more disposed to regard the English or the troops of the Nabob of Oude as enemies than as friends. And, in fact, the sovereign of Oude had conceived, and had some time before this communicated to the English governor at Calcutta, a plan of conquering the Rohilla country and annexing it to his dominions; and the correspondence upon this subject, more than anything else, had induced the proposal of an interview. Hastings left Calcutta on 24th June, and arrived at Benares on 19th August, 1773. He found the vizier-nabob waiting his arrival, and eager for business.

The troops of Oude had been of little service, but the troops of the Company had cleared the country of the Mahrattas; and yet the Rohilla chiefs, though bound by a solemn treaty with the vizier-nabob, refused to pay the forty lacs of rupees or any part of them. The Rohillas had always been turbulent and dangerous neighbours to Oude, and must keep the nabob poor and in constant need of English assistance, unless those powerful allies, by one great effort, for which he was willing to pay a liberal price—and he knew how much the Company wanted money—should conquer that Afghan race, who were themselves but conquerors of a recent date, without any right but that of the sword, and without any consideration or mercy for the original and peaceful occupants of the soil, who were still tenfold more numerous than themselves. Hastings ingeniously compared Rohilcund to Scotland before the union with England; but the Scots were one race thinly scattered over a poor country which had no other inhabitants, while the Rohillas were scattered over a rich country peopled by a different race, who regarded them as intruders and harsh task-masters, and heartily wished for their expulsion. Upon all these, and other considerations, Hastings consented to employ an army against the Rohillas, and to unite the country to Oude, the vizier-nabob engaging to pay the entire expenses of the army, according to a liberal scale fixed by the English themselves, and to pour into the empty treasury at Calcutta forty lacs of rupees.

When the meeting at Benares broke up, Sujah Dowlah proceeded to reduce some forts and districts in his neighbourhood that were still held by the Mahrattas, and Hastings returned to Calcutta rejoicing in the money he had made, and in the money he had saved. Hastings now applied himself to the internal administration of Bengal—to the establishment of something like an efficient police; to the posting detachments, so as to prevent the incursions of the fakirs and other marauders; to the formation of local courts in the districts; to the regulation of taxes and of the collection of the revenue—a tremendous task!—to the protection of native trade and industry; to the removing absurd regulations and impolitic taxes, duties, and fees upon native marriages;¹ to the suppression of speculation and rapacity in the Company's servants up the country or in

or was rapidly assuming a different aspect. The fearful gaps made in the population by famine and disease began to be filled up by the removal of the impolitic checks upon marriage, by the improved condition and more abundant food of the natives, and by the frequent immigrations of quiet laborious people from other parts of India, who sought and found that protection and encouragement under the government of Hastings which they could find scarcely anywhere else in a country kept almost in a constant state of anarchy and misery by revolutions, petty feuds, and the ravages of flying Mahratta hordes, or of hordes of a still more destructive and murderous description—Afghans, Jaats, Dacoits, Thugs, Beels—and others of that long array of monstrosity which gives to the authentic story of Hindoostan the appearance of fable or of a horrid dream.

With rajahs and nabobs, with khans and other grandees, the case may have been somewhat different; but the native merchant, manufacturer, weaver, tiller of the soil, artisan—all that we call people—throughout the wide extent of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were brought to consider Hastings as a benefactor, and to revere his name.

It was probably to this period he alluded, when he said in private conversation many years after, when nearly all England was accusing him of



BENARES, THE CHURRUN PADOOKHA AND MUNIKURNIKA GHAT.
From: Prinsep's Views in Benares.

remote districts, and to other cares and occupations almost innumerable. Some of the means adopted may not have been of the purest or highest kind, several may not be reconcilable either with our modern notions of political economy, or of morals and of justice, some may have been *pro tempore* expedients; but the present end attained was most indisputably a great benefit, and a wonderful improvement on the immediately preceding state of things. Even those who were no encomiasts of Warren Hastings confessed that since his return to Calcutta as governor of Bengal (in 1771), the whole country had assumed

monstrous cruelty and oppression—"I could have gone from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and from Moorshedabad to Patna and Benares, without a guard, without a sepoy, without any protection but what was to be found in the good-will and affection of the natives."

Encouraged by some successes he had obtained over the Mahrattas, and by a new league he had struck up with Shah Alum, who had escaped from his Mahratta bondage, and had actually engaged to assist the nabob with his small army in the reduction of Rohilkund, Sujah Dowlah applied eagerly for the instant marching of the English brigade which was quartered at Allahabad. Though the 210,000 rupees per month were acceptable, the suddenness of this application rather disconcerted Hastings. No time, however, was lost; and the brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, received orders to march into the province of Oude, with the declared purpose of invading the Rohilla country. From

¹ In allusion to this and some other reforms, he says:—"Of my foreign policy I have no cause to be ashamed; but that on which I chiefly congratulate myself is the abrogation of laws and usages oppressive to the people, and of one most destructive to population, which, though requiring little more than the stroke of a pen to remove it, I particularly mention, because, though little known and perhaps forgotten, it is one to which my mind ever recurs with self-satisfaction—the abolition of the duties and fees on marriage."

the middle of February till the middle of April the brigade remained in Oude doing nothing; but then the vizier-nabob with his forces joined Colonel Champion, and the open southern frontier of Rohilcund was immediately crossed. The Rohilla chiefs took up a good position on the side of Babul Nulla: nearly their entire force, which probably amounted to about 25,000 fighting men, was collected on that spot; and they had cavalry, artillery, and rockets. But when they were attacked by the British brigade, on the morning of the 23d of April, superior discipline and tactics, and better arms, led to the usual result. They were thoroughly defeated and routed; but their valour and stamina were proved by their fighting at unusually close quarters for two hours and twenty minutes, and leaving 2000 of their number on the field before they broke and fled. Several of their *sirdars* or chiefs were slain, and among them Hafez Ramat, the head of the confederacy. Fyzoola Khan collected the greater part of the dispossessed, fugitive Rohillas, and took up a very strong post near the frontiers of the country, expecting to be joined by other tribes of the great Afghan family, to which he and his Rohillas belonged. It was, moreover, apprehended by Sujah Dowlah that the Mahrattas would come down also; and his fears induced him to open negotiations with Fyzoola Khan. This turn of affairs was promoted by the temper of the English troops, who, disgusted with their ally and all his concerns, dispirited by long marches, short commons, and the total absence of prize-money and of any chance of it, were not very anxious to attack a bold enemy, in a formidable position among rocks and hills, and defended by trenches, stockades, and other works. A treaty was, therefore, hurried to a conclusion, Fyzoola Khan surrendering one-half of all his effects to the Nabob of Oude, and that nabob granting him a jaghire in Rohilcund. Some few chiefs remained on the frontiers with Fyzoola Khan; but the large majority, with their vassals or followers, went into other countries to seek new settlements with sword and spear. The Afghan race might almost be said to be rooted out of Rohilcund. Their entire number probably never exceeded 80,000, counting all classes, and men, women, and children. The Hindoo population that now remained under the rule of the Nabob of Oude was estimated at 2,000,000.

Just as the first Rohilla war came to this conclusion, the new constitution, as framed by parliament, commenced its operations. General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis arrived at Calcutta, on the 19th of October, 1774. Mr. Barwell, the fourth member, had been in India long before. On the following day the existing government was dissolved by proclamation,

and the new council, consisting of the four gentlemen named, and Hastings with the rank of Governor-general of Bengal, took possession of its powers. Of his four colleagues not one seemed very acceptable to Hastings. Three appeared to have come with the predetermination of opposing him in all things, and one of the three—Francis—hated him from the beginning with an intensity of which few English natures are capable. But among the judges who had arrived with the members of this new council, Sir Elijah Impey, the senior in rank, was an old and dear friend of the governor-general. They had been school-fellows at Westminster.

The general letter of the court of directors, which was read at the first meeting of the new council, recommended above all things unanimity and concord among those to whom the powers of the government were delegated. But such unanimity was incompatible with a body so constituted, and with tempers, interests, and views so diametrically opposed. The temper of Francis alone was enough to introduce discord into a paradise—and Calcutta was far from being any such sojourn of beatified, peaceful spirits. Besides, he, and Clavering, and Monson, who had never been in India before, had come out to detect and reform abuses, which the long local knowledge of Hastings and Barwell viewed in a different light, or with a better acquaintance with the primary causes of them, and the difficulty of making any sudden change. Correctors of abuses and reformers, particularly when deficient in information, find more abuses than really exist; and no class of men are more intolerant.

Francis, Clavering, and Monson began to assert, by implication, that Hastings had embarked in an unnecessary and unjustifiable war—the war with the Rohillas—for private and sordid motives; and that his whole connection with Sujah Dowlah had been a series of bad actions, fraud, and selfishness. As far as money was concerned, these aspersions were unjust to the utmost extent of injustice. Hastings was actually a poorer man now than when he quitted his inferior employment at Madras in 1771! He had made savings and gathered large contributions, and perhaps neither the economy nor the gain had proceeded upon strict principles of justice; but he had made them solely for the Company's benefit, and mostly at the Company's express command. He was above the motives imputed to him; he was, as many other men have been, and are, constitutionally indifferent to money, for himself. As Francis—we must put this name first, as he was ever the most active and by far the most able of the trio—Clavering, and Monson constituted the majority of the council, they assumed all the powers of government, and for a time reduced

Hastings, with his adherent Barwell, to the condition of a cipher. Of course they soon turned the government into an anarchy. One long-continued cause of quarrel was the Rohilla war. The majority declared that war to be monstrous, and the dispossessed and tyrannical tribes to be a brave but meek and inoffensive people. The Rohillas were what we have described them; and to their qualities remain to be added those of craft and treachery in a degree excessive even for India, and a bloodthirstiness like that of famishing tigers. But, though the war was to be reprobated and the Rohillas pitied!—though Champion and his brigade were to be instantly ordered to evacuate Rohilcund—the price of the war was to be poured into the Company's exchequer, the Nabob of Oude was to be made to pay to the last rupee of what he had promised, and he was to be bullied into earlier payments than he had stipulated for. Thus, if they considered the war as diabolical work, they could still love the devil's money. In vain Hastings and Barwell remonstrated; they were but two to three, and the determinations of Francis and his colleagues were carried into execution. Their behaviour vexed and terrified Sujah Dowlah, and may have contributed to hasten his departure from the cares of this world, for he died a few months after their arrival, at the very beginning of the year 1775, dictating in his last moments a letter to Hastings to implore his friendship and protection for his son.

This son, who took the name of Asoff-ul-Dowlah, succeeded without opposition to Oude and its dependencies, which now included the country of the Rohillas. The majority in council were as hard towards the son as they had been towards the father; they called upon him for prompt payment of all that was owing, and at the same time they declared that their treaty was dissolved by the death of the old nabob. Mr. Middleton had been succeeded at the court of Oude by Mr. Bristow, who took his orders from Francis, Clavering, and Monson. Bristow compelled the young nabob to accede to a treaty which contained an incomparably more questionable arrangement than Hastings' engagement for the expulsion of the Rohillas. By this treaty the Company guaranteed to Asoff-ul-Dowlah the possession of Kurrah and Allahabad; but the nabob, in return, *ceded to the emperor the territory of Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, which was not his to cede, and which had been solemnly guaranteed to the rajah by Hastings.* The revenue of Cheyte Sing's territory thus alienated was estimated at 22,000,000 rupees (£2,475,000); but as this took nothing out of the pocket of the young Nabob of Oude, he was bound in the same treaty

to discharge all his father's debts and engagements whatsoever with the Company, and to raise greatly the allowance to the Company's brigade. Hastings indignantly refused to sanction this treaty, which nevertheless met the warm approbation of the court of directors at home.

The supreme council, as provided by the act, asserted their authority over the other presidencies, and required from each of them a full report of its actual condition, political, financial, and commercial. The political status of the presidency of Bombay, which had long been so quiet and removed from the struggle of war, was at this moment as troublesome as war and politics could make it, for the council there had entered upon the stormy and incomprehensible sea of Mahratta politics. The first temptation had been Salsette, that rich island that lay in their immediate neighbourhood, and that had been coveted for more than a hundred years by the English at Bombay. The directors at home had fully partaken in this desire, and in 1769 had greatly applauded an attempt made to obtain Salsette by negotiation with the Mahrattas. In 1773, after various other attempts had failed, advantage was taken of the confusion and civil war which ensued on the assassination of Narrain Row and the election of a new peishwa; the presidency of Bombay despatched a considerable force to Salsette, which carried the principal fort by assault, and then took quiet possession of the island.² To secure this valuable possession, and to obtain future advantages and cessions of territory in the neighbourhood of Surat, the presidency concluded a treaty with Ragoba, whom, for the occasion, they chose to consider legitimate Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who were themselves much divided in opinion whether the right or the might lay with Ragoba, or Futtee Sing, or Row. Ragoba, who counted upon English aid as certain, made a grant of Salsette, Bassein, and other places; and the presidency sent Colonel Keating with 500 European infantry, eighty European artillerymen, 1400 sepoy, and 160 lascars, with a field-train and some heavier pieces, to assist Ragoba, who had himself a large army of horse. On the 18th of May, 1775, Keating, on the plain of Arras, repulsed the attack of one of the Mahratta confederacies hostile to Ragoba; but he lost a considerable number of men, and found his future movements impeded by the discontents of the peishwa's troops, who refused to cross the Nerbudda until they should be paid their arrears. But in the month of July, when Ragoba had got money and had weakened the hostile confederacy by detaching some of its most powerful members, the road to Poonah, which was a kind of

¹ The real objects of pity in Rohilcund were rather the poor Hindoos than the Rohillas.

² See the plan of Bombay and adjacent coast, given at p. 675 of this volume.

Mahratta capital, seemed open to him and his English allies. At this point the supreme council at Calcutta judged it proper to strike in; and they did so with the same temper they had displayed on other occasions. They rated the members of the council of Bombay as if they had been a set of schoolboys; they called them to account for daring to enter upon such important operations without their consent and sanction; they ordered them instantly to withdraw their troops and to recall their resident from Poonah; and after this they sent an agent of their own to undertake treaties and pursue a different line of policy. Colonel Upton, this new agent, did not reach Poonah till the end of the year 1775. His instructions were to treat with the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, which the supreme council considered as likely to be the stronger party in the end; but he was also furnished with a letter from the council to Ragoba, in case he should prove the stronger. If the confederacy prevailed the letter might be burned; but if they should be defeated then it would serve as an introduction to negotiation with Ragoba. Such was the straightforward policy of Philip Francis, for Francis led Clavering and Monson hoodwinked. But Upton had been only a few days at Poonah ere he found that the Mahrattas

were much in the same uncertain state of mind as the supreme council. "For," said he, "the chiefs of this country are quite at a loss which side to take, and are waiting to see what the English will do."¹ The pertinacity of the Mahratta chiefs confederated against Ragoba, in insisting on the immediate restoration of Salsette, Bassein, and all that had been acquired by the recent treaty with Ragoba, removed the doubts and vacillations of the supreme council, who finally determined that the peishwa recognized by the presidency of Bombay was to be recognized by them also as the rightful sovereign, and that the cause of Ragoba was to be supported "with the utmost vigour, and with a general exertion of the whole power of the English arms in India." But Ragoba gained nothing by this high-sounding resolution. His enemies jockeyed him when he thought himself close to the winning-post. As they would not be satisfied with less, the confederates agreed to yield Salsette and the small islands near it; upon which the majority of the supreme council agreed to abandon the cause of Ragoba and give up their claims to Bassein and the other territory which the lawful *then* and unlawful *now* peishwa had given to the presidency of Bombay as part of the price of their assistance. A treaty to this effect was concluded by Colonel Upton.

CHAPTER XXI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1776—1786.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—GEORGE III.

Mahratta invasions of Oude—Dissensions in the India presidency—The governor-general recovers his ascendancy—French intrigues in India—Faction among the Mahratta chiefs—Hastings sends aid to one of the parties—Difficult land march of an army sent under Colonel Goddard—A Bombay army compelled to submit to the Mahrattas—Goddard refuses to be bound by the treaty—He reaches Surat—His successes—He defeats Scindia and Holkar—Victories over the Mahrattas by Captain Popham—Popham takes the strong fortress of Gwalior—Quarrels and duel between Hastings and Francis—Francis returns home—The Mysoreans resume hostilities—Their successful inroad upon the British dependencies—Defeat of Colonel Baillie by Hyder Ali at Conjeveram—Exertions of Hastings to repel the invasion—Hyder Ali aided by French officers and troops—He is successively defeated by Sir Eyre Coote—Events and changes of the Mysorean war—Death of Hyder Ali—He is succeeded by his son, Tippoo Saib—Tippoo continues the war against the English—He defeats General Mathews—Successful operations of Colonel Fullarton beyond Tanjore—Treaty of the British with Tippoo—Prosperous results of the war for the English—Moderation of the rule of Warren Hastings—His courageous proceeding at Benares—His severe measures for raising money in Oude—Vindictive conduct of Sir Philip Francis against him in England—His attacks on the proceedings of the governor-general—Departure of Hastings to Europe—Coalition against him on his arrival in England—He is impeached—Accusations against him—His acquittal—Attempts to involve Sir Elijah Impey in the prosecution of the governor-general—Charges brought against Impey—His acquittal—His upright character.



DURING the progress of these events in Western India, other hosts of Mahrattas descended into the valley of the Ganges from Agra and Delhi, and plundered the more northern parts of the dominions of the young Nabob of Oude, who is

described as being as great a coward as his father, and destitute of ability, which his father was not. These devastations, which went to stop the current of supplies to a treasury which the supreme council had emptied, were accompanied by rumours of a new coalition between the emperor,

¹ Letter to the council, as quoted by Mill, *Ist. Brit. Ind.*

the Mahrattas, the Sikhs, the Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes, for the purpose of conquering the whole of Oude. The plans adopted by the supreme council to break or resist this league were not very wise or consistent; and Asoff-ul-Dowlah owed his safety for the present to quarrels which broke out among the members of the coalition, and to the poverty and indecision of Shah Alum. But for various other accidents, this incompetent, self-seeking trio would have lost all that Clive and Hastings had won in India. In all consultations in council the voice the least heeded was that of the governor-general. The hostile majority continued to heap accusations against him. "These men," said he, "began their opposition on the second day of our meeting. The symptoms of it betrayed themselves on the very first. They condemned me before they could have read any part of the proceedings, and all the study of the public records since, all the informations they have raked up out of the dirt of Calcutta, and the encouragement given to the greatest villains in the province, are for the purpose of finding grounds to vilify my character and undo all the labours of my government." Francis, Clavering, and Monson had got hold of the great informer or arch-devil of Bengal, the notorious Nuncomar, and were now inciting him to collect evidence and bring charges against Hastings. But on the 25th of September, 1776, the majority was reduced to an equality by the death of Colonel Monson. There thus remained only two on either side; but the casting vote of the governor-general gave him the superiority. "It has restored me the constitutional authority of my station," he wrote the very next day to the minister; "but without absolute necessity I shall not think it proper to use it with that effect which I should give it were I sure of support from home." It appears, however, that he at once used his re-acquired authority with boldness and effect, deciding all measures by his casting vote, and leaving Clavering and Francis to declaim and protest, as they had recently left him to do. Colonel Monson's place in the council was soon supplied by Mr. Wheeler, who commonly voted with Francis; but before that party could recover their confidence, it was again reduced to a minority by the loss of General Clavering.

It was high time that there should be more unanimity, for danger was approaching on various sides. Most of the Mahratta chiefs who had been parties to the treaty with Upton were already weary of their bargain; fresh intrigues and combinations were forming at Poonah, and a French ship had put into one of the Mahratta ports, and a French agent was reported to be living at Poonah and exercising great influence in that capital. The war in our American colonies was raging,

and, as Frenchmen of name and rank were taking part in it without any declaration of war from the court of Versailles to the court of St. James's, it was not imagined that the French would be very scrupulous in India, where in fact they had never once ceased their intrigues since the treaty of Paris had restored Pondicherry and allowed them their factory at Chandernagore. Besides, every letter from England complained of the interference of France in the American quarrel, and announced hostilities with that power as inevitable. The presidency of Bombay, who were nearest to the scene of Mahratta intrigue, and likely to be most affected by it, wrote alarming letters to the supreme council at Calcutta, and recommended a new alliance with Ragoba, in order to anticipate the designs of the French and the Mahratta chiefs. They were eager for the recovery of Bassein and the other territory which had been given up by Colonel Upton; and their last advices informed them that the court of directors disapproved *in toto* of that treaty, and thought that much more advantageous terms, *i.e.* more territory and more revenue, might have been secured by supporting Ragoba. Hastings, too, disapproved that treaty—the work of Clavering, Monson, and Francis—which he would have prevented at the time if he had been able. The Mahrattas had scarcely performed one article of it when the Chevalier de St. Lubin arrived at Poonah with letters and presents from Louis XVI. The governor-general, who had long been accustomed to reflect on the best means the English possessed of defending their Indian empire, and the most likely means the French had for recovering their ascendancy, had come to the conclusion that our greatest danger would proceed from a union of the French with the Mahrattas, and that any attempt of that kind ought to be met on the instant, and if possible prevented by arms, leagues, combinations, by the utmost exercise of our power and policy. At this critical juncture he received intelligence that there was a fresh quarrel among the Mahratta chiefs at Poonah, who constituted a sort of regency; and that a powerful faction, headed by Baboo, had resolved to declare for Ragoba, and had actually applied to the English at Bombay for assistance. It appeared also that the presidency of Bombay had committed itself to this party by promises or encouragements, and that its territories would be in danger if the faction opposed to Baboo and Ragoba should prevail in this new contest. Without hesitation Hastings proposed in council that every assistance should be given in men and money; and that an army should be sent from Calcutta to Bombay. He was supported by Barwell, and opposed by Francis and Wheeler, who protested as usual; but, as usual, the governor-

general's casting vote settled the matter. Ten lacs of rupees were immediately sent to Bombay by bills; and on the 23d of February orders were issued for assembling an army at Culpee, on the east bank of the Hooghly River, and about thirty-three miles in a straight line below Calcutta. There then arose a fresh dispute in council as to the fittest way of sending these troops on their long journey; if they went by sea, they would have to go round nearly the whole of the immense peninsula of India, and it was not the proper season for such a voyage, nor were there transports to carry the troops, or ships of war to give them convoy; to make such a march by land was a bold idea that had not yet presented itself to the mind of any Anglo-Indian, soldier or statesman; but Hastings, who had studied the capabilities of the native troops, who had a high reliance on their steadiness and powers of endurance, and had long wished for an opportunity to show the might of the Company to some of the princes and potentates of the interior, who, from the remoteness of their situation, had hitherto remained strangers to it, or but very insufficiently informed upon it, after consulting with some officers, confidently proposed the land march right across the peninsula—a peninsula vast enough to be called a continent—through the hostile and unknown regions that intervened between the banks of the Ganges and the Gulf of Cambay.¹

The army was composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry, furnished by the Nabob of Oude, and a company of native artillery, altogether amounting to 103 European officers, 6624 native troops, with 31,000 followers, including the bazar, carriers of baggage, servants of officers, and families of sepoys; and this host had to march upwards of 1000 miles through countries where nearly every kind of obstacle had to be overcome. The command was intrusted to Colonel Leslie, who did not prove worthy of executing so daring and brilliant a conception. Except the officers, there were no British or Europeans of any other nation. The army began its march on the 12th of June, 1778; and it had not proceeded far when a letter from Mr. Baldwin, the English consul at Cairo, brought to Calcutta the news that war had been declared both in London and Paris. Francis and Wheeler then insisted that the army should be recalled, as they considered that Bengal was as likely to be attacked by the French as Bombay, and as some great difficulties were already presenting themselves to the advance of the troops; but Hastings insisted that the army should go on, and that the river Hooghly, Calcutta, and Bengal could be very well defended without it.

Clive himself could not have kicked down obstacles and projected delays, or have acted in all respects with more determination than did Hastings on this trying occasion. He seized Chandernagore, which had not been refortified, and all the French factories in Bengal; he sent orders to the presidency of Madras to occupy Pondicherry instantly—but, in infraction of the last treaty of peace, Pondicherry had been refortified, and could not be taken without a desperate siege—he threw up strong works near Calcutta; and,



SEPOYS OF BENGAL, COSTUME OF THE TIME.
From Soltyk, Les Hindous.

still further to impede the approach to that capital, he collected a vast number of vessels, of all kinds, shapes, and riggings, and improvised a regular marine establishment; he raised nine new battalions of sepoys and a numerous corps of native artillery; and, being thus perfectly at ease in this quarter, he directed his attention to the westward to the march of the army, and to the proceedings at Poonah. The presidency of Bombay, under whose orders Colonel Leslie had been told to consider himself from the moment he crossed the Jumna, vacillated very miserably, and embarrassed that officer, who, upon trial, did not prove equal to the exigencies of the case. Hastings recalled Colonel Leslie to Bengal, and confided the command of the army to Lieutenant-colonel Goddard, a much more active and enterprising officer, who had been his second in command. Goddard was immediately freed from the orders which had tied the hands and feet of his predecessor; he was instantly released from the authority of the presidency of Bombay, which might interrupt but could not promote his success. He forthwith quitted "the detested land of Bundelcund," and, taking the road through Malwah, he

¹ Captain Williams, *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry, from 1757–1796.*

continued his march a long while in peace, ease, and plenty, without experiencing or expecting any of the numerous impediments which Leslie had so long complained of.¹ He soon crossed the Nerbudda, and reached the city of Nagpoor, which Hastings, with a prospective glance, had declared to be the exact and proper centre of all our possessions and connections in India! By the 1st of December, Goddard had established friendly relations with the Mahrattas of Berar. Here he received despatches from Bombay acquainting him that they had at last put an army in motion for Poonah, and expected that he would meet it in the neighbourhood of that city. This Bombay force, 4500 strong, under Colonel Egerton, quitted the coast, advanced boldly through the Ghauts, arrived at Condalu, and, by the 4th of January, 1779, were in full march for Poonah. Egerton therefore kept advancing till the 9th of January, when he was only sixteen miles from Poonah, in which neighbourhood he was to meet and form a junction with Goddard. But here a halt was suddenly ordered, for a large army of Mahratta horse was seen in front. Unfortunately for the credit of the expedition, the Bombay government had sent two civil commissioners to share the authority and direct the movements of Egerton. The civilians allowed themselves to be overcome by unmanly fears, and, upon pretext that the subsistence of the troops would be very precarious if they advanced—they had still in camp provisions for eighteen days!—they ordered a retreat. The Mahratta army of horse followed and almost enveloped them, cut to pieces 300 or 400 men, and carried off the greater part of their baggage and provisions. The two commissioners fell into a state of helplessness and despair; and even Colonel Egerton declared it to be impossible to carry back the army to Bombay. The three deserved hanging. A deputation was sent to the Mahrattas to know upon what terms they would condescend to permit their quiet march back to the coast. The Mahratta chiefs demanded that Ragoba should be delivered to them. With this demand Colonel Egerton and the commissioners complied, excusing the breach of honour and hospitality by alleging, what was probably true enough, that Ragoba, despairing of success, had opened a correspondence with the enemy. When the Mahratta chiefs had got Ragoba into their hands, they asked another price for permitting the retreat, and this was nothing less than a new treaty, by which the English should agree to give up all the acquisitions they had made in that part of India since the year 1756, and send orders to Colonel Goddard to return peaceably to Bengal. Egerton and the commissioners did as they were commanded, and signed a treaty to this

effect. The Mahratta chiefs then asked for hostages, intimating that they must be men of importance. The army recommended that the two commissioners should be delivered over to them; but it was finally arranged that two other civilians should be sent to the Mahratta camp. The dishonoured army was then told it might pursue its march to Bombay without fear of molestation. In the meanwhile Goddard had continued advancing upon Poonah, in the full confidence that he should meet Egerton and his army near that city. But when he reached Boorhanpoor, the ancient capital of Candeish, 980 miles from Calcutta by the route he had taken, Goddard too was brought to a halt by perplexing letters and advices. By one letter from the field-commissioners, written in compliance with their treaty, he was told that he must retrace his steps; by another from the same field-commissioners he was told that he must pay no attention to what they had said; but these lack-brains gave him no account or intelligible hint of what had befallen their Bombay army. In this state of doubt Goddard remained at Boorhanpoor till the 5th of February, when he learned the real state of affairs. Luckily he was no Egerton, and had no field-commissioners with him. He would not be bound by a treaty made by fools and cowards, who had no right to include him in their disgrace; and he bravely determined to continue his march to the western coast, avoiding Poonah, where the game for the present was lost; and making direct for Surat, where he would be in an English settlement, with the sea open to Bombay, and ready to act as occasion, or his orders from Calcutta, might require, Goddard and his sepoys performed the 250 miles' march in nineteen days, and entered Surat amidst acclamations. They had achieved a triumph more valuable than any victory; they had left a moral impression which could not be soon effaced, and which was scarcely overrated by Hastings. "Be assured," wrote the governor-general to one of the directors, "that the successful and steady progress of a part, and that known to be but a small part of the military force of Bengal from the Jumna to Surat, has contributed more than perhaps our most splendid achievements to augment our military reputation, and to confirm the ascendant of our influence over all the powers of Hindoostan. To them, as to ourselves, the attempt appeared astonishing and impracticable, because it had never before been made or suggested. It has shown what the British are capable of effecting."² Ragoba, escaping from his confinement at Poonah, took refuge in Surat. Goddard took the field again at the beginning of January, 1780. In a few days he reduced the fortress of Dubhoy, and carried by storm the im-

¹ Hastings' letter to Sullivan.

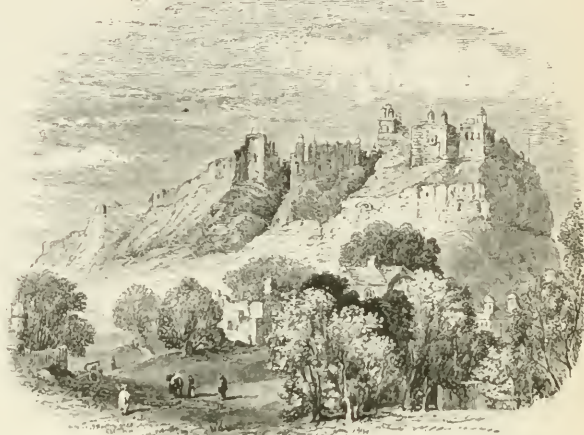
² Letter to Sullivan, as given by Mr. Gleig.

portant city of Ahmedabad, the ancient capital of Gujerat. He was recalled in the direction of Surat by intelligence that a Mahratta army under the two great chiefs or princes, Scindia and Holkar, was approaching that city. On the 8th of March his rapid advance had brought him nearly up with this army. It was 40,000 strong, but he resolved to give battle. By the more nimble movements of their cavalry, Scindia and Holkar were for many days enabled to avoid an attack; but on the 3d of April, between night and morning, Goddard, with a small but select part of his army, surprised them in their camp, and gave them a thorough defeat. Flying in the greatest confusion to the Ghants, the Mahrattas left Goddard undisputed master of all the country between the mountains and the sea.

In the meantime, Hastings had formed an alliance with a Hindoo prince commonly called the Ranna of Gohud, who possessed an extensive hilly country on the Jumna, between the territories of the great Mahratta Scindia and the kingdom of Oude; and Captain Popham with a small force had been detached to assist the ranna in expelling a Mahratta invasion. Popham had taken the field at the beginning of the year, and had not only driven out the Mahrattas from the dominions of the ranna, but had crossed the Sind, had followed them into their own territory, and had taken by storm the fortress of Lahar, the capital of Cutchwagar. Hastings recommended the immediate reinforcing of Popham as an officer capable of shaking the power of Scindia and Holkar in the heart of their own country. Francis protested against any extension of the war, but it was resolved to send another detachment. Before it had time to arrive, Popham, with extraordinary skill and daring, took by escalade the fortress of Gwalior, one of the very strongest and most important places in all India, built upon a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, and then defended by a numerous garrison. It had long been deemed impregnable by the natives: it was only about 190 miles from Delhi and not more than fifty from Agra, which was then Scindia's capital. The Mahrattas abandoned all the neighbouring country, and carried their feelings of terror and dismay into Agra.

The opposition to this brilliant campaign of Popham was about the last public act in India of Francis. A hollow reconciliation had been effected between the governor-general and this member of the supreme council, Francis agreeing to cease or moderate his opposition, and Hastings

agreeing to allow Francis a larger share in the distribution of places of honour and profit. But the temper of one of these contracting parties was uncontrollable, and so were the suspicions and antipathies of the other. If Hastings on



THE FORTRESS OF GWALIOR, from the N.W.—Hedges's Views in India.

vital occasions could suspend his resentments, he was not of a forgiving temper; and Francis had offered him insults difficult to be forgiven by any man, unless on a death-bed. He attributed the far greater part of the agony of mind he had endured, and of the risks he had run, to the "incendiary impressions" of the ex-clerk of the War Office. "Francis," said he to a confidential correspondent, "is the vilest fetcher and carrier of tales to set friends, and even the most intimate friends, at variance, of any man I ever knew. Even the apparent levity of his ordinary behaviour is but a cloak to deception." Under all these circumstances it was utterly impossible that the compact should be binding, or that the truce between the governor-general and his opponent should be lasting. Incensed at the renewal of opposition and the pains taken to thwart the campaign of Popham, Hastings, on the 14th of July (1780), in answering a minute of council, declared:—"I do not trust to Mr. Francis' promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." Upon this, Francis challenged the governor-general; and, not being veiled and defended by the impenetrable cloud that hung over Junius, he was shot through the body. The wound, though dangerous, did not prove mortal: but he resigned his place, and returned home a few months after receiving it.

Between Goddard and Popham the most bril-

¹ Letters to Sullivan.

liant successes had been obtained, and the Maharratta war promised a complete triumph, when the Mysoreans again took the field, threatening ruin to the English power and possessions on the Coromandel coast. For the space of seven years Hyder Ali had been concerting schemes with the French at Pondicherry, improving and increasing his army, and preparing the nerves of war by a financial system which has been much applauded, but which appears to have consisted mainly in extortion from his subjects, and plunder from his neighbours. The treasury of Mysore was certainly well filled, and all the weight which money could give was on the side of Hyder; when, in the summer of 1780, after prayers in all the mosques, and ceremonies in all the Hindoo temples, he quitted Seringapatam and poured through the Ghauts with 15,000 drilled infantry, 40,000 peons, 28,000 cavalry, 2000 artillery and rocket-men, and 400 Europeans, Frenchmen and other adventurers. There was a complete staff of French officers to direct operations according to the best rules. The artillery exceeded 100 pieces of all calibres. To meet these long preparations and this immense force, the presidency of Madras had an empty exchequer, a divided and factious council, an army not exceeding 6000 men, counting sepoys, who formed by far the largest part of it; and these troops, wholly unprepared, were scattered over a wide tract of country, in Pondicherry, which had been taken from the French, in Trichinopoly, in Arcot, in Madras, in cantonments far apart, and in forts incapable of resisting a battering train, or badly supplied with provisions and stores. As for the forces of their ally, the Nabob of the Carnatic, there was no reliance to be put on them: they ran away, or they deserted to Hyder, as soon as his army defiled through the Ghauts. Portonovo, on the coast, and Conjeveram, close to Madras, were captured and plundered; the people were flying in all directions from fire and sword towards the English presidency; and the flames kindled by Hyder were seen by night from the top of Mount St. Thomas. Blacks and whites gathered under the guns of Fort St. George, as the only place where they could be safe; and the neighbouring villas, the Black Town, and Madras itself were deserted by their panic-stricken inhabitants. Almost the first thing the presidency did was to despatch a fast-sailing ship to Calcutta, with letters and agents, to implore the governor-general to send them help, but above all *money*; and Hastings and the supreme council were told that if they sent money all would go well, but that without money everything must be lost, and a death-blow be given to the British empire in India.

To complete the embarrassments of the presi-

dency of Madras, the arrival of a French armament on the coast, to recover Pondicherry and co-operate with Hyder, was confidently reported. Colonel Baillie, with a lamentable deficiency of judgment, allowed himself to be surrounded, near Conjeveram, by the whole host of Hyder, with upwards of sixty cannon. But the bravery of his small body of men was even more conspicuous than his own folly. Though worn out by forced marches, and almost sinking with hunger, sepoys as well as British kept their ground with a spirit that has rarely been surpassed. But for the French staff around him, Hyder would have given up the contest and retreated. The English repelled charge after charge, and the fire of their platoons, as regular as the motions of a machine, inflicted terrible slaughter. But, at half-past seven in the evening, when the battle had lasted for many hours, and when Hyder's troops appeared to be commencing a retreat without orders, two tumbrils blew up, killed a number of men, upset their guns, and left the English almost without ammunition. Still they kept their ground, and they continued fighting on till nine o'clock, when all the sepoys that remained were broken and cut to pieces. The British that survived—less than 400 in number, and most of them wounded—gained the ridge of a hill and formed in square, the officers fighting with their swords, the men with their bayonets, or only now and then burning a cartridge. They resisted many attacks, and would have resisted more, if Colonel Baillie had not gone forward to ask for quarter, waving his handkerchief and ordering them to lay down their arms. It is said that Baillie committed a mistake in supposing that his signal was favourably answered; it is said that some of his men would not lay down their arms, and continued to use them; but the undisputed termination of the affair was a cowardly butchery of one-half of the English, and a horrible captivity to the rest. Of eighty-six officers thirty-six were killed and thirty-four wounded and mangled. A great part of the country was again laid waste; and, within a few weeks from Hyder Ali's first descent, Wandiwash, Chingleput, Vellore, and Arcot were either captured or closely besieged. But for Hastings, there was an end to our power not only in the Carnatic but also in the Northern Circars. He too had to contend with an empty treasury, and with a council that was still far from unanimous. Money, however, was procured, and fifteen lacs of rupees were sent off to Madras as a present supply for the army. More money was promised, and the governor-general's missives and agents were sent flying through the country to procure it—at Moorsshedabad, at Patna, at Benares, at Lucknow, in every place where Hastings had a claim or could invent one.

—for all considerations gave way in his mind to the paramount duty of preserving the British empire in the East. If he could have coined his body, and his soul too, into lacs of rupees, he would have done it at this tremendous crisis.

The inept governor of Fort St. George or Madras was recalled, and Sir Eyre Coote, who had



SIR EYRE COOTE.—From a print after H. Morland.

fought under Clive at Plassey, was invited to take the command of the fort and the entire management of the war with Hyder Ali. Peace was concluded with Scindia, and the brave Popham was recalled from the Jumna. Hastings at every demur or hesitation of the council, offered, in the manner of Clive, to take all the responsibility upon himself. He strained every nerve, and sent troops from Calcutta to Madras both by land and sea. Colonel Pearse made a wonderful march of more than 1100 miles, and through a country intersected by many rivers, which were all to be crossed where broadest, or nearest their mouths. Hyder Ali abandoned Wandiwash, raised several of his sieges, and he would have fled altogether, or have entered into a treaty with Coote, but for the arrival of a French fleet on the coast. Again the governor-general was implored to send help, but above all *money*. Hyder now moved on the right flank of the English with the intention of keeping open his communications with the French; but he cautiously avoided a battle. The French ships, having landed supplies, sailed away. Sir Edward Hughes with an English squadron destroyed Hyder's infant navy in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, and then carried some reinforcements to Coote. Tippoo, the son of Hyder, laid another fruitless siege to Wandiwash. Coote thoroughly defeated Hyder on the 1st of July in his fortified camp at Cuddalore, so that the old Mysorean raved and tore his clothes in rage and utter help-

lessness. He began to have a correcter notion of the spirit and resources of his enemy, and he bitterly regretted having allowed himself to be drawn into the war by French counsels. "The defeat of many Baillies," said he, "will not destroy these English. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea." He risked another battle on the 27th of August, and another on the 27th of September; he was defeated by Coote in both, and then retreated with terrible loss. In the meantime an able and a truly excellent man, Lord Macartney, had arrived from England as governor of Madras. His lordship brought intelligence that the Dutch had joined the French, Spaniards, and Americans, and that war had been declared between England and Holland, and his first care was to make himself master of all the Dutch factories or settlements on that coast. One of them—Negapatam—stood a siege, but soon surrendered. An expedition was then sent to drive the Dutch out of Trincomalee in the island of Ceylon; and this was completely successful.

Colonel Brathwaite, while in Tanjore, was surprised, enveloped, and destroyed on the 18th of February, 1782, by Tippoo and a French corps. This severe blow was almost immediately followed by the arrival on the coast of M. de Suffrein, with ships, and an army 3000 strong, two-thirds being veteran French troops, and the other third Caffres, picked up at the Isles of France and Bourbon. Sir E. Hughes with a very inferior force gave Suffrein battle, but could not succeed in interrupting his operations. On the 12th of April, Hughes fought another drawn battle, in which the number of killed and wounded on either side was about equal.

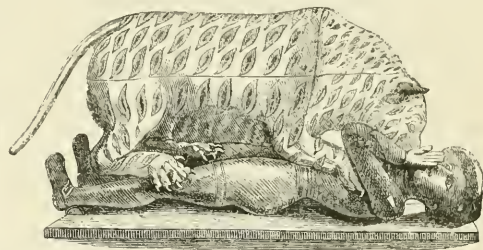
The 2000 French and the 1000 Caffres were under the command of M. Bussy, who, no more than Coote, was the man he had been twenty years before. They united with the army of Tippoo, and besieged and captured Cuddalore. From this important conquest Bussy and Tippoo advanced against Wandiwash; but Coote, though suffering from a recent and violent apoplectic attack, advanced rapidly to the relief of that place, and on the 24th of April, encamped on the very spot where he had defeated Lally and Bussy in the year 1760. Instead of accepting the battle he offered, Bussy and Tippoo retreated before Coote and his prestige. The English then threatened the strong fort of Arnee, where Hyder had deposited plunder and provisions. The old Mysorean advanced in person for the defence of this place, and fought a loose, irregular battle, in which he sustained great loss; but while he was thus facing Coote, his son Tippoo succeeded in carrying off the plunder and provisions from Arnee. After these operations Bussy retreated

towards Cuddalore and Pondicherry. Hyder put himself in quarters near the coast, and Tippoo and some strong French detachments hurried away to Calicut, where the affairs of his father seemed going to utter ruin, for the nairs or Hindoo chiefs of the Malabar coast, who had been cruelly oppressed by the Mysoreans, were rising in arms, and joining a British force under Colonel Mackenzie. At this juncture, when experience had shown him that even with the aid of his European allies he could not face the British, Hyder was thrown into dismay by learning the result of Hastings' successful policy, or the conclusion of the treaty between the British and the Mahrattas. He expected every moment to have the Mahratta confederacy upon him; and the Mahrattas alone had on a former occasion proved more than a match for him. His health, which had been declining for some time, was shaken by his anxieties and still increasing suspicions. He had long been haunted by visions of conspiracy and murder. He, however, permitted himself to be persuaded by Bussy that the war in the Carnatic was far from hopeless, and he prepared to co-operate with Bussy in an attack upon Seringapatam.

On the 3d of July Suffrein and Hughes fought another drawn battle, in which both fleets were greatly damaged. Suffrein was the first to be ready for sea, and making for Ceylon, and dashing into Trincomalee Bay, he captured the town and the forts there, which Hughes had so recently taken from the Dutch. Hughes was soon after him; and on the 2d of September there was another fierce engagement, in which the French lost more than 1000 killed and wounded, and the British, two captains of ships killed, and about 330 men and officers in killed and wounded. Suffrein ran back to Trincomalee, and Hughes returned to Madras, where he found Sir Eyre Coote almost deprived of the use of his limbs by another attack of paralysis. The monsoon obliged Hughes to go round to Bombay. At the setting in of that stormy season a whole fleet of merchant ships loaded with rice for the garrison and the town of Madras, and for the army in the field, was wrecked. There had been a scarcity before, but now there was absolute famine. Thousands of the poor natives of the Carnatic, who had fled from Hyder to seek refuge under the guns of Fort St. George, were the first to feel these horrors; they died by hundreds, and they soon had fellow sufferers.

Sir Eyre Coote, in a deplorable state of health, set sail for Calcutta soon after. The command devolved to General Stuart, who reinforced Seringapatam, and sent 400 Europeans to co-operate with the Bombay army under Goddard, who was preparing to invade Mysore. Tippoo was gone

to the Malabar coast with an army of 20,000 men and a French corps 400 strong. Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie was pressing on Mysore from the south, and was not many marches from Seringapatam, when the return of Tippoo constrained him to retreat towards the coast. Mackenzie halted at Paniany, a seaport town about thirty-five miles from Calicut, and there resolved to defend himself against Tippoo and the French,



TIPPOO SULTAUN'S TIGER ORGAN.¹—From the original in the Museum of the East India House.

who were close on his rear. A tremendous conflict took place on the 28th of November. The Mysorean sustained a great loss, and the victory of the British was chiefly owing to that pride of Highland regiments, the gallant 42d. At this juncture Hyder Ali died, and it behoved Tippoo to hasten to Seringapatam to look after his inheritance, for he had brothers and cousins. The "Tiger"—for such being translated, is the appropriate name of Tippoo—had reached the manly age of thirty years when he assumed the reins of government, with an army of 90,000 men, a treasury containing three crores of rupees in hard money (£3,350,000), and a mass of booty, jewels, and other valuables, estimated at an immense amount. With these resources, with the French alliance, and with a passion for war and aggrandizement, Tippoo scorned all overtures for a peace with the British—overtures which his wiser father would certainly have accepted, if he had lived a few months or a few weeks longer. He took the field at the beginning of 1783, but soon retreated before General Stuart. Tippoo recalled his garrisons from Arcot and other places, and was evidently evacuating the Carnatic, in order to make head against the British, who were carrying

¹ This ingenious piece of mechanism, which perhaps illustrates with tolerable accuracy the savage and barbarous spirit of some Indian princes as displayed even in their amusements, belonged to the celebrated Tippoo Sultaun. It represents a tiger standing over a prostrate man, whose figure and dress are intended for a British officer. His screams, with the accompanying growls at intervals of the ferocious beast, are imitated by an internal apparatus resembling that of an organ, and acted on by the turning of a handle on the outside, which is ingeniously made to appear as one of the black stripes of the animal's skin. The man's arm is likewise raised by the action of the machinery in a supplicating attitude immediately before he utters the cry. Such a contrivance for royal amusement may remind the ruler of the bull of Phalaris.

everything before them on the Malabar coast, under the command of General Mathews, who had arrived from England with king's troops. Onore was taken by storm, and the rich capital of Bednore surrendered to Mathews without firing a gun. Most of the other forts surrendered at or before a summons; but Ananpore and Mangalore held out. Ananpore was soon carried by storm, and Mangalore surrendered as soon as a breach was made. Through the covetousness of General Mathews, who wanted to keep nearly all the booty to himself, quarrels broke out, and some of the best officers left the army in disgust. Mathews then acted like a madman, scattering his army all over the country, and fixing his head-quarters in the city of Bednore, without laying in ammunition, or doing anything to strengthen the forts. In this state of stupid security he was surrounded by Tippoo with an immense army, and on the 30th of April he was compelled to capitulate. Instead of permitting the general and his troops to withdraw to the coast, according to the terms of the capitulation, Tippoo bound them with chains or ropes, and sent them into Mysore to be thrown into horrible dungeons, excusing his conduct by accusing Mathews of purloining some of the public treasure which he had agreed to leave in the fort.¹ But this mode of treating prisoners was all along a fixed rule of conduct both with Hyder and his son. After this success Tippoo went through the Ghauts and laid siege to Mangalore, into which the brave 42d and some fragments of Mathews' army had thrown themselves. There the Mysorean was detained for months.

Sir Eyre Coote had returned to the coast to resume the chief command in the Carnatic, but a third fit had proved fatal to him. The French had formed strong lines at Cuddalore, and from these General Stuart was determined to drive them. On the 13th of June a very unfortunate assault was made by the English. On the next day Sir Edward Hughes appeared in the offing to co-operate with Stuart; but the French Admiral Suffrein appeared at the same time, and succeeded in getting between Hughes and Cuddalore. After many manœuvres another sea-battle was fought on the 20th of June. As it grew dark these two old antagonists separated, each with a good number of killed and wounded on his decks, but without either capturing a single ship; and thus indecisively ended the fifth and last engagement between Sir Edward Hughes

and M. de Suffrein. A few days after this, when General Stuart was just ready for another desperate assault on the lines of Cuddalore, news arrived that a treaty of peace had been concluded between France and Britain. Tippoo, who resolved to continue the war even without French assistance, remained with his whole army at Mangalore. Nor were military operations suspended by the British. Colonel Fullarton, an excellent officer, and, in his way, a man of genius, had made, and was still making wonderful progress in the country beyond Tanjore; he had gained the attachment of the Zamorin or ancient Hindoo sovereign of Calicut, and of nearly all the rajahs on the Malabar coast, whom Hyder had dispossessed and most barbarously treated; he had captured many forts and towns; he had made the most astonishing marches through the most difficult of countries; and he had opened to himself a new and direct road to Seringapatam, which was not then the strong place it became at a later date, where his prestige was destroyed by an order to return instantly to the Carnatic.

Colonel Campbell, who had behaved like a hero, and who had sustained a siege and blockade of nine months, agreed, on the 23d of January, 1784, to quit Mangalore upon honourable conditions. Tippoo had lost before those rotten walls, by war, sickness, and desertion, nearly one-half of his immense army; but he considered the place as a charm, on the possession of which the fortunes of his house depended; and he was made so happy by entering into it, that for once he kept his engagements, and allowed Campbell, with his troops and baggage, sick and wounded, to march unmolested to Tellicherry. At that place Campbell died soon after, worn out by the fatigues and sufferings he had undergone. General Mathews, a very different man, who had capitulated at Bednore, was deliberately murdered in prison, together with several of his officers. Campbell would not have capitulated even when he did, but for the knowledge that both the British government and the Company were determined to make peace with the Mysorean ruler, and to give him back not only Mangalore but also every place on the Malabar coast which had been taken from him. Another campaign would have finished the story of Tippoo Sultan. It was, however, that tyrant's fate that he should be left to scourge his kind, and to renew his contest with the British when he should be again encouraged by the French. The treaty with him was finally concluded on the 11th of March, upon the condition of a restitution by both parties of all they had gained in the war. Peace may be so made as to be more unjust and cruel than the worst wars. By this treaty the poor Malabar Hindoos, whom we had excited to insurrection, and to whom we had promised pro-

¹ Mathews had certainly gained a bad character for rapacity and selfishness; but Tippoo's accusation was probably not more true than the charge brought against him by his own army, which made the plunder he had secured amount to more than £800,000 in money, besides jewels! Bednore had once been a very wealthy city, but it had been visited too often by Hyder to be very rich now.

tection against Tippoo, were by us restored to the dominion of that vindictive and ferocious prince. The tales told by the English prisoners of war, whom he now liberated, excited horror and indignation in our army, and by themselves alone rendered the duration of any peace with him very problematical.

Compared with the danger and despondency at the beginning of the war, or with the result of the national contests in other parts of the globe, this was a most advantageous peace for England. The real danger in the Carnatic was over so soon as Sir Eyre Coote gained the battle of Porto-novo. The French power in India had been destroyed; vast acquisitions of territory had been made; and the impression had been produced among nearly all the native princes that the power of Britain was irresistible. The extent of these operations was magnificent and astounding—it embraced the two sides of the vast triangle of India, from the mouths of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and from Cape Comorin to Bombay and Surat and the Gulf of Cambay; and inland it nearly traversed the base of the triangle. India was saved when our empire in the West was lost. No Briton, we presume, can even now reflect without a shudder upon the effect which would have been produced in Europe if the loss of our Indian empire had been added to the loss of the thirteen provinces of North America—and that this had not happened had been owing to the genius and spirit of one great man. But the expenses of this Indian war had been tremendous; and, as the far greater part of the money could come only from Bengal, Warren Hastings had, in some few instances, put no trifling burden upon his conscience to procure it. His only principle of action was that the Carnatic must be rescued, that India must be saved, cost what it might; and, as the first step to that salvation was the obtaining of money, he determined that money should be obtained by whatever means lay in his power. Some of the neighbouring princes that owed their political existence to the power of British arms, and that were entirely dependent upon the government of Calcutta, were known to possess hidden treasures of vast amount. The plan was to squeeze them; for, although they owed everything to the English, and their destruction must be involved in that of the Company, they would not willingly part with their money even when they saw themselves threatened with that destruction. Oude and Benares, though

nominally independent states, were to all intents and purposes conquered and tributary countries, and they would not have hesitated to have so acknowledged themselves. Even Sujah Dowlah, who “wanted neither pride nor understanding,” would have thought it an honour to be called the vizier of the King of Britain, and had actually offered to coin his money in the name and with the effigies of George III.¹ If the offer of sovereignty had been accepted—if the Company or nation had frankly proclaimed themselves, what they were *de facto*, the lords and rulers of Oude and Benares—if when, by arms or by policy, the English obtained dominion over principalities and powers, they had assumed their proper style and title, instead of calling themselves protectors, allies, auxiliaries, and the like, with a false moderation of language which deceived no one, either in Europe or in Asia—Lord Clive, as well as Warren Hastings, would have been relieved from many a false position; and actions not warranted by their *nominal* relations with the native princes would have been reconcilable to the law of nations.

In one of his financial operations Hastings had exposed his life. After submitting to the pressure several times, Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, refused to furnish any more money. The governor-general went from Calcutta to Benares, and there, on the 15th of August, 1781, he put the vassal rajah under arrest. This provoked a popular insurrection, and the massacre of four companies of sepoy with all their British officers. Hastings fled to the fortress of Chunar, built on a rock, about seventeen miles from Benares. On



FORTRESS OF CHUNAR, on the Ganges.—From a drawing by Capt. R. Smith, 44th Regt.

the 29th of August the liberated Cheyte Sing surrounded the rock with 30,000 men, but he was defeated, and his forces were scattered by the faithful sepoy who had marched hastily up the country to rescue their much-loved governor-general. The rebellious rajah fled into Bundel-

¹ Letter from Hastings to Mr. Elliot.

cund, where he passed the rest of his life in exile and poverty. Hastings took the entire management and jurisdiction of the city and country into his own hands; but as a puppet rajah was considered indispensable at Benares, he selected a nephew of Cheyte Sing to fill that part.

By this revolution an addition of about £200,000 per annum was made to the revenues of the Company; but ready money there was none, and this must be procured somewhere. The governor-general therefore determined to apply the screw to Asoff-ul-Dowlah, Nabob of Oude and master of Rohilcund, and one of the most extravagant, debauched, and contemptible of Indian princes. On the rock of Chunar, to which he was summoned, the nabob undertook to extort money from the two begums, his mother and grandmother, who had hoarded an enormous treasure, to which their original right was very disputable, and who had concealed it in the oriental manner. Mr. Middleton, the British resident at Lucknow, and the people of the nabob got at this hidden treasure, and in so doing committed several acts of great oppression and cruelty. In all, about £1,000,000 sterling was obtained in Oude. This money, procured at a most critical moment, had all gone to feed the war—Hastings had not appropriated a rupee of it.

Francis had returned to Europe, with the wound inflicted by Hastings' pistol fresh on his body, and with the bitterest feelings of animosity ranking in his heart. He was one of the most ambitious as well as the most vindictive of men—he aspired to the post which Hastings filled; and almost to the last day of his life he flattered his imagination with the brilliant dream that, by some strange combination, he should be Governor-general of India. He had made the acquaintance of Burke before he went to the East; he corresponded with him during his residence at Calcutta; and on his return he had full possession of his ear, and filled Burke's generous and excitable mind with false and horrible tales against Hastings, and against all who had supported that governor-general in his struggle with Francis, Clavering, and Monson. From the moment of Francis' arrival in England, by means of pamphlets, books of travels, harangues at public meetings, private discussions, and parliamentary orations, a merciless war was commenced against the great man who was saving, and who in the end did both save and enlarge our Indian empire. It was soon resolved to impeach Hastings for the means he had employed to effect the great object. If India had been lost—as it must have been but for the means he had employed—he would have been impeached for losing it.

Mr. Pitt's government, though long averse to the impeachment, did not give the governor-gene-

ral all the protection which he merited. Hastings, however, was not recalled, he resigned. The two last years of his administration in India formed by far the happiest period of his public life. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity and prosperity which had not been known for many ages. It also enabled him to extend the British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. In the supreme council all opposition had ceased or become of the mildest kind; and the records and protests which Francis, Clavering, and Monson had left behind them were read with astonishment and indignation, and with the intimate conviction that if their schemes had been followed, India would have been lost like America. Having completed his preparations, he embarked on the 8th of February, 1785, attended by demonstrations that certainly did not mark him out as a tyrant and a monster. As soon as it was publicly known that he was really about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up and presented by all classes; by military officers, by the civil servants of the Company, by factors and traders, by natives as well as Europeans. During his voyage, which was unusually short for those times, he amused himself with reading, and with writing verses; and in the course of the last novel occupation, he translated that well-known ode, wherein the Roman poet expresses his philosophic indifference to wealth and worldly grandeur, and his love of a humble retirement, with an ease not to be purchased by jewels nor by gold.¹ And of gold Hastings had comparatively but little. It has been calculated that he might with ease to himself have brought home from £2,000,000 to £3,000,000 sterling: what he brought was less than £130,000, was less than the fortunes which had been made by Barwell and other members of the council—far less than what the patriotic Francis had made in six years; and Hastings, who had been thirteen years a governor-general, had been altogether more than thirty years in India.

He was most favourably received at court; but his enemies did not leave him long tranquil. Francis had obtained a seat in parliament, ranging himself on the side of the most active and the most eloquent opposition party that the country had yet seen; and through Francis and his too credulous ally, Burke, the prosecution of Hastings was made a party question. It took some time and trouble to convert Charles Fox, but at last that statesman entered into the crusade against the governor-general with his constitutional heat and impetuosity. Sheridan, Sir Gil-

¹ "Otiūm Divos rogat."—*H. ruc.*

bert Elliot, Sir John Anstruther, Mr. Windham, Mr., afterwards Earl Grey, and all the great Whig orators either preceded or followed Fox; and for many years their efforts were united to effect the ruin and disgrace of Warren Hastings, who was no orator, who had no seat in parliament, and who had to contend with nearly every possible disadvantage. The mere outlines of the proceedings would fill a volume—they lasted altogether more than ten years; and without details still more voluminous, an adequate notion could not be conveyed of this unprecedented persecution. We can here do no more than give the results.

On the 4th of April, Burke charged Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor-general of Bengal, &c., with sundry high crimes and misdemeanours, and delivered at the table nine of his articles of charge. In the course of the following week he presented twelve more articles; and on the 6th of May, another charge, being the *twenty-second*, was added to the long and bewildering list. But the several accusations were finally confined to four heads:—The oppression and final expulsion of the Rajah of Benares; the maltreatment and robbery of the begums (or princesses) of the house of Oude; and the charges of receiving presents and conniving at unfair contracts and extravagant expenditure. The sessions of 1786-7 having been consumed in preliminary proceedings, the House of Lords assembled in Westminster Hall, February 13th, 1788, to try the impeachment; and on the 15th the preliminary forms having been gone through, Mr. Burke, in the name of the Commons of England, opened the charges against the prisoner in a comprehensive, elaborate, and most eloquent speech, which lasted upwards of three days. He was assisted in the management of this most arduous cause by Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and others. The sessions of 1788, 1789, and 1790 were consumed in going through the case for the prosecution. In 1791 the commons expressed their willingness to

abandon some part of the charges, with the view of bringing this extraordinary trial sooner to an end; and on the 2d of June, the seventy-third day, Mr. Hastings began his defence. This was protracted until April 17, 1795, on which (the 148th) day he was acquitted by a large majority on every separate article charged against him.¹

The opposition party, who at that time almost monopolized the public press, had deeply blackened the character of the benefactor of his country and the *people* of India; yet public opinion changed greatly during the long trial, and Hastings came to be regarded as an oppressed, instead of an offending man. The malice of Francis was so far defeated; but the law charges of the defence had exhausted the very moderate fortune of the late governor-general; and but for an annuity of £4000, and a loan of ready money granted to him by the East India Company, in 1796, the illustrious and (in private life) amiable Hastings might have been left to end his days in a prison or a poorhouse.

Strenuous and unscrupulous efforts were made by the parliamentary opposition to couple Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief-justice of Bengal, with the first governor-general. Philip Francis, who was the prompter in all these proceedings—who was accuser, witness, and in a manner judge—hated the chief-justice as much as he hated Hastings. It had been part of Sir Elijah's duty to sentence Francis to pay heavy damages for a *crim. con.* case at Calcutta; and the chief-justice, together with the three other judges of the supreme court, upholding the laws and the regulating act, had repeatedly declared themselves against the high proceedings of Francis, Clavering, and Monson, when, as a majority of the supreme council, they endeavoured to deprive the governor-general of his authority. Impey, in other matters, had frequently disagreed with his friend and school-fellow Hastings. At times there was a complete alienation between them, the chief-justice manfully defending the powers

¹ "It is admitted, even by those who condemned part of his conduct, that Mr. Hastings, during a time of unexampled public embarrassment, and at a moment when he had to contend against those from whom he should have derived support, showed all the active energy of a great statesman, and by his spirited and extraordinary exertions saved the interests of his country in India from that ruin with which they were threatened, and in which they undoubtedly would have been involved had a man of less resolution, fortitude, and genius held the reins of government. This is his praise, and no man could wish higher; but the most strenuous advocates of this distinguished person, while they defend his personal integrity, are forced to acknowledge that the whole system of the government over which he presided was corrupt and full of abuses. The control, or rather the right of superintendence, given by the act of 1774 to his majesty's ministers, had tended more to increase than diminish the radical defects of the system. The ministers were vested with a right of interference, but had little if any responsibility with respect to the conduct of the Indian government. Their favour and aid were indispensable to the governor-general;

and to secure its continuance it became necessary, that in addition to the friends of the directors of the Company, those of the ministers of the crown should be served. Thus the exercise of his patronage in India became the chief, if not the only means through which the governor-general could expect support in England; and the canvassing nature of the constitution of that country made it unlikely that any minister would cast away such a source of strength as a share in the rich appointments of the East. Consequently this system, corrupt and inefficient as it was, might have long continued had not an unwearied spirit of investigation dragged the voluminous records of the Company into light with the view of eliminating their principal agents. The first or secret committee of the House of Commons, of which Mr. Dundas was president, commenced the attack; and its reports were soon followed by those of the select committee, which, acting under the direction and guidance of Mr. Burke, one of the wisest men and greatest orators England ever boasted, disseminated among all classes a general knowledge of the affairs of the Company."—Sir John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Political History of British India*, p. 39.

with which his sovereign and the regulating act and charter had invested him. But Francis chose to represent Impey as the slave and tool of Hastings, and to accuse him of having unjustly put to death the Rajah Nuncomar, in order to screen the governor-general from the accusations of that discredited and infamous Hindoo. The rajah was tried for forgery, a capital crime by the existing laws of Calcutta; he was tried by a most respectable jury, before all the four judges; and as there was no appeal made, and no petition for mercy submitted to the court, the rajah was hanged, as any other man would have been under the same circumstances. A petition was sent by the rajah to General Clavering; but the general never produced it until several days after the execution; and then the majority in council—Francis, Clavering, and Monson—ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, as it contained a shameful libel against the judges. Sir Elijah Impey had had much less to do with this trial than any of the judges; he had treated the criminal with the greatest indulgence, and if he had pronounced the sentence upon him, it was only as president and organ of the bench. Yet, prompted by Francis, and acting in concert with Burke, Fox, and the rest of the opposition leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the 12th of December, 1787, denounced Sir Elijah, in the House of Commons, as the single sole murderer of the Rajah Nuncomar, and moved his impeachment upon that and upon five other charges. On the 4th of February, 1788, a petition was presented from Sir Elijah, praying to be heard in answer to the charges, before the house proceeded any farther. As a matter of common justice, permission was granted; and, on the 8th, the late chief-justice delivered at the bar of the house a convincing and most triumphant reply to the horrible Nuncomar charge, compared with which the other five charges were insignificant. On the 9th of May, Sir Elijah was acquitted of the Nun-

comar charge by a parliamentary majority, and this put an end to all proceedings against him. Although in the course of Hastings' long trial the impeachment-managers frequently reflected upon the late chief-justice, they never attempted to go into any more of Sir Gilbert Elliot's charges. However much defamed by faction—whose inventions and calumnies have even recently been repeated as historical truths—Impey retained the friendship of many of the honestest, best, and most enlightened men of that day. He was requested by the king to return to his important post; but he had suffered too much in India, in health of body and tranquillity of mind; and he passed the rest of his days in England, on a very limited fortune, but in a happy and honoured retirement. We have had access to documents and materials which other writers have not sought for or have purposely kept out of view; we have devoted much time and labour to the inquiry; and we can now confidently affirm that Sir Elijah Impey was an honest, impartial, merciful, and fearless judge, and in private life one of the most amiable and exemplary of men.¹

Next to the American war, which we have related, and the war of the French revolution, to which we are now fast approaching, the events in the East Indies form by far the most important part of the history of George III. We now quit them and return to the course of events in England, and neighbouring states in Europe.

¹ For the most convincing proofs, we refer the reader to an interesting volume published in 1846, entitled, *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Bart., First Chief-justice of the Supreme Court or Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal; with Anecdotes of Warren Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, and other contemporaries, compiled from authentic documents, &c., &c.* By Elijah Barwell Impey. Before its appearance, we carefully examined all the documents which form the substance of this volume, and can pledge our faith for the correctness with which they are printed from the original papers existing in the East India House, the privy council, and in family collections of manuscripts.



ARMS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, c. 1600-50.
From Minute Books of the Company.

CHAPTER XXII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1786—1789.

GEORGE III.

Attempt of a female maniac to assassinate George III.—Account of her character and proceeding—Offensive conduct of the Whigs towards the king—Death of Frederick the Great—Fruitless attempt of England and Prussia to reinstate the Prince of Orange—Failure of France in the same object—Meeting of parliament—Debate between Fox and Pitt upon the treaty with France on commerce and navigation—Speeches of the parliamentary leaders on the treaty—Discussion upon the debts of the Prince of Wales, and his alleged marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert—The marriage denied and the debts paid—Troubles of Holland—Journey of the Princess of Orange to the Hague—Her rough treatment on the journey by the revolutionists—Her compelled return to Nimeguen—Indignation of her brother the King of Prussia—His demands for satisfaction—The Prince of Orange and the Prussian army advance upon Utrecht—The Orangeists apply for aid to England and the Dutch democrats to France—Violent proceedings of the Dutch democrats—Advance of the Prussians into Holland—They threaten the bombardment of Amsterdam—The democrats submit and the Prince of Orange is reinstated—The Austrian Netherlands offended at the violent reforms of the emperor, Joseph II.—Changes imposed by him on the schools and colleges of the Netherlands—Their revolt in consequence of the changes and impositions—Unprovided condition of the emperor to suppress the revolt—His indignant remonstrances and threats—He gratifies the Netherlands by concessions—The uproar commences afresh in Brussels—It is appeased by the governor, Count Murray—The Emperor Joseph confirms the “Joyous Entry” of Charles V.—Debate on the Netherlands revolt in the British parliament—Movements and petitions against the slave trade—The subject brought before parliament by Mr. Pitt—Declarations of the leading members against the slave trade—Restrictive measures upon it decreed—Petition from Liverpool against the abolition of the slave trade—George III. attacked by his mental malady—Manœuvres of the Chancellor Thurlow on the occasion—Parliament adjourned—It reassembles—Deliberation about the government during the king’s illness—Committee appointed to examine the king’s physicians—Proposal of Fox that the Prince of Wales, as heir apparent, should be invested with full regency—Pitt’s reply—The Whig party insists on the prince’s right—Debate on the question—Earnestness of Fox on the claim—He is ably seconded by the Whig party—The limited regency bill of Pitt carried—Symptoms of the king’s recovery—His full recovery announced—Enthusiastic loyalty of the period—Proceedings in parliament on the slave-trade question.



GEORGE III., who had made up for the neglected education of his youth by quiet study, and by an unvarying attention to business, was now exceedingly popular with the great body of the nation. On the 2d of August, as his majesty was alighting at the garden door leading from the park into St. James’s Palace, a female, who had placed herself by the door, presented a petition, and, as he was in the act of receiving it, struck at him with a knife which she had previously kept concealed. She aimed at the heart, but the blade being weak in the middle from frequent grinding, doubled or bent, and the king stepped back without receiving the slightest wound. Before the maniac could repeat the stroke one of the king’s yeoman of the guard caught her arm, and one of the king’s footmen wrenched the knife from her hand. The king’s nerves were not easily shaken: he said—“I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her.” On being examined before the privy council it appeared that her name was Margaret Nicholson, that she came from Stockton-upon-Tees, that she was a common needlework woman and very mad, having taken it into her head that the crown of England was by right

hers, and that England would be drowned in blood for a thousand generations if she did not get her right. After undergoing another examination by Doctor John and Doctor Thomas Munro and the lords of the privy council, who were unanimously of opinion that she had been and was insane, the poor creature was conveyed to Bedlam, where she lived for many years. In the meantime the king, who had come up to town for the purpose of holding a levee, had dressed himself and taken his station as if nothing had happened. It was scarcely a subject for jesting; for, though the woman was mad, if she had used a stronger knife there would have been blood and very possibly death; yet the wits of the opposition party took up even this business as a matter of joke and burlesque. They ridiculed the notion of a sempstress regicide, as if a sempstress could not kill a king; they maintained that there had not been the slightest danger from the attempt; and that the addresses and congratulations from loyal counties, boroughs, universities, and bodies corporate—some of them, no doubt, exaggerated and silly enough as compositions—were all hollow farce and nonsense. It was the king’s pleasure to confer the honour of knighthood on some of the bearers of these addresses,

who, in several instances, had come from the furthestmost parts of the kingdom to present them. The Whig wits immediately christened them all the "Knights of St. Margaret." It is said that George III. could laugh at these jests at his own expense; but many of them, hurtful to all kingly pride and state, must have rankled in his mind; and we can very well believe that the Whig party was injured by these bitter jokes, and by their own violence in parliament, and that Pitt's newly formed administration really profited by these mistakes of their rivals.

But another step taken long before this made the breach broader and more irreparable; the Whigs had rallied round the Prince of Wales, and two of their principal leaders and ornaments, Fox and Sheridan, continued to be the chosen boon companions of the heir apparent, whom—or so, at least, thought the king and queen—they encouraged not less in his extravagance and dissipation than in his political opposition to his father and Mr. Pitt.

On the 17th of August of the present year (1786) Frederick the Great of Prussia expired in the seventy-fifth year of his age, self-possessed and cynical to the last gasp. He was succeeded by his nephew Frederick William, who determined to interfere immediately in favour of the expelled Prince of Orange, who was married to his own sister, a woman generally supposed to have a more manly spirit than her husband. By the democratic party, who were represented, according to men's opposite principles or prejudices, as enlightened patriots or as a stupid and selfish faction, the house of Orange had been in effect deprived of the stadtholdership and driven into a kind of exile at Middleburg. At first his new majesty of Prussia was willing to try the effects of diplomacy and peaceful negotiation, and, jointly with the King of Great Britain, he offered himself as a mediator between the Orangeists and the democratic party. But this offer of mediation was rejected by the democrats upon the ground of partiality, George III. being considered to be as friendly to the house of Orange and quite as adverse to the popular party as Frederick William himself. His Prussian majesty then proposed joining in the mediation the King of France, who had all along sustained the democratic party. The court of Versailles embraced the idea, but proposed that the King of England should be left out, and that the mediation should be managed solely by France and Prussia. It was an insult to England, but Frederick William accepted this proposal. The animosities of the two contending parties were enough to defeat any attempt at a pacific arrangement. As soon as the negotiations began, M. de Rayneval, the French minister, and Baron Goertz,

the Prussian minister, acted as if they had met rather to make a war than to establish a peace; the Frenchman insisted that the Prince of Orange must surrender nearly all his privileges or prerogatives, or at least so much of them as would have left him with scarcely half the power of an American president; and the Prussian insisting that the Prince of Orange, as stadtholder, should have more power than he had hitherto possessed. It was surely ominous to the French monarchy that, lately in America and now again in Holland, it should be committed and pledged to the support of democratic principles, and that it should persevere in so dangerous an anomaly as that of an absolute and arbitrary government making itself the protectress and champion of thorough-going and enthusiastic republicans; and that too at a time when France was in a most discontented and fermenting condition.

The French minister was the first to break off the negotiations, which he did in an abrupt manner at the end of December, and set off for Paris. The Dutch democrats were too far gone in their madness to feel that the French assistance might be as dangerous to the independence of their country as any Prussian invasion. Their confidence in French virtue and disinterestedness, and their assurance of obtaining whatever aid they might require, were kept alive, not so much by the ministers and envoys of Louis XVI., as by a numerous swarm of political propagandists from Paris and other parts of France, who were studiously initiating themselves in Holland in the craft and mystery of revolution, which they were so soon to practise on an infinitely grander scale in their own country.

A.D. 1787. In Lord North's time parliament was generally assembled as early as the month of November; but the rule seems now to have been adopted, that it was not to meet until after the Christmas holidays. The house met on the 23d of January. The speech from the throne dwelt almost solely upon the treaty of navigation and commerce which had been concluded with the most Christian king. This treaty of commerce and navigation had been negotiated and finally signed at Versailles on the preceding 29th of September by Mr. Eden, who had abandoned his former political connections to become the supporter and friend of Mr. Pitt. Hence the Whig opposition were equally inveterate against the negotiator and the treaty. In the debate upon the address, Mr. Fox censured the recent arrangements, and sounded the old trumpet of war and national hatred. He declared that all the wars of Great Britain with her neighbour had been on her part wars of necessity; and that jealousy of the power of France, which we were now called upon to

lay aside, had been our safeguard and preservation. Pitt, as usual, replied to his great rival with his own mouth. His speech is memorable, as exhibiting so striking a contrast to the many speeches he delivered in after years when he was pressing for a war and general crusade against France, and when Fox was as earnestly recommending peace and good fellowship with the French republicans, who had by that time made France as powerful and dangerous as he chose to represent it now. Pitt denied the necessity or policy of a constant jealousy and animosity in regard to France, and reprobated the doctrine of our being ancient and natural foes that never could and never ought to agree. These doctrines, he contended, were opposed both by humanity and by common sense. A treaty like the present would, he said, make it the interest of each nation to cherish and preserve friendly connections, and would essentially tend to implicate and unite the views, conveniences, and interests of a large part of each kingdom, and so to insure the permanence of the present peace in Europe. If war was the greatest of evils, and commerce the greatest blessing that a country could enjoy, then it became the duty of those to whom public affairs were intrusted to endeavour, as much as possible, to render the one permanent and to remove the chances of the other. Subsequently, in alluding to the recent American war, he allowed that France had, at that moment of our distress, interfered in the hope of crushing us;—this was a truth over which he did not desire to throw even the slightest veil. Of that unhappy war—unhappy, yet scarcely inglorious—Pitt spoke with a lofty English feeling. “Oppressed as this nation was,” said he, “during the last war by the most formidable combination for its destruction, yet had France very little to boast of at the end of the contest that should induce her again to enter deliberately into hostilities against this country. In spite of our misfortunes, our resistance must be admired, and in our defeats we gave proof of our greatness and almost inexhaustible resources, which, perhaps, success would never show us:—

*Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennis,
Nigre feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animunque ferro.”*

¹ The large views of Mr. Pitt, in opposing Fox on this occasion, indicate a new era, and anticipated the discussions of our own day. They prove how thoroughly he appreciated both the true interests of Britain and the mutual dependence of different countries on each other, as established by Divine Providence for uniting them by the bonds of friendly intercourse. The following extract shows what prejudices he had to overcome:—“Considering the treaty in its political view, he should not hesitate to contend against the too frequently advanced doctrine that France was, and must be the unalterable enemy of Britain. His mind revolted from this position as monstrous and impossible. To suppose that any nation could be unalterably the

Fox rose to answer the chancellor of the exchequer, to repeat his condemnation of the treaty, and to assert again that France ought to be considered not only as a rival, but as a nation with whom there ought never to be any political or commercial connection whatever. The sentiments he uttered may be considered as alien to his nature—as opinions dictated merely by his party position at the moment—yet they were uttered with every appearance of conviction and earnestness. He spoke of the restless ambition of France, and even of the character of Louis XVI., with the greatest bitterness. He too alluded to the American war, but, though his views had once been very different, it was only to heap angry coals of fire on the heads of the French—to accuse them of treachery and duplicity, to point out the mean way in which they had taken advantage of our difficulties, and to revive the national animosity on that account;—and he re-affirmed that no doubt could be left on the mind of any thinking man but that the French nation was actuated by a regular, fixed, and systematic enmity to this country.

Burke, though he knew more of the science of political economy than any man then in parliament, took a prominent part against the treaty. It was, as usual, turned into a party question, and was opposed by all who were habitually in opposition to Pitt's government. Numerous petitions were got up against the treaty among our merchants and manufacturers. It is certain, however, that, as at later periods, the English had not a monopoly of all the anti-free trade notions; the French were raising a terrible clamour that the treaty would ruin their trade and manufactures. The treaty was, however, sanctioned by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament; and an excellent beginning was made to that system of reciprocity which preceded the present popular system of free trade. After a lapse of more than seventy years, justice is now being rendered to Pitt's commercial treaty of 1786; and the arguments which he used in support of the measure are now daily repeated by all such as hope to maintain the peace of Europe, by promoting friendly commercial relations with France. It was not Mr. Pitt's fault that his grand scheme was so soon interrupted by the French revolution.¹

enemy of another was weak and childish. It had no foundation either in the experience or in the history of man. It was a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposed the existence of diabolical malice in the original frame of man. But these absurd tenets were taken up and propagated; nay, it was carried farther; it was said that by this treaty the British nation was about blindly to throw itself into the arms of this constant and uniform foe. Men reasoned as if this treaty was not only to extinguish all jealousy from our bosoms, but also completely to annihilate our means of defence; as if by treaty we gave up so much of our army, so much of our marine; as if our commerce was to be abridged, our navigation to be lessened, our colonies

Much time was occupied during this session of parliament by discussions on the Prince of Wales' debts and his alleged marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert. The Whigs, who now considered the prince as one of their party, increased their unpopularity by the course they pursued in these matters. Sheridan, who was ready to do whatever the prince asked him, and to perform offices which no man of honour would undertake, greatly damaged a character which stood before in want of repair. In the end it was determined that there was, and could be no marriage between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert; £161,000 were paid out of the civil list to pay the prince's debts, and a further sum of £20,000 on account of the works at Carlton House. Philip Francis had a face of bronze, and an amount of cunning and impudence never surpassed; but during the session, while displaying his implacable hostility to Warren Hastings, he was covered with confusion, and would have fallen into contempt if he had not been supported by Burke and the whole phalanx of opposition. He was asked by what means he had acquired so great a fortune in so short a time; and it was proclaimed by men who were conversant with

all the facts, that his ambition and avarice were seeking their gratification as well as his revenge. On Wednesday, the 30th of May, the king prorogued parliament in person, with a gracious speech, that dwelt principally upon the unhappy dissensions which prevailed in the United Provinces, which, as a friend to the republic, he could not see without deep concern.

These Dutch troubles had indeed reached a terrible height, and insults had been offered, offensive to all the royalty of Europe. After the complete failure of the negotiations between Baron Goertz, the Prussian, and Rayneval, the French minister, and after the state of Holland had collected an army on its frontier, the senate of Amsterdam gave strong indications of favouring the cause of the Prince of Orange; and shortly after the States-general and the council of state for the Seven Provinces, a body of the highest dignity, being alarmed at a coalition on the part of the aristocrats with the burghers, declared openly in favour of the stadtholder. The Orangeists then threatened to reduce the city of Utrecht by force of arms; and the council of state for the Seven Provinces passed a resolution forbidding the marching of

to be cut off or to be rendered defenceless, and as if all the functions of the state were to be sunk in apathy. What ground was there for this train of reasoning? Did the treaty suppose that the interval of peace between the two countries would be so totally unemployable by us as to disable us from meeting France in the moment of war with our accustomed strength? Did it not much rather, by opening new sources of wealth, speak this language: that the interval of peace, as it would enrich the nation, would also prove the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more effect when the day of hostility should come? It did more than this. By promoting habits of friendly intercourse and of mutual benefit, while it invigorated the resources of Britain, it made it less likely that she should have occasion to call forth those resources. It certainly had at least the happy tendency to make the two nations enter into more intimate communion with one another, to enter into the same views even of taste and manners; and while they were mutually benefited by the connection, and endeared to one another by the result of such common benefits, it gave a better chance for the preservation of harmony between them, while so far from weakening it strengthened their sinews for war."

France, indeed, has been slow to learn what Pitt trusted she would learn ere long, that it was better for her to have Britain for a friend than a foe. Alluding to the part she had taken in the American war, he says, "When France perceived that in that dreadful contest, when, with the enormous combination of power against us, it might truly be said that we were struggling for our existence, we not only saved our honour, but manifested the solid, and he might also be tempted to say, the inexhaustible resources of the land; reflecting that, though she had gained her object in dismembering our empire, she had done it at an expense which had sunk herself in extreme embarrassment; and reflecting, also, that such a combination of hostile power against us, without a single friend in Europe on our side, can never be imagined again to exist, may I not be allowed to cherish the plea, that seeing the durable and steady character of our strength, and the inefficacy as well as the ruin of hostility, France would eagerly wish to try the benefits of an amicable connection with us?" The advantages of a reciprocity treaty with France are exhibited with all the enthusiasm of a free-trade orator of our own times:—"It was a singular argument which he had heard, and which he saw was also propagated out of doors, that the

treaty would prove objectionable if it should be found that, though advantageous to ourselves, it would be equally so to them. It was ridiculous to suppose that the French would consent to yield advantages without an idea of return. The treaty would benefit them; but he did not hesitate to pronounce his firm opinion, even in the eyes of France and pending the business, that though advantageous to her, it would be more so to us. The proof of this was short and indubitable. She gained for her wines and other produce a great and opulent market; we did the same and to a much greater degree. She procured a market of 8,000,000 of people, we a market of 24,000,000. France gained this market for her produce which employed in preparation but few hands, gave little encouragement to her navigation, and produced but little to the state. We gained this market for our manufactures, which employed many hundreds of thousands, and which, in collecting the materials from every quarter of the world, advanced our maritime strength, and which, in all its combinations, and in every article and stage of its progress, contributed largely to the state. . . . It was in the nature and essence of an agreement between a manufacturing country and a country blessed with peculiar productions, that the advantages must terminate in favour of the former; but it was particularly disposed and fitted for both the connections. Thus France was, by the peculiar disposition of Providence, gifted perhaps more than any other country upon earth with what made life desirable, in point of soil, climate, and natural productions. It had the most fertile vineyards, and the richest harvests; the greatest luxuries of man were produced in it at little cost, and with moderate labour. Britain was not thus blessed by nature; but on the other hand it possessed, through the happy freedom of its constitution, and the equal security of its laws, an energy in its enterprise and a stability in its exertions which had gradually raised her to a state of commercial grandeur; and not being so beautifully gifted by Heaven, it had recourse to labour and art, by which it had acquired the ability of supplying its neighbour with all the necessary (manufactured?) embellishments of life in exchange for her natural luxuries. Thus standing with regard to each other, a friendly connection seemed to be pointed out between them, instead of the state of unalterable enmity which was falsely said to be their true political feeling towards one another."—See *Pitt's Speeches*, vol. i. p. 237.

any troops from any of the other provinces without consent of the States-general or the council of state. At this critical moment, and while blood was shedding in skirmishes or paltry contests between the Orangeists and the democrats of Utrecht, the Princess of Orange set off for the Hague, accompanied only by Count Bentinck and a few attendants, with a view of negotiating with the leaders of parties there. The princess had advanced on her journey as far as Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, when her carriage was surrounded by a party of armed burghers, who were soon joined by a detachment of light horse, whose commander, the Prince of Hesse-Philippsthal, had gone over to the stadtholder, like nearly all the officers of rank in the Seven Provinces. The light horse were now under the command of a rough burgher, the captain of the free corps. This man treated the princess with great rudeness, refused to let her continue her journey, and kept her stopped for some time upon a narrow road with a canal running on either side of it. At last that proud and irritated woman submitted to be conducted back to a small town, there to await the further will of those who governed the democratic party. She was shut up in the room of an inn, while one of the burgher guards, stationed at the outside of the door, swilled his beer and smoked his pipes remorselessly. After some hours, commissioners arrived from the head-quarters of the democrats. They behaved more like gentlemen, but they positively refused to permit the princess to continue her journey to the Hague, and recommended her, as the day was spent, and as accommodations were bad at the place she was in, to choose some neighbouring town where she might pass the night. She named Gouda as the nearest. They objected to that place, as they were not quite sure of its politics, and were rather apprehensive that the arrival of the princess as a prisoner might provoke an insurrection unfavourable to their cause. At last it was agreed that she should pass the night in the town of Schoonhoven; and thither she was conveyed, to all intents a prisoner. Upon her first detention the princess had despatched letters or messengers to her husband the stadtholder, and also to the grand pensionary, who still was in possession of some power, though over-ridden by the contending factions, who were all furious to a degree little short of madness, and who had all their clubs, combinations, and volunteers.

The princess, receiving no answers, after staying at Schoonhoven two nights and a day, set out, on the morning of the 30th, on her forced return to Nimeguen, being escorted part of the way by one of the commissioners and a troop of horse. On the road she met messengers from the

stadtholder, who had remained quietly at Nimeguen all the time, merely despatching a letter to the States-general to claim their interference for the liberation of the princess, as well as for satisfaction for the insult which had been offered. The States-general, who might be considered at the moment in a state of war with the democratic party, had not had the power to prevent the insult, nor had they now the power to give satisfaction for it, or avenge it. It was true that a large part of the army, and even of the forces drawn up in cordon on the frontiers of the state of Holland, had declared for the stadtholder, and would have obeyed any orders of the States-general; but, unassisted, they were hardly in a condition to redress the grievances of the Princess of Orange, who, boiling with indignation, applied to her brother, Frederick William. It is extremely doubtful whether, even without this last provocation, the new King of Prussia would not have interfered in the affairs of the United Provinces; but, on receiving the letters of the Princess of Orange, he set no bounds to his rage and indignation. His majesty, on the 10th of July, transmitted a strong memorial to the states of Holland. In sending off this memorial, Frederick William sent for the Duke of Brunswick, now the commander-in-chief of the army which had been organized and left by Frederick the Great—an army regarded, traditionally, with respect and awe by all the continent of Europe. The states of Holland, obeying the democratic impulse, and cherishing a confident hope that the French, who had led them on, would not abandon their cause, or ever permit the Prussians to overrun the Netherlands, passed a resolution justifying and approving the conduct of their commissioners in the arrest of the Princess of Orange. At the same time the States-general, who claimed and who had formerly been allowed a superior authority over Holland and all the rest of the Seven United Provinces, sent a very different paper to the King of Prussia, deploring what had happened, and stating that they had made repeated applications to the states of Holland upon this unfortunate affair; and that, since the states of Holland had disregarded these applications, they must be left to abide the consequences, without expecting favour or protection from the States-general. In the month of August Frederick William sent another memorial to “their noble and grand powers” the states of Holland and West Friesland, which was followed by a note from the Prussian ambassador at the Hague, specifying the degree of satisfaction the king required. The terms were very humiliating. The republican pride was deeply wounded; but pride was unsupported by strength; and, so far were the democratic party from being in a con-

dition to resist a great Prussian army, that they could scarcely keep down the Orangeists within their own towns and territories. And now events had happened which ought to have made them despair of French assistance. Still, however, they relied, if not on the court of Versailles, on a stirring part of the French nation, and they resolved to make a stand for their dignity; as the first step towards which, they issued their orders for laying the whole country under water the moment any Prussian troops should make their appearance on the frontiers of the republic. In the meantime the Duke of Brunswick held councils of war and collected troops on the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, which belongs to Prussia and borders the territories of the United Provinces: and the Prince of Orange succeeded in capturing the strongly fortified town of Wijk, in the province of Utrecht, a place in every way important, and situated within twenty-four miles of Amsterdam; as also in taking Harderwijk, a town of Gelderland, advantageously situated on the Zuider Sea; and the whole province of Zeeland declared almost unanimously in favour of the stadtholder, who advanced with his army towards the city of Utrecht. While the democrats had been looking to France, the Orangeists had been again applying for the mediation or assistance of the King of England, who was himself not distantly related both to the Prince and Princess of Orange, and who had, during the American war, several strong reasons for regarding with hostility the party which had brought Holland into the confederacy against him. In the middle of August, Sir James Harris, the British ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses the States-general, deploring the continuation of discord and troubles which threatened the most grievous consequences to all the provinces; mentioning how often his Britannic majesty had shown himself "a good friend and neighbour of the republic," and how often he had endeavoured to co-operate in re-establishing peace among them; and further mentioning that the states of Zeeland and Friesland had declared their disposition to ask the mediation of some neighbouring powers. This note signified very little, for their high mightinesses had an exceedingly small power, and having identified themselves with the Orangeists, they could scarcely look to any other issue than that of arms. The democrats applied to France more earnestly than ever, not for mediation, but for armies, or, at the very least, for an army to be stationed along the northern frontier of France to overawe the Prussians. But the French government, without money, without credit, agitated and absorbed by its own affairs—for the great revolution had, in fact, begun—

could do nothing. The Marshal de Segur, then minister of war, did indeed represent the danger and disgrace there would be in permitting the invasion of Holland, and the necessity there was for forming a camp at Givet; but the minister of finance shuffled off the decision in council from day to day, and could not find, in time, the necessary funds.¹ It is possible that the democrats of Holland, who had begun their contest three or four years too soon, were deceived by French promises; for, though they could hear of no armament or assembling of troops in French Flanders, and though they must have known that from 60,000 to 70,000 Prussians were in the duchy of Cleves, with 140,000 veteran troops behind them, they kept up a very high and insolent tone. The military hero of this party, whose views were as extreme as any that were shown four years later by the French republicans, was no less a personage than the Rhingrave of Salm, a younger brother of the reigning prince of that house, who had about him a considerable number of Frenchmen, some officers seeking employment not to be found under their own government, some enthusiastic republicans of honest zeal and gentlemanly character, and a great many more propagandists of a lower description—adventurers and desperadoes who might have boasted, in their own persons, a real *sansculottism*. The result was not the same, but some of these French had assisted in arresting and insulting the Princess of Orange, as if they were rehearsing for the sad drama that was afterwards played at Varennes. After denouncing the stadtholder, the democrats declared it to be a high crime and misdemeanour to wear the orange colours; and they openly hanged two men in the streets for this kind of treason against the sovereign people. These proceedings of Dutch democrats have been overlooked and swallowed up in the grander revolution and triumph of Jacobinism which followed so immediately after; but a close inspection would show how near a resemblance, in miniature, there was between the democracy of Holland and the democracy of France. At last, having obtained encouraging assurances from the English court, Frederick William gave his orders to march; and on the 13th of September the Duke of Brunswick quitted the duchy of Cleves and entered Gelderland with 30,000 men, divided into three columns.

On the 17th the duke bombarded the town of Gorkum, which held out the white flag almost immediately, and surrendered without the loss of a life on either side. The greater part of the inhabitants put on the orange ribands, and welcomed the duke as their deliverer from anarchy. Shortly after the surrender the duke's adjutant-

¹ Count Segur *Memoir of Frederick William*.

general, at the head of seven Prussian hussars, brought in as prisoners a whole troop of Dutchmen who had been interrupted in their attempt to open the sluices in order to lay the country under water, and who had surrendered in a panic without firing a musket. As the Prussian columns intersected the country, and their detachments of light troops and cavalry showed themselves in all directions, their numbers were magnified by fear, and the Dutchmen were made to believe that the entire forces of the Prussian monarch were upon them; they fled from post to post, abandoning town after town, and not a few of them throwing away their arms and mounting the orange cockade. Some of the fugitives committed sad excesses in plundering and burning the houses of the Orangeists. Several villages were reduced to ashes, and the blame was laid on the Prussians. Each of the three columns advanced unopposed; Nieuport, Schoonhoven, Dort, Leyden, Haarlem, Rotterdam itself, surrendered without firing a gun; the Rhingrave of Salm, with his French staff and rabble army, fled from Utrecht to Amsterdam. The *débâcle* was universal. The waters upon which they had counted were low in most places, so that the country could not be flooded; and in most parts where the waters were higher, or the country lower, the sluice-breakers were prevented by the inhabitants or by the Prussians, who moved rapidly along the chief canals and ditches. The little army of the stadtholder, first collected at Amersford, had grown great by the junction of volunteers; the three Prussian columns were concentrating round Amsterdam, where not only the Dutch gentry, but a great part of the populace, were enthusiastic Orangeists; there was no sign of succour from France; the people at the Hague, assisted by some Swiss soldiers who had formerly composed the prince's state-guard, rose upon the republican volunteers, drove them out of the city or made them prisoners, and decorated the town, like a bride, with orange flowers and orange-coloured silks. It was clear that the game was up. On the 25th of September, less than a fortnight after the frontiers had been crossed, a deputation from Amsterdam repaired to the Duke of Brunswick's head-quarters to solicit an accommodation. The duke granted a short truce, and the business of negotiation was transferred to the Hague, where the Prince of Orange had been received in triumph and with every demonstration of joy several days before. On the 30th of September the truce expired, and, as the negotiators had come to no conclusion or agreement, the Duke of Brunswick recommenced hostilities by making an attack on Amstelveen, which commanded some of the approaches to Amsterdam, which was abundantly provided with artillery and artillerymen, mostly French,

which was strong by art, and still stronger from its situation in the midst of swamps and waters. But an English officer, serving as a volunteer under the Duke of Brunswick, crossing the Haarlem Meer in an open boat, examined the nature of the ground at the back of the fort and lying between it and Amsterdam, and established there a detachment, which he piloted in boats to the place. Nearly at the same moment in which this detachment established themselves in the rear of the fort, the Duke of Brunswick made an attack in front, advancing along a narrow dike with deep water on either side. Here there was some fighting, for the Frenchmen stood to their guns; but in the course of the night and the following morning the batteries were all taken, and Amstelveen was occupied by the Prussians, who had lost four officers and two or three hundred men. The prevailing authorities in Amsterdam now sent another deputation to the Duke of Brunswick, who was erecting batteries to bombard their city. The terms these deputies proposed were inadmissible. The duke sent back the deputies, seized the suburb of Overtoom, fixed his head-quarters there, and continued his preparations both for a storm and bombardment. The Amsterdamers despatched with all speed deputies to join a general deputation from the provinces, which had met in the meantime at the Hague, and there concluded a treaty with the Prince of Orange. The Amsterdam deputies acceded to the conditions proposed to them; and on the 10th of October the keys of the Leyden gate were surrendered to the Duke of Brunswick. The result of the whole sad turmoil was, that the stadtholder was reinstated in all his rights and prerogatives, and allowed to assume powers which had not before belonged to his office; and that the defeated party remained sullen, discontented, vindictive, and ripe for another insurrection whenever an opportunity should offer. This opportunity occurred sooner than might have been expected; and when the French republicans invaded the United Provinces their progress was as much favoured by the democrats as the advance of the Prussians had been helped by the Orangeists.

Although the French government, for the strong reasons already stated, had formed no camp at Givet, they took an early opportunity of remonstrating with the cabinets of Berlin and St. James's, and made a great parade about fitting out the Brest fleet. Pitt and Dundas got a good English fleet ready in earnest, and replied to the diplomatic notes in a very decided tone, intimating that England was not going to take any active part in the contest, and that France should not, unless she were prepared for a declaration of war.

While the Dutch were struggling to decide upon principles of government, their neighbours

in the Austrian Netherlands (the fine country now called Belgium) were engaged in insurrections against their emperor about forms of law and forms of faith. Joseph II., who had commenced his reign as a reformer, and who had committed the great mistake of reforming too rapidly and absolutely, without sufficient attention to the prejudices of his subjects, had created much dissatisfaction among the devout or superstitious Netherlands by suppressing monasteries, expelling monks, and interfering in other matters. That people also retained an unpleasant recollection of their baffled hopes on the subject of the free navigation of the Scheldt—hopes which Joseph had raised and then blighted with the volatility of a schoolboy. The spirit of discontent was encouraged, not merely by the monastic order, which probably was most influential on the poorer classes and the peasantry, but by the whole body of the clergy, who do not always make common cause with the monks, but who, not knowing how far the emperor might extend his reforming processes, trembled for their own wealth and possessions, which, collectively, included a very large portion of the riches of that fat and plentiful land. The public mind was in this state when the emperor promulgated, on the 1st of January, 1787, certain edicts of a most sweeping kind, annihilating what was left of the old municipal liberty, changing and new modelling the courts of judicature, and, in fact, establishing an entirely new form of law and government, in direct contravention of the compact made by the Emperor Charles V., and called the “Joyous Entry.” The states of Brabant took the lead in a determined opposition to these measures; they were soon joined by the states of Flanders and Hainault, and in a very brief space of time the spirit of resistance manifested itself in all the fine, antiquated, and picturesque towns that so thickly dot the surface of that exuberant country. It appeared as if Philip van Artevelde, the brewer of Ghent, had risen from his grave to teach the burghers and peasants how to beard kings and defy the chivalry of Europe. And yet, as if there were not already sufficient causes for discontent and universal excitement, the emperor chose this very moment for trying a fresh innovation. The university of Louvain, in Brabant, which had once been among the foremost schools of learning in Europe, was rather ancient, and so proud of its antiquity, that it seemed to consider it an article of faith to revere and pertinaciously defend everything in it and about it that was old.¹ In this spirit it had retained all the nonsense of the old schools, still teaching philosophy and divinity as they were taught in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries, and still clinging to the most extravagant notions and pretensions of the Papal See. Perhaps, without even excepting Salamanca, there was not a university in Europe that more required new light through “chinks which time had made,” or that more called for improvement and renovation. It had sat for ages like a huge nightmare on the breast of Flanders and Brabant; and, perhaps, its effects are not yet obliterated from the popular intellect. But a reform, to be efficacious, ought to have been mild and gradual; professors and pupils, doctors and masters of art, ought to have been weaned from their old opinions before new ones were imposed upon them by edicts from the aulic council at Vienna; and it was irrational and unseemly in the Emperor Joseph to pretend to force a better philosophy and a more tolerant theology down men’s throats by swords and bayonets, by Pandours, Croats, Hungarian hussars, and native-bred Austrian grenadiers, who had not been hitherto considered anywhere as proper teachers of the Baconian and Newtonian philosophies. Regardless of the *odium theologicum*, which an old proverb would have told him was the sharpest of all hatreds, Joseph began with theology first, resenting probably the promulgation of university opinions which confirmed the people in their belief that in suppressing rich monasteries, and thereby putting some millions of florins in his treasury, he had been guilty of robbery and sacrilege. By a stroke of his imperial pen he suppressed all the colleges in which theology was exclusively taught, turned off the old professors, who were chiefly monks, and established a new seminary, in which divinity was to be taught thenceforth, not according to St. Thomas Aquinas and the old fathers of the Romish church, but according to Joseph II., by the divine grace Emperor of Germany, Duke of Austria, &c.

The states of Brabant, being convened at Brussels in the month of April, took cognizance of all these acts of oppression; refused the customary subsidies to the emperor, declaring that they would not vote them until their grievances should be redressed; issued orders to the collectors and receivers of the public revenues to pay no more money into the exchequer; presented a startling remonstrance to the governor; and declared that they would resolutely defend their laws and their religion. In Holland it had been a mad contention between party and party; but here there was but one party and one spirit; and we cannot consider the Flemings, fanatic as might be their theology, or murky as might be their philosophy, as entitled to less respect than the republican faction in Holland. The states of Flanders and of Hainault would not be left behind by the states of Brabant. The Flanders body declared that there

¹ The university of Louvain was founded A.D. 1426, by John, fourth Duke of Brabant.

were mutual relations and obligations between subjects and sovereigns, and that they would vote no subsidies till the emperor revoked his edicts and mended all that had been done amiss or contrary to their privileges. Belgioso, the governor-general or viceroy, a nobleman from Milan, was perplexed and petrified at Brussels; the members of the Austrian cabinet were petrified at Vienna by this unheard of audacity; the emperor was petrified at Cherson, on the Black Sea, whither he had gone to meet the Czarina Catherine, in order to arrange with her the conquest and partition of the Turkish empire—they were all petrified. And when they quitted this state of being, it was to order the collecting and marching of troops towards the Netherlands. But the whole disposable force of Austria was wanted, through Joseph's new schemes, on the Danube, and he was thinking more of Constantinople than of Brussels. The march, too, was long, and not unattended with difficulties; for the Netherlands were wholly detached from the other dominions of the emperor, so that the territories of other princes had to be traversed. But, before a courier could go and return from Cherson, the governor, who had very few troops of any kind, saw the necessity of yielding to the determined will of the people; and he suspended, until the further will of the sovereign should be known, a variety of obnoxious orders and regulations. This produced a jubilee throughout the Low Countries, and for some short time no doubt seemed to be entertained as to the sovereign's ratification. But news from Vienna, and a letter from Prince Kaunitz, the emperor's prime minister, awoke suspicion and alarm, and the people began to enrol themselves and to practise military exercises, in order to maintain the decree if necessary by arms. At Brussels and in all the principal towns the respectable inhabitants formed themselves into volunteer companies, and equipped themselves with uniforms and cockades. Early in July, Joseph returned to Vienna, and instead of a ratification he despatched to the Netherlands an angry mandate, expressing his astonishment and indignation at the intemperate and violent measures which the states had adopted, and demanding and requiring them to send deputies to Vienna. A deputation was appointed, respectful but strong representations were drawn up by the several states, and towards the end of July the deputies took the road to Vienna. They were not far advanced in their journey ere they were alarmed by rumours that a mighty army was about to march into the Low Countries; that the princes of the empire whose territories intervened had already granted the promise of a free passage to the imperial troops; and that the regiment of Bender, making forced marches, was already close upon the frontiers of Luxembourg.

The last part of the rumour was perfectly correct, and it seemed to authenticate the rest. The deputies continued their journey with doubt and dread; the volunteer corps at home drilled and exercised more than ever; and at this moment certain applications were made or repeated to the French court for aid and assistance. Count Murray, a gentleman of Scotch descent, now held the chief authority at Brussels, for the Count Belgioso had been summoned to Vienna. Murray sent a message to the states of Brabant acquainting them that, if they would permit the regiment of Bender to enter the provinces, the march of an imperial army might be suspended. The states, who had little to fear from a single regiment, submitted to this test of obedience. On the 15th of August, when the deputies had been three days at Vienna, they were admitted to an audience. The emperor's countenance was severe and his manner ungracious. He told them that his states in the Netherlands had been guilty of high offences, that they had insulted their sovereign and defied his authority, and that nothing but his own moderation and affection for them had prevented the immediate employment of military force. The deputies were further told that their complaints could not be listened to until certain preliminary articles should be executed.

When the articles were communicated to the states by Count Murray, they were rejected almost unanimously, and the volunteers continued exercising. But when the march of the grand army was expected, fresh advices were received from the deputies at Vienna, who informed the states that his imperial majesty had since admitted them to several private conferences, had listened to their complaints and representations with marked kindness and attention, and assured them that he had meant no harm, and was well disposed to restore the charter of the "Joyous Entry" to its primitive vigour. It was a good wind for the Flemings and Brabanters that blew the emperor to the shores of the Black Sea, as, but for the arrangements he had entered into with the Empress Catherine, the whole or part of the army of 100,000 men, which were marched soon after this to the Danube, would have been sent into the Netherlands. As matters went, the states and the people enjoyed a complete triumph over their sovereign. They refused to execute the emperor's articles even after they had been materially qualified; but, as the danger seemed over, the volunteers consented to lay down their arms by a given day. When that day arrived—the 20th of September—a quarrel arose between the volunteers in Brussels and the regular troops that garrisoned the city for the emperor, and several shots were fired and returned. The people

ran to take part with the volunteers, and some companies of regulars that were quartered in the suburbs ran to support their comrades. The cry was spread that the emperor's troops were acting on a concerted scheme, and were aiming at nothing less than the slaughter of the good citizens and the enforcement of all the suspended edicts. The excitement was terrible: the pavements of the streets were torn up, and the stones were carried to upper windows and to the tops of the houses to overwhelm the soldiery. The peasants from all the country round about Brussels trooped into the town armed with clubs, scythes, and other rustic implements. A considerable quantity of blood was spilled, and a great deal more must have flowed, if Count Murray had been a less wise or less brave man. But Murray went from house to house showing to the respectable inhabitants how perfectly unfounded were their apprehensions, and how small the numbers of the regular troops; he walked through the streets though bullets and paving stones were flying about; he reasoned with the volunteers, got the regulars into the barracks, and finally succeeded in restoring tranquillity. Captivated by this temperate and wise conduct, and by the firmness and moderation of his views, the states voted the subsidies, and the volunteers laid by their arms and uniforms a few days after; and thereupon Count Murray published the emperor's declaration, that the fundamental laws of the provinces should all be preserved entire according to the tenor of the "Joyous Entry." If Joseph II. had been studying to show how governments may be sunk into contempt and sovereignties overthrown, he could not have given a better demonstration than that which was afforded by the course and the termination of these affairs. We shall find presently, indeed, that the apparent termination was only a suspension of the contest. In England it was, however, considered expedient to reassemble parliament much earlier than had been usual for some years past; and it met on the 27th of November. The speech from the throne opened with the same subject with which the speech at the last prorogation had closed—"the unhappy differences subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces." It announced that commerce and revenue were in a flourishing state, and that the country was likely to continue in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, &c.; his majesty at the same time regretting that the tranquillity of one part of Europe was unhappily interrupted, as war had broken out between Russia and the Porte. In the debate on the address in the commons, Lord Fielding, after expressing his approbation of what had been done by ministers, intimated a doubt whether they had not missed a favourable opportunity for in-

sisting on the demolition of the stupendous works that were carrying on at Cherbourg. Fox followed Lord Fielding; he gave his fullest approbation to the energetic conduct of ministers in preventing France from interfering in the affairs of Holland; and he declared that he was invariably of opinion—that it was a fixed and unalterable maxim with him—that this country ought, whenever occasion required, to take an active and vigorous part in preserving the balance of power in Europe. He called the revolution which had been effected in Holland by Prussian arms "the restoration of the independence of the United Provinces." Pitt expressed his satisfaction at the unanimity which prevailed in the house upon these subjects.

Since the beginning of the present reign several petitions had been presented to parliament against the slave-trade altogether, or for a more humane treatment of the unfortunate Africans that were made slaves and carried to the West India Islands. In England, as in America, the Society of Friends had taken the first step in this direction; but they had been followed by Englishmen of all sects and classes; the subject had been taken up by orators, popular poets, and other writers; and by degrees a strong feeling, wide and general enough to be called a national feeling, had been created on the subject. Mr. Ramsay had published his *Essay on the Treatment of and Traffic in Slaves*, which had made a great sensation; Mr. Thomas Clarkson had published his *Essay on the Slavery of the Human Species*, which had made a still deeper impression; and Mr. Wilberforce, encouraged and aided by many warm religious friends, had determined to devote his parliamentary life to this one great subject. "God Almighty," says the devout orator in his private journal, "had set before me two great objects—the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of manners."¹ A society of twelve opulent London merchants and bankers, including the excellent Thornton, and having for their chairman the philanthropic Granville Sharpe, had formed themselves into a committee, and had adopted measures in order to raise funds and collect the information necessary. The society had increased rapidly, and committees had been established or subscriptions raised in Manchester and other great towns. Influential ladies had also devoted their exertions to this humane and benevolent object, and had everywhere made converts to the cause of the abolitionists. With thirty petitions lying on the table, Pitt was induced to consent to issue, in the month of February of the present year, a summons to certain

¹ Journal, as quoted in *Life* by his sons. The date of the entry is October the 25th, 1787.

members of the privy council, to examine, as a board of trade, the state of our commercial intercourse with Africa. The first witnesses heard by the privy council were some whom the African merchants had deputed, and who endeavoured to prove not only the absolute necessity, but the absolute humanity of the slave trade. Counter-evidence was procured by Granville Sharpe and the London committee, it having been previously



WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.—After Sir T. Lawrence.

determined that the London committee should alone appear, whilst the leaders of the cause should direct their movements for a while in secrecy.¹ Wilberforce, however, undertook to bring forward a motion in the House of Commons in this session. As he was member for one of the greatest counties in the kingdom, the known close friend of the prime minister, an admirable speaker, and a man universally esteemed, the matter could scarcely be in better hands, nor could a better beginning have been easily made. But Wilberforce fell ill, retired to Bath, and left the motion to be made by the premier, who was solicited thereto not merely by his friend, but by Granville Sharpe and the London committee. It was on the 9th of May that Pitt rose in his place, and, after mentioning the bad state of health of his friend, moved the following resolution—"That this house will, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave trade complained of in the petitions presented to the house, and what may be fit to be done thereupon." He added, that before the

next session the inquiry instituted by the privy council would be brought to such a state of maturity as to facilitate the investigation, and enable the house to proceed to a decision, founded equally upon principles of humanity, justice, and policy. Burke, who, it is said, had thought of taking up the subject of the slave trade eight years before, expressed his regret at the delay now proposed; and Fox exclaimed that he had almost made up his mind to immediate abolition. Sir William Dolben called the attention of the house, not to the sufferings of the negroes on the African coast, nor to their sufferings from the planters in the West India Islands, but to that intermediate state of tenfold misery which they suffered on their voyage from the coast to the West Indies. This, he said, called for an immediate remedy; for if they waited till the beginning of the next session, an average of 10,000 lives would be sacrificed before, in close and horrid slave ships! He wished, therefore, that this part of the subject should be taken into consideration instantly; and that some regulations should be adopted for restraining the captains from taking above a certain number of slaves on board, according to the size of their vessels, and for obliging them to let in fresh air and provide better accommodations for the slaves during their passage. Pitt's resolution was agreed to; and, on the 21st of May, Sir William Dolben moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the transportation of slaves. One of the most important regulations he proposed was, that no ship should be allowed to carry more than one slave to each ton of her burden or register, or that a ship of 250 tons should carry 250 slaves, a ship of 300 tons 300 slaves, and no more.

On the 26th of May a petition was presented from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town of Liverpool, stating that the suppression of the slave trade would be attended with consequences little short of ruin to many of the petitioners, who, under the faith of parliament, had embarked in the trade and invested their whole property therein; that it would be highly injurious to the interests and public revenues of this country, and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprise; and praying to be heard by counsel against the abolition or restriction of the trade, before any resolutions or bill should be passed. Accordingly, on the 2d of June, counsel were heard at the bar of the house. These learned gentlemen, as instructed by their clients, endeavoured to prove that even Sir William Dolben's bill would be ruinous to Liverpool; and that the regulation of the number of slaves allowed to be put on board each vessel in proportion to its tonnage would of itself prove the ruin of the slave trade and of all

¹ Letter from Sir Charles Middleton, as cited in *Life of Wilberforce*.

engaged in it. They produced their witnesses to speak to this effect, and to prove that the captains of the ships ought to be the proper judges as to what amount of living human cargo they could cram into their vessels. But the only effect of the arguments and evidence was, that the house was induced to allow, instead of one ton to each slave, three tons to every five slaves. (Within a few years these unwisely cruel slave merchants of Liverpool were compelled to confess that this forced sacrifice to humanity had actually increased their profits by decreasing the rate of mortality on the voyage from what it had been in their crammed and foul old ships.) Sir William Dolben's bill being carried by considerable majorities through the House of Commons, was taken up to the lords on the 10th of June. There it was vehemently opposed by Admiral Lord Rodney, who was a good and humane man, by Lord-chancellor Thurlow, who was neither humane nor good, and by several other peers. Their lordships passed the bill, but introduced several amendments, which were considered as spoiling its spirit, and as trenching on the privileges of the lower house. The commons therefore passed a new bill with the utmost possible rapidity, and sent it up to the lords, who finally concurred, though by a reduced majority. The bill received the royal assent on the 11th of July. It was an immediate and important benefit to the English sailors engaged in the slave ships, and to the poor Africans that remained to be transported year after year to the western world; and the victory obtained served as an encouragement to Ramsay, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe, Thornton, and the other active friends of the blacks, whose numbers and whose means continued to increase rapidly.

On the 11th of July the king in person prorogued parliament. The speech from the throne mentioned that the Emperor of Germany had joined the Empress of Russia in the war against the sultan; and also that his majesty had entered into treaties with his good brother the King of Prussia and with the States-general of the United Provinces, which he hoped would be productive of the happiest consequences.

The king appeared to be in his usual robust state of health; but some weeks after the prorogation it was rumoured that he was unwell, and that he had gone to Cheltenham by the advice of his physicians. At that pleasant sojourn his majesty was seen much abroad; but in the autumn, when he returned to Kew, he almost disappeared entirely from the public eye, and mysterious whispers got into circulation abroad that his mind was deranged. The belief was confirmed by his not holding the usual drawing-rooms at St. James's. As if to remove the im-

pression a drawing-room was held on the 24th of October; but the king's manner and conversation only confirmed the suspicion in those who approached him. When the court broke up, Pitt attended him in the closet. It is said that the minister clearly perceived the unhappy condition of the sovereign, and was deeply affected by it: but if this were the case, Pitt certainly took no notice of it at the time; and the next day the king was allowed to leave London for Windsor as if he were sane and well. Great pains were taken, and had evidently been taken for some time previously, by the queen and the household, to conceal the dreadful malady; but the secret could not be kept long, and the sufferer himself had a fearful glimpse of the worse which was to follow. On the 5th of November he mounted his horse and rode wildly about the forest and the country round Windsor for five hours, and, meeting his second son, the Duke of York, who had recently returned from Germany, he burst into tears, and said, "He hoped he should die, for he was going to be mad!"¹ That night the king was in a maniac state, and the madness was accompanied by a bilious fever, from which, for several days, his life was despaired of as well as his reason. The Prince of Wales joined his brother the Duke of York at Windsor, and Pitt, as prime minister, and Thurlow, as chancellor, made journeys thither to devise what should be done in case the sovereign should recover from the fever, but not from the madness. It is said that Pitt paid assiduous court to the queen, assuring her of a proper share of authority in case it should be necessary to appoint a regency; and that Thurlow, as soon as he conceived the king's malady to be incurable, paid the same sort of court, but more secretly, to the Prince of Wales. There had never been much harmony between the chancellor and the premier,² and the disgrace of abandoning and betraying his official colleagues was a trifle in the eyes of Thurlow, if thereby he should be enabled to preserve his post under the regency and keep the great seal from the eager clutch of his rival, Lord Loughborough, who was now putting himself forward as the chief adviser of the prince.

Fox was absent on the Continent, but his return was daily expected and most anxiously

¹ Letter to Sheridan from Captain Payne, in Moore's *Life of Sheridan*.

² "Their tempers were indeed ill suited to co-operate for a length of time, though necessity and ambition had united them against Fox. Thurlow was sullen, and often intractable; Pitt, imperious, inflexible, and dictatorial. Many causes had combined to widen the breach."—Sir N. W. Wraxall's *Posthumous Memoirs*. But Thurlow—who, with all his roughness, was one of the greatest dissemblers that ever lived—would certainly have continued to act as Pitt's steady friend, but for his convictions that the king would not recover, and that Fox would be prime minister under the Prince of Wales.

looked for by the Whig party. As parliament stood prorogued for the 20th of November, and as there was now no voice competent to prorogue it again to a more distant day, it was resolved to assemble a full cabinet council at Windsor to consider of the measures which might be required in so unprecedented a conjuncture. The council met, and Thurlow, who by possessing the great seal had in a manner all the sovereignty that was left in the land, took a part in the deliberations without revealing his plans or intentions. The physicians were examined, and their report convinced Thurlow that the king would never again be capable of holding the reins of government. When the anxious consultation was ended and the council broke up, Lord Camden asked the chancellor if he would accompany him back to town. Thurlow excused himself, saying he had a friend at Windsor, to whom he wished to pay a visit. Lord Camden's suspicions were excited, and he contrived to learn that Thurlow's friend at Windsor was no other than the Prince of Wales, to whom he no doubt communicated all that had passed in the council. During the sharp political contest which followed, Thurlow was discovered to have been several times closeted with Sheridan, and once, at least, in the house of Mrs. Fitzherbert.

On the 20th of November the two Houses of Parliament assembled pursuant to the prorogation; but as there was no authority for opening the session, the lords and the commons remained in their respective chambers. In the upper house the lord-chancellor notified the cause—the malady of the king—of parliament being allowed to assemble without the usual forty days' notice and summons to meet for the despatch of business; and then Earl Camden, the lord-president of the council, after stating that he had found no instance in which either House of Parliament had proceeded to business until the session had been opened in the usual form, moved that the house should adjourn to the 4th of December. Pitt made the same announcement in the lower house, and both houses adjourned for a fortnight. Days, and nights too, were spent in deliberation and in active intrigue; and the varying opinions of the physicians gave rise to great perplexity and indecision in the minds of calculating politicians. Fox, though he travelled homeward with extraordinary speed, did not arrive until the end of November.

On the 4th of December parliament reassembled, and both houses were full, for ministers had issued circulars to their friends, and the heads of opposition had done the same; and without any of these summonses there would have been a full attendance. Men of all parties had hurried up to town on learning the nature of the king's dis-

order; and from the middle of November London had been crowded and excited to an unusual degree. In the peers, Lord Camden announced that the continuance of the king's illness rendered him incapable of meeting his parliament, and that all the other functions of government were thereby suspended. His lordship then declared it to be his opinion that, in this dismembered state of the legislature, the right devolved on the two Houses of Parliament to make such provisions for supplying the defect as should be adequate to the necessity of the case; but that it was necessary, before any step could be taken in so delicate a business, that the deficiency should be fully ascertained. With this view his lordship moved that the minutes of the privy council taken in examining the physicians should be read, and that, that being done, they should be taken into consideration on Monday, the 8th of December. In the commons precisely the same course was pursued by Pitt, who now saw his rival Fox seated in his usual place on the opposition benches, but presenting an appearance that was anything rather than joyous or exultant. From the fatigue he had undergone in his rapid journey, and from other causes wherein the mind was probably more concerned than the body, Fox looked dispirited, haggard, and worn. The speaker intimated his doubt whether in the present defective state of parliament he could issue writs for new elections to supply the places of some members who had died during the recess. It was determined that the speaker was competent to issue the writs; and then the house adjourned for four days. During that interval, the private information Pitt received from *some* of the physicians (for even the medical camp was divided into Whigs and Tories, or Foxites and Pittites¹), induced him to believe the king would recover. As soon as the house met, on the 8th, he rose and proposed that a committee of twenty-one members should be appointed to examine *all* the physicians. Fox was not present—it was said he was too ill to attend—but Burke, who appears to have been but little consulted by the prince or his party, adjured the house not to sacrifice any of their constitutional privileges at this crisis, and least of all the right to examine evidence at their own bar. Pitt's motion was carried without a division, and the committee of twenty-one

¹ "As men are naturally led to take the direction of their wishes, the physicians who were friendly to the opposition confidently predicted that there was no hope of the king's recovery. Dr. Warren, especially, was the chief authority on this side; and his and the prince's adherents set themselves in direct opposition to the Willises, who with equal confidence predicted the king's recovery. The language on the one side was, that if a regency should once be established, the king would never be suffered again to resume his authority; that of the other, that ministers were resolved at all hazards to restore him to his power, and the Willises were said to be the supporters of the plot."—Wilberforce, *Memoranda*.

was appointed, with himself as their chairman. On the same evening the Marquis of Stafford made a similar motion in the upper house, and a committee of peers was appointed for the same purpose. All this time Thurlow, who might have been expected to do the work which Stafford and Camden had done, remained inactive and silent. His object still was to avoid committing himself with either party until he should be able more accurately to calculate the chances of the king's recovery; but his conduct excited suspicion and disgust. The unfortunate king was now removed from Windsor to Kew, and placed more immediately under the care of Doctor Willis. On the 10th of December, Pitt, as chairman of the committee of the commons, presented the report of their examination of the physicians, which was read and ordered to be printed. Drs. Richard Warren, Sir George Baker, Willis, Gisborne, Addington, Sir Lucas Pepys, and Reynolds coincided in opinion as to the probable recovery of their patient: Dr. Willis spoke the most hopefully, and as if convalescence had already begun. Pitt, whose evident object was to spin out time without coming to any decision, now moved that another committee should be appointed to examine the journals of the house and report precedents of such proceedings as might have been had in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same. Fox was again in his place, having recently attended a great consultation at Carlton House. He rose as soon as Pitt had finished speaking, and objected to the motion as nugatory and productive of unnecessary and improper delay. He said, the right honourable gentleman knew very well that no precedent was to be found in which, at the same time, there existed an heir apparent to the crown of full age and capacity. He said he was fully convinced, upon consideration of the principles and practice of the constitution, and of the analogy of the common law of the land, that whenever the sovereign, from sickness, infirmity, or other incapacity, was unable to exercise the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in case of his natural demise. Pitt said to a friend sitting near him, "I'll unwhig that gentleman for the rest of his life!" And, then rising, the Tory premier, whose tenure of place depended on a different view of the case being adopted by parliament, poured forth a torrent of pure Whiggism against the head and chief professor of that creed, whose advancement to power now depended upon the as-

sertion of Tory principles, or the establishment of unshackled hereditary right in contradistinction to the popular will and the elective quality of the British crown. With an appearance of patriotic indignation, the chancellor of the exchequer declared Fox's doctrine to be little short of treason against the constitution. He insisted that the heir apparent had no more right, in the case alleged, to the exercise of the executive power than any other subject in the realm; and that it belonged to the two remaining branches of the legislature, in behalf of the people, to make such provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think most proper. Fox rejoined, that, the sovereignty of these kingdoms being hereditary, and no parliament existing which could legally alter the succession, nothing but a case of imperious necessity, which at present did not exist, could justify the two Houses of Parliament in assuming to themselves the right of setting aside the heir apparent from the regency, or imposing limitations and restrictions on his authority. Burke followed Fox, and declared, with bitter sarcasm, that the doctrine of the chancellor of the exchequer would go to change the character of the sovereignty from hereditary into elective, and to convert parliament into a sort of Polish diet. He said that, since it was proposed to make him an elector on the regency, he hoped he should be excused if he gave his vote for a Prince of Wales whose amiable disposition was one of his many recommendations, in preference to a competitor, the prince opposite (Pitt), who was threatening the supporters of the Prince of Wales' right with the penalty of constructive treason!

The minister's motion was carried without a division; and a committee of twenty-one was appointed to sit, with the usual powers, to look for precedents, which, in reality, did not exist. The day following, the president of the council (Camden) made the same motion in the lords. He strongly condemned the doctrine which had been advanced by Fox; and he maintained, as Pitt had done, that the right and duty of naming the regent, and limiting his power, belonged exclusively to the Houses of Parliament, the two remaining branches of the legislature. Chancellor Thurlow was still mute; but his rival, Loughborough, boldly defended Fox's position and the prince's hereditary right to the regency, as being analogous both to the law of the land and the spirit of the constitution; and as steering clear of the embarrassments and dangers which must arise from the opposite course. He ridiculed the notion of having an hereditary succession to the sovereignty and an elective regency. Lords Stormont and Porchester supported Loughborough; Lord Stanhope took the opposite side; and then

Thurlow, the veritable image of a chancellor in doubt, growled a few words, and no more, implying that Loughborough's doctrine was new to him. On the next day, the 12th of December, the report of the committee was brought up, and ordered to be printed, in the commons; and Fox then rose to complain that his doctrine had been misrepresented by Lord Camden. Fox had previously declared—what certainly was only formally true, if true at all—that he had had no communications with the Prince of Wales on this delicate subject; and he now repeated that he spoke merely as an individual member, without authority from the prince. He said he had been made to assert that the prince had a right to *assume* the royal authority; but he believed that he had never used the word *assume*; and what he undoubtedly meant was, that the right was in the prince, but that the adjudication of the possession was in the two Houses of Parliament. If he had used the word *assume*, it was only in the carelessness of debate; and he certainly did not mean that the prince ought now to take the regency without the consent of parliament. Pitt, who accepted this explanation, intimated very plainly that the limitations and restrictions of the powers of the regent ought, in his opinion, to be numerous and severe, so that the king's lawful authority might be returned unimpaired into his hands as soon as his majesty should recover. By this time the Whigs were convinced that their claiming the regency as a matter of right had no chance of success in either house; and their scheme now was to fight off the question and avoid any formal decision on that doctrinal point. On the 15th of December, Earl Fitzwilliam observed in the lords that it was very inexpedient at such a crisis, and when all parties were agreed that by right or by vote the prince was to be regent, to go into discussions of abstract political questions. Lord Camden replied that, as the most essential rights of the two Houses of Parliament had been called in question, it was absolutely necessary that they should not be left in a doubtful and unsettled state. Thurlow, still doubting about the possibility of the king's speedy recovery, and discouraged in his hope of making a good bargain with the prince and the Whigs, who were evidently committing themselves to the interpretation of the law propounded by Loughborough, deplored, with a laughable attempt at pathos, that such a question had ever been started; but said that, as it had been brought forward, he could not see how they could avoid coming to some determination upon it. Pitt therefore pursued his course; and, on the 16th of December, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, he moved three resolutions. The first, which merely affirmed the in-

disposition and incapacity of the king, was passed unanimously. The second resolution asserted that it was the right and duty of the two Houses of Parliament to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority in such manner as the urgency of the case might seem to require. And the third resolution was—"That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition." Upon these two last resolutions there was more eloquent, and passionate, and thoroughly earnest debating than had been heard in that house for many a year. The Whigs had every possible motive for exertion that can animate a party: if their adversaries triumphed, it was clear that such restrictions would be laid on the power and patronage of the regent as would make it next to impossible for Fox, as his minister, to carry on the administration.

The thing was not unprecedented; the two great parties had interchanged political principles and professions—the Whigs had been heard clamouring for prerogative and the hereditary rights of princes, and the Tories had been heard clamouring for the rights of the parliament and the people, before now; but still it was curious to watch a combat in which Pitt had to maintain and declare that the assertion of the inherent right of the Prince of Wales was one of those exploded ideas of indefeasible right which had fallen into contempt; and Fox had to adjure the house not to recur to the primary axioms of government and the abstract rights of the people. Lord North, ailing and blind, spoke with great spirit against the resolutions, being the first to rise and oppose Pitt. The master of the rolls, the Lord-advocate of Scotland, the attorney and solicitor general to the queen, spoke long and learnedly in support of the ministerial propositions and on regencies in general. Fox combated their arguments, and, though ill and suffering, fought like a man whose very existence depended on the issue; and, in fact, so utterly shattered was Fox's fortune and credit, that it did seem to depend on the issue, whether he should not be condemned to owe the means of a comfortable existence to the bounty of his friends. The committee divided on the motion, "That the chairman report progress" (implying the non-adoption of the first resolution), which was rejected, but

by a much diminished ministerial majority, the numbers being only 268 against 204. Pitt's second and third resolutions were then put and carried without any debate. The exertions which Fox had made proved so injurious to his broken health, that the next day he was unable to attend; and on account of his illness the house adjourned till the 19th. On that day Pitt, being called upon by Sir John Sinclair to state distinctly how he intended to represent the third estate, and give legality to the act of parliament which he proposed for defining and limiting the authority of the regent, boldly announced that he meant to employ the great seal, as if his majesty were not in a state of infirmity and incapacity, but competent to issue the usual order to his lord-chancellor. Pitt's three resolutions, which had passed in committee, were now brought up and debated. Fox, who had endangered his life in fleeing home over rough French roads, spurred on by the hope of having the reins of government put into his hands almost as soon as he should arrive at Carlton House, although able to attend, was still too unwell to take any prominent part in the debate; but his cause was ably supported by Sir Grey Cooper, Windham, and others.

As the house was exhausted, the debate was adjourned to the 23d, when a most spirited and exciting struggle ensued on Pitt's proposal for holding the sovereignty to be for the moment in a piece of wax impressed by a symbol. Fox, though still evidently weak and in pain, was in his place, and spoke for a short time with much animation. He was vigorously supported by Lord North, who, in losing his sight, had not lost his wit, his enviable good humour, or his admirable ability and promptness as a debater; and he was sustained heart and hand by Burke, who opened the debate, and delivered one of his choicest harangues. Though firm to Fox and to his party, Burke was not moved by the encouragements and strong incentives which had operated upon his friends; and he declared to the house that he had had no part in any consultations about the regency: that he knew as little of the interior of Carlton House as he did of Buckingham House. At this moment his assertion was undoubtedly true; but it appears that he was called into Carlton House consultations very soon after. Pitt's scheme was, nevertheless, approved by a somewhat larger majority than had attended him on the previous divisions; and then the three resolutions, having been all received, were ordered to be communicated to the lords at a conference, wherein their lordships' concurrence was to be desired. This conference took place on the morrow, the 24th of December, and none of the lords were so hearty in their concurrence as the lord-chancellor. Thurlow had at last made up his

mind on two very important points—that the king was likely to recover very soon—and that if he did not recover there was no permanent reliance to be placed on the Whigs, who, indeed, were bound by the honour of party to prefer his rival, Loughborough. He had had frequent and close communications with the physicians, and had, no doubt, found other means of prying into the interior of Kew Palace, and ascertaining the real condition of the king. It is said that Willis had pledged his reputation to him that the unhappy malady could not be of long duration, and that the king's temperate and orderly mode of life gave promise of health and longevity. And so cunning a man as Thurlow could not possibly avoid perceiving that Fox, even in conferring with him, regarded him with feelings of dislike. Thus Thurlow was as much thrown off by the Whigs as he threw himself off from them on his selfish calculation of chances. Such double-dealing at such a crisis, together with the sure knowledge that it had not been concealed, was enough to have sunk any other man; but Thurlow was not like other men, and he braved the matter with an audacity and a cant that will render his name immortal. He stood up from beside the woolsack in the House of Lords, and, with an awful solemnity of manner, undertook the defence of the king's sacred rights against the claims of the prince and the wicked Whigs. He seemed to pour out the whole strength of his heart and soul in a passionate eulogy on the superhuman virtues of his sovereign: he said his debt of gratitude for many favours graciously conferred was great beyond the power of expression; and he ended with the memorable exclamation: "When I forget my king, then may God forget me!" According to Wilberforce, the same motives by which Thurlow had been actuated, had led to many unprincipled and shameless desertions by political speculators, chiefly in the upper house, who thought they could not be too early in worshipping the rising sun, and who were afterwards grievously disappointed at the king's recovery. The steadier peers were, however, numerous enough to carry the question upon Pitt's three resolutions, to negative a motion of amendment, and to appoint a committee to acquaint the commons at a conference that they concurred with them. A strong protest was entered and signed by the Dukes of York and Cumberland and forty-six other peers.

We cannot here detail the very
A.D. 1789. long debates and proceedings which followed. They are solely interesting as party history. Pitt's regency bill, which was introduced on the 16th of January, and which invested the Prince of Wales with the royal authority, subject to various limitations and cogent

restrictions, never came into operation—nor was its fate to be considered as a constitutional precedent. In 1811, when a recurrence of the king's unhappy malady rendered a regent necessary, the question was debated with more calmness and practical wisdom; it was considered, in all its bearings, by eminent constitutional lawyers and writers; and the regency bill, which was then passed, and which was acted upon until the death of George III. in 1820, is the act which stands as a precedent, and which alone is the proper subject of study. We need merely say that the Whigs in their first impatient move committed a blunder, which greatly injured their party, in claiming the regency for the Prince of Wales as a matter of *right* without previous consent of parliament; that parliament and the ministerial framers of the bill were really placed in a most difficult dilemma, for, if they gave too much power to the regent, the restoration of authority to the king, who was not then an old man, and who was likely to recover, must have been rendered difficult and in various ways embarrassing; and if, on the other hand, they gave too little power to the regent, they must have destroyed or injured his efficiency as representative of the third estate, and thus impaired the monarchic part of the constitution. The whole tendency of Pitt's scheme was in the latter direction, and nothing but his inward conviction that the king must soon recover can excuse many portions of his regency bill. It was no time for trying experiments; the flames of revolution kindled in France were spreading rapidly through the European continent, and soon thrones and dynasties were swept away and obliterated as if they had never been.

When the Whigs were making quite sure of a long tenure of office under the regent, the king recovered. On the 9th of February it was reported in the ministerial circles that his majesty was much better. On Thursday, the 19th, Lord-chancellor Thurlow sonorously announced to their lordships that, from the official reports of the physicians, it appeared that his gracious majesty had been for some time in a state of convalescence; that the accounts just received conveyed the happy news that that improvement was still progressive. On Tuesday, the 24th, the chancellor informed the House of Lords that he had that morning attended his majesty, by his express command, and had found him perfectly recovered; on the 25th the king was pronounced perfectly free from his complaint; and a paper was posted at St. James's, stating that, by his majesty's command, the physicians were to issue no more bulletins. The personal popularity of the sovereign had increased wonderfully; it was already a habit to call him "the good old king," to point to his moral, domestic modes of life, and to con-

trast them with those of the young and gay prince: the dreadful malady of his majesty only endeared him the more by exciting compassion and sympathy; and in their generous feelings for the individual, people were but too apt to overlook the inconveniences and dangers that might possibly have attended his restoration to the throne. The city of London, which had once been the great centre of opposition, was now enthusiastically loyal; and, though Fox and the Whigs maintained their superiority in Westminster, the capital and its thickly peopled neighbourhood gave very strong proofs of their preferring the restored government of the king with Pitt's ministry, to the untried government of the prince with a Whig cabinet. The Whigs, in fact, were still labouring under that heavy burden of unpopularity which they had imposed upon themselves by the coalition; several of their leaders were suspected of a want not merely of political principle, but of common honesty: in the heat of debate on the regency bill they had delivered sentiments highly offensive to all loyal subjects, or to all the admirers of "the good old king;" and their disrespect, their heat, and vehemence were attributed entirely to their selfish impatience to obtain the emoluments and honours of office. We shall not attempt either to condemn or justify these feelings; we merely state what appears to have been the fact in 1789—that the Whig party in the nation was decidedly in the minority, and its eloquent leaders distrusted even by many of those who admired their abilities and genius.

On the 12th of May, an elaborate report from the privy council on the slave trade being laid upon the table of the House of Commons, together with petitions for and against the abolition of that traffic, it was voted, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, that the report, with other papers, should be immediately taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house. In committee, Wilberforce, who in private had received promises and encouragement from his friend the premier, made a long speech, and concluded with moving twelve resolutions condemnatory of the traffic and the barbarous treatment of African slaves. Pitt said he was willing that the resolutions should be entered on the journals. Burke and Fox supported Wilberforce with their usual animation. Fox applauded Wilberforce for proposing to do what he thought it their duty to do—completely to abolish the traffic. He was glad that the propositions were to be put upon the journals, for if, unfortunately, the attempt should fail, it might succeed another year. He felt certain that sooner or later it *must* succeed, and that our example would be followed by other nations. In the end, the further consideration of the question was adjourned to the next session.

CHAPTER XXIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1789.

GEORGE III.

War between Russia and Turkey—Weakness of the Turkish military resources—Slow progress of the Russians in the war—They are joined by the Austrians—Losses of the Austrians on the Danube by malaria—Russian plan of the campaign—Siege of Oczakoff—Its capture by the Russians—Discontent of the Empress Catherine at the small success of the campaign—Russian intrigues in Sweden—The Swedes take the part of Turkey—Engagement of the Russian and Swedish fleets in the Gulf of Finland—Progress of the King of Sweden and his army in Finland—He is impeded by the treachery of his nobles—The Danes invade his kingdom—They are obliged to desist by the mediation of England—Successes of the Austrians and Russians against the Turks—Revolution in Sweden—Downfall of its aristocracy—Compromising policy of the British government among the warring parties—The Swedish king's progress retarded by this proceeding—His successes over the Russians—He is defeated in Russian Finland—Political commotions renewed in the Netherlands—The Emperor Joseph annuls his concessions—He appoints new governors for the Netherlands—The war commences in the towns—A republican spirit fostered by the emperor's despotic proceedings—His troops defeated and garrisons driven out of the country—His suspicions of the Prince de Ligne—The prince's judicious advice to the emperor—Conciliatory declarations of the emperor to the Netherlands—They refuse his offers and proclaim their independence—They compel Dalton, the governor of Brussels, to capitulate—Their negotiations with the French revolutionists—Joseph's hopeless attempts to appease them—Affairs of France—Growing popularity of republicanism—Necessity of a change in French government—Character of the French at this period—Louis XVI. advised to take the work of reform into his own hands—Improvements suggested by his ministers—Dislike of Louis to the greater part of their suggestions—Unpopularity of his partial reforms—Necker appointed comptroller-general—His previous history—His character and political proceedings—His schemes of economy thwarted—He publishes a statement of the finances of the kingdom—Outcry against the revelation—He resigns office—Extravagance of his successor Calonne—Necessity of fresh taxation—Assembly of Notables convoked—It refuses to sanction Calonne's new taxes—He resigns, and is succeeded by the Archbishop of Toulouse—His inefficiency—The "Assembly of Notables" dissolved and a "Bed of Justice" substituted.



THE war which the ambition of the Czarina Catherine had kindled in the East, had spread from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and had been far from obtaining the grand results, and the speedy termination which the empress had hoped for in first commencing hostilities against the sultan. The Turkish empire in Europe, which had appeared in her eyes so weak and crazy as merely to require a shake to bring it to the ground, had withstood three campaigns, and resisted for two years the united efforts of two great powers; and that, too, without an efficient ally of any kind. It must, however, be admitted that the Turks were greatly indebted to the stupidity of the Russians and Austrians. Nothing else could have saved Constantinople even at this period. The janizaries, who formed the great mass of Turkish infantry, were little better than an undisciplined rabble, who not only refused to submit themselves to any change, but also prevented the introduction of any improvement in all the other corps of the army. They were more terrible to their own government and to the unarmed population than they were to the enemy. In the sixteenth century these janizaries had been among the very best troops in the world, but they were now the worst. The very numerous cavalry

were equally undisciplined, and only fit to act as light cavalry. The artillery, in spite of all the efforts made by that ingenious and loquacious Frenchman the Baron de Tott, was in a pitiable condition. As to the commissariat, properly speaking, the Turks had none; their medical and surgical staff consisted of ignorant barbers from Constantinople, and a few Italian quacks. The officers of the army, from the commander-in-chief down to the subalterns, were alike ignorant and obstinate. In the first campaign, in the year 1787, when they had to contend only with the Russians, commanded by Prince Potemkin, prime minister, commander-in-chief, and lover to Catherine, the Turks had been defeated in almost every encounter by the very imperfect science and tactics of the enemy. Still, however, the Russians had done little more than keep their ground in the Crimea; they had made no important advance in the direction of the Danube and Constantinople; and after every defeat the Mussulmans, who were not deficient in animal courage, seemed ready to fight again. In the spring of 1787, when the Emperor Joseph met Catherine at Cherson, he had pledged himself to co-operate; but it was not until the close of that year that the Austrians really entered upon the war by making an inglorious attempt to surprise Belgrade previously to any declaration of hostilities.

The Austrians failed completely in this their dishonourable beginning. After several humiliating failures of the like kind, the Emperor Joseph, on the 10th of February, 1788, issued at Vienna a formal declaration of war against the Ottoman Porte. Having gradually collected a great army on the Danube and the frontiers of Servia, he took the field in person in the month of April. On the 24th of April he captured the insignificant fortress of Schubatz, on the Danube; but nearly at the same time another part of the Austrian

The miasmata of the Danube, its confluent streams, and the bogs and marshes had proved more destructive to the Austrians than balls and scimitars; and the emperor had swelled the frightful list of disease and death by one of his philosophical innovations. Some physicians at Vienna had persuaded him that vinegar was not merely a specific for malaria fevers, but an absolute panacea; and Joseph had ordered, as an experiment, that in a part of his army the rations of wine should be stopped and the troops made

to drink nothing but vinegar and water. The men died faster than before—they perished like rotten sheep. On the other side, the Russians who were to descend the Crimea to co-operate on the Danube, scarcely got beyond the Dnieper. They had deluded Joseph with other assurances, but their plan was—and it is a plan which Russia has steadily pursued for some generations—to make sure of every step of ground by which they were advancing, to enlarge and secure their possessions at the head of the



TURKISH JANIZARIES. 1.—From De Olisson, *Tableau general de l'Empire Othoman*.

army sustained a defeat at Dobitz. In the war of posts and detachments which followed, the Austrians could boast of few advantages, and were several times defeated. The Prince of Saxe Coburg, who commanded one of the grand divisions of Joseph's army, having crossed the Dniester with the intention of establishing himself in Moldavia and cutting off all supplies from the important fortress of Choczim, found himself obliged to contend during three successive days with a Turkish army; and if he was not defeated, he could scarcely boast of more than a drawn battle. The Pacha of Bosnia defeated a large Austrian detachment on the river Save. The siege of Choczim, an ill-constructed place, which ought to have been taken by a skilful enemy in less than three weeks, occupied the Austrians more than three months, and it was not taken at last without great sacrifices. Belgrade could not be taken at all this campaign. Marshal Laudohn, who had proved himself worthy of contending with Frederick the Great, gained some successes on the side of Croatia, but they were unimportant; and even this able veteran was foiled more than once by the natural difficulties of the country.

Black Sea, and so gradually to extend and push forward the frontier of their empire. The means placed at their disposal were immense. By the month of June, from 120,000 to 150,000 men of all arms, with 130 pieces of artillery, besides a vast park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, appeared on the river Bug; and while a portion of this force under General Romanzoff watched the frontiers of Poland and Lithuania, the rest, with the exception of some detachments, marched down to the mouth of the Dnieper under the command of Potemkin. The greater part of the country through which they passed was already laid waste by a barbarous and prolonged warfare, and was now feeling the double curses of plague and famine. Except the green forage for their horses, the Russians were obliged to bring every article of consumption from a great distance; and their convoys were not unfrequently intercepted and cut to pieces by the Tartars of the Crimea, who were generally well mounted, and rapid and expert as light cavalry. The grand object of the campaign—and none other was effected—was the siege of Oczakoff, near the mouth of the Dnieper. The Russians had been for some time labouring to create a navy in those parts; but the Turks had still the superiority on the

1 1, Coul Kihaya, a superior officer. 2, Mulzut Aga, also a superior officer. 3, Aschda, an inferior officer. 4, Trooper.

Black Sea, and the capitan-pacha hastened to the Dnieper. But the mouth of that river which spreads into a *liman*, or broad swampy lake, with mud-banks and sand-banks, is exceedingly difficult to pass, and in very few places affords water enough for ships of the line. The Russians, too, had supplied their deficiency in shipping by constructing a great number of immense flat-bottomed boats, and enormous floating batteries, which could cross the liman in all directions, and when necessary retire to the shallows, where the fire of the Turkish ships could not reach them, for the liman is from six to seven miles broad. It was upon these floating batteries, which were put under the direction of the Prince of Nassau, who had served with the French and Spaniards at the siege of Gibraltar, and there witnessed the effect of English red-hot balls on much more stupendous constructions, that the success of the Russians in the siege of Oczakoff mainly depended. They were mounted with the heaviest of the battering cannon and with bombs, and were manned with artillerymen and the choicest part of the Russian line. There was a paucity of sailors, but little seamanship was required in such craft and in such waters. The combats which took place were not sea-fights, were not even river-fights, but fights among fens, bogs, and marshes. The Russians had, however, some sloops, frigates, and at least three large ships, which were manned by sailors of all nations, and by Greeks, who were well acquainted with all the difficulties and intricacies of the navigation.

After several most sanguinary contests, the brave but stupid old capitan-pacha was driven down the Black Sea to Varna. The siege of Oczakoff was then pressed; but it was not until the 17th of December that a good breach was made, and the place stormed. Even then the Turks made a desperate resistance, fighting behind the breach and in the streets of the town until they were borne down by numbers and their powder was exhausted. According to accounts published at Vienna, 7400 Turks were slaughtered in the assault, besides those that were afterwards sabred in the houses; and about 3000 remained prisoners of war after the carnage had ceased. The Russians gave all the honour to St. Nicholas; and as soon as the news arrived at St. Petersburg an unusually grand *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung. A few more such sieges would have ruined the Russian army. Though Oczakoff remained to her, Catherine was discontented and irritated. She had been thwarted in her campaign by powers she could not reach, and by Britain in particular, which, if it had thought proper to put forth its strength and enter into the war as the ally of Turkey, might not only have saved Oczakoff, and caused the utter anni-

hilation of Potemkin and his army, but might also have destroyed the whole navy of Russia in the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland. And England, although she did not do a tithe of what she might have done, intimated very plainly that Russia should not dismember the Ottoman empire, nor establish a maritime influence in the Archipelago. If there were any predilections in favour of the autocratess they were nourished rather by Fox than by Pitt. From France she had nothing to expect but enmity; for nothing but the deplorable state of its finances and the precipitate steps of the revolution prevented the French court from succouring its ancient ally the sultan; but Catherine applied to all the other maritime powers of Europe for assistance, or at least for a tacit acquiescence in her scheme. In Holland, as the stadtholder had been reinstated, the will and voice of England prevailed over the czarina's diplomacies, and she was refused any Dutch ships or seamen. Sweden would promise no more than to remain neutral—a promise not intended to be kept—and strict orders were issued that no Swedish ships or seamen should join the Russian expedition. Denmark was more favourably disposed towards the czarina, but wished to avoid committing itself until it should be known in what light Great Britain would regard the armament collecting in the Baltic. The London Gazette soon gave the fiat by prohibiting British seamen from entering into any foreign service; and this proclamation was accompanied by a notice to the contractors for English shipping that they must renounce their engagements; that the ships would not be permitted to proceed; and that government was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality. Hereupon all serious thoughts of sending the Baltic fleet to the Mediterranean were given up by Catherine. Many evils were thus undoubtedly spared the Turks; but, through events which happened very soon after, the detention of her fleet at home proved the greatest piece of good fortune that could have happened to the czarina.

Though the court of Stockholm had promised neutrality, they resented a long series of humiliations, calamities, and spoliations, and were eagerly looking for an opportunity of vengeance and reprisal. Catherine had done her best in bribing a portion of the beggarly and corrupt aristocracy of Sweden, who acted towards her as so many of the Scotch nobility had done towards Queen Elizabeth; but since the revolution of 1772 these Swedish nobles had lost their power and their influence, and had scarcely a voice in the state. The Russian minister at Stockholm contrived, however, to make a great party, and to set on foot a cabal or plot among the nobles, who only wished to re-establish the aristocratic constitu-

tion, which the reigning king had pulled down about their ears. These Swedes, who called themselves patriots, were ready to expose their country to its most powerful and worst enemy—to lay it prostrate before the ukases of Catherine, provided only they should be enabled to humble their king, and re-elect their old oligarchy, which had been selfish, low-spirited, disgraceful alike to nobility, king, and people, to every one that bore the name of Swede. The almost absolute government which had been raised on their fall was in every way preferable to their old constitution. While the king was incensed by the discovery of the Russian intrigues in his own capital, he received overtures from Constantinople, promising numerous advantages if he would make a diversion on the side of the Baltic. As the constant enemy of Russia, the sultan was regarded as the natural friend of Sweden; there were ancient alliances between the two powers, and ever since the day when Charles XII., fleeing before the Czar Peter, sought refuge among the Turks at Bender, the popular traditions and feelings of the Swedish people had been highly favourable to the Ottomans. Moreover, a brave and most martial people could not see the most fertile territories of the old Swedish monarchy occupied by the Russians without an ardent desire of recovering them by force of arms, or through the chances of war, by which the czars and czarinas had obtained possession of them. The flower of the Russian army was engaged far away on the frontiers of Turkey. One victory over the Russian fleet in the Baltic might possibly enable the Swedes to regain Finland, or to dictate their own terms in St. Petersburg; while anything like a demonstration, made in time and with spirit, might induce the empress to recall part of her troops from the Turkish war. The Swedish government was hampered and checked by its poverty; but a Spanish ship passed the Sound, ascended the Baltic, and landed at Stockholm some chests well filled with gold and silver which the sultan had sent round from the Levant. The total amount was estimated at about £400,000 sterling—a large sum for a country so poor as Sweden. The Swedish fleet was got ready for sea with all possible speed, and the army was recruited. To quiet the jealousies of his neighbour the King of Denmark, his Swedish majesty gave out that he was merely putting himself in a state of defence, which was rendered necessary by the formidable appearance of the Russian fleet, and by the vast preparations making by the czarina. “Could one have believed,” said the witty Prince de Ligne, “that this crazy old Ottoman empire would have been so near placing the empire of Russia in the saddest state? The plan of the Turks was a very fine one, for if

the King of Sweden had commenced his attack three weeks sooner or three weeks later, and if the capitan-pacha had succeeded in destroying the wretched flotilla in the liman, the king might have gone to Petersburg and the pacha to Cherson.” In the month of June, Gustavus, with the van of his army, marched into Finland. He took several towns, the people declared for him, and the Russians were driven from the field. At the same time his brother, the Duke of Sudermania, took the command of the Swedish fleet; and, with fifteen sail of the line and ten frigates, appeared off Cronstadt. Petersburg was thrown into extreme alarm and confusion; but, instead of venturing into the Neva, the Swedes bore away in quest of the Russian fleet, which was cruising in the Gulf of Finland. On the 17th of July a terrible battle was fought. The action began at four o’clock in the afternoon, and was maintained with the greatest fury until night, when the hostile fleets fell asunder, about equally crippled and damaged, and with a terrible loss in killed and wounded. Both Swedes and Russians claimed the victory; but the obstinate and sanguinary affair certainly ended in a draw battle, or, if there were any slight advantage, it was on the side of the Swedes, whose force was very inferior. The engagement proved that the lessons of Greig and the other British officers had not been thrown away, and that the Russians were rapidly improving as sailors.

Gustavus, who was advancing as a conqueror through Finland, was obliged to halt and turn back by treachery and disaffection in his own camp. He had prepared his brave, well-disciplined, and well-appointed troops for an attack on the city of Fredericksham, the capture of which might have opened to him the road to the capital of Russia, when several of his principal officers—men of the noblest families, whose nobility had been worse than plebeianized by Russian gold—refused to lead on the troops to the attack, or to march beyond Finland. In vain the king remonstrated, and in vain he sent the most conspicuous of the malcontents under an arrest to Stockholm; he found that the disaffection was universal among his officers, and that nothing remained to be done but to march back to his capital. Apparently before he reached Stockholm, he received intelligence that his loving cousin, the King of Denmark, urged on by Catherine’s subsidies, had fitted out a great armament, which was invading the southern and most fertile provinces of Sweden from the side of Norway. He had no army with him: the greater part of the 35,000 men, at whose head he had recently marched in the direction of Petersburg, had laid down their arms, and the rest remained on the borders of Finland, under the

command of his second brother, the Duke of Ostrogothia. He issued a spirited proclamation to his people, and flew to the bold miners and mountaineers of Dalecarlia, whose valour had first placed his family on the throne, and whose loyalty and attachment to the dynasty of Gustavus Vasa was unabated. These brave men armed as best they could, and followed their king. In the meantime the Danes, commanded by the Prince of Hesse, had found little or no resistance. They had gained possession of Stronstad and Uddewalla, had crossed the river Gotha, and were within sight of Gothenburg, the principal commercial town of Sweden. That important and almost defenceless place was on the point of capitulating when Gustavus and his Dalecarlians, on the 3d of October, threw themselves into the town. There was no longer any talk of capitulation; but the means of defence were still so defective as to render the situation of the king very precarious. But at this moment, the peremptory voice of Great Britain, which was well delivered by our ambassador at the Danish court, put an end to the danger of his Swedish majesty and his good city of Gothenburg. Mr. Elliot told the crown prince, the son of the unfortunate Matilda of England, who was ruling in the name of his insane or imbecile father, that Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland had united in a treaty of mutual alliance, and were determined to act as mediators; that a Prussian army was ready to enter Holstein, and that an English fleet would sail for the Baltic, unless the Danes immediately ceased their hostilities, and quitted the territories of the King of Sweden; and, under the dictation of the British ambassador, an armistice was concluded, and the Prince of Hesse retired with his Danes into Norway. The war between Sweden and Russia was left to itself. All hostilities were interrupted by the dreadful winter; but there was no truce or intermission to Catherine's intrigues with the disaffected and corrupt Swedish nobles.

Late in the autumn the Emperor Joseph returned to Vienna in a wretched state of health. The fatigue and excitement of the Turkish campaign, his bitter disappointment, and a malaria or marsh fever, had completely undermined his weak constitution, and he never again enjoyed a day's health. He was, however, induced by Catherine to reject pacific overtures which were made to him by the sultan, and to continue the joint war against Turkey. Before the winter was well over, new levies of troops were marched towards the Turkish frontiers, to supply the places of the veterans who had perished in the preceding summer and autumn. Fortunately for those whose lives and military character were concerned, the emperor's health did not permit

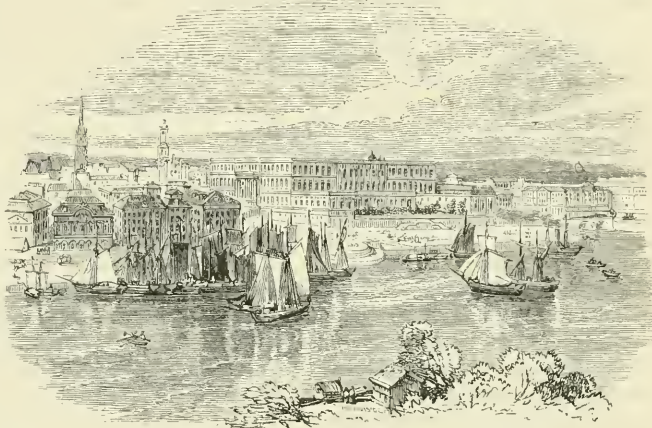
him to take the field in person, and the army was thus freed from his perpetual and injudicious interference in all its movements, and in every one of its departments. The chief command was given to old Marshal Haddick, with the witty Prince de Ligne for his second. The Prince of Saxe Coburg was intrusted with the corps on the frontiers of Moldavia and Wallachia, and was to act in concert with the invincible Suvaroff, whom Catherine had detached in that direction with a strong division of Russians. The Prince of Hohenlohe took the command of the Austrian army on the frontiers of Transylvania; and old Marshal Laudohn commanded on the side of Croatia. Collectively, all these *corps d'armées* exceeded 150,000 men. The campaign was on the whole successful, if not very brilliant. The Turks were discouraged and distracted by a great variety of causes. There was a scarcity of money and provisions even in the capital; but in the provinces which had been the seat of war, there was desolation and absolute famine. On the 7th of April (1789), before the campaign had well begun, Sultan Abdal Hamet fell down in a fit in the streets of Constantinople, and died that night or the following morning. His nephew and successor, Selim, was young, rash, and wholly inexperienced, with an unfortunate turn for precipitating changes and reforms, and an impolitic disregard of the feelings and superstitions of the Turks. The late sultan and grand vizier had acted on the offensive against the Austrians, and on the defensive against the Russians; but now Selim and his new vizier changed the plan of the war, and determined to act offensively against the Russians, and defensively against the Austrians. The Turks fought bravely, but they were everywhere crushed by the superior discipline of their enemies. They were defeated in every battle, and driven from every fortress they attempted to defend. Belgrade was taken by Marshal Laudohn, and Bender by Potemkin. Before winter set in the Russians gained possession of Bialogrod or Ackerman, at the mouth of the Danube, and of several other places on the shores of the Black Sea. They had been gradually extending their frontier to the left bank of the Danube; and they had actually reduced every important place between that river and the Bug and Dnieper. Some trifling combats had taken place on the Black Sea between the ships of the capitan-pacha and the czarina's flotilla or flotillas; the Russians here felt their inferiority, and only escaped destruction by running into mouths of rivers, or to the shallows, whither the Turkish ships of the line could not follow them. If Catherine had possessed in the Black Sea a fleet equal to that which she had in the Baltic, the passage of the Bosphorus, with its then cou-

temptible batteries and fortifications, might have been forced with little difficulty or danger, and the proud mosques and serais that stand on the seven hills of Constantinople, and the arsenal and dockyard on the Golden Horn, with all the shipping in that port, might have been bombarded, battered, burned, and destroyed.

Ever since the close of the preceding year a certain Baron de Thorus, formerly Russian consul at Alexandria, had been labouring in secret to excite the Mameluke beys to a fresh insurrection against the Porte. But the Russian fleet was still kept in the Baltic by the hostility of the King of Sweden. On his return to his capital at the close of 1788, Gustavus, although relieved from the Danish invasion, found himself surrounded by cabals, intrigues, and difficulties of almost every kind. The nobility seemed set against him as one man; the army left in Finland had despised his authority, and had concluded a truce with the Russians without his consent and even without his knowledge. Confident, however, in the steady attachment of the Swedish people, Gustavus summoned a diet to meet in Stockholm. The northern liberty had taken various forms. In Sweden it exhibited itself in four separate orders, sitting in distinct houses or chambers. Before these four orders assembled, the king had consulted with the magistrates and principal citizens of his capital; he had explained to them how his bright hopes had been blighted

by the intrigues of his inveterate enemy, and by the mutinous spirit of his officers, and he had succeeded in convincing them that neither he nor any other sovereign would ever be able to govern the kingdom with honour, and recover all it had lost, unless some material alterations were made in that part of the constitution which hampered the royal prerogative in the declaration and conduct of war. The diet of the states assembled on the 26th of January (1789). The order of nobles, and all who had formerly belonged to, or been connected with the senate, displayed a decided hostility to the king, and began by accusing him of designs against the constitution. The three other orders, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants—even the peasantry formed a state and were represented like the rest—were apparently as much devoted to the king as the nobles were opposed to him, and their loyalty was notably increased

by his proposing a law, which was afterwards carried, for extending certain privileges, hitherto possessed exclusively by the nobility, to all the other orders, to all classes and conditions of Swedes, and even to foreigners who became permanent inhabitants of the country. But this was, of course, considered as a fresh injury by the aristocrats, who understood by Swedish liberty merely that part of it which secured them in the enjoyment of their old privileges and immunities, and who were determined to make or allow no sacrifices if they could possibly avoid it. On the 17th of February, after hearing a reproachful speech from the king, who publicly taxed them with their unpatriotic and traitorous connections with Russia, the nobles all rose and immediately quitted the diet in a body, leaving the king and the other three states together. For three days Stockholm was greatly agitated, and so incensed



THE ROYAL PALACE, STOCKHOLM.

were the people against the nobles, that it required great care to prevent their falling upon them with arms in their hands. This feeling was by no means confined to the mob or to the inferior grades of society; the clergy, the most respectable of the burghers, were quite as favourable to the king, and almost as much incensed against the aristocrats, as were the common people. The result was a revolution or a complete change in the old Swedish constitution. The aristocratic senate, which had been abridged of its powers in the revolution of 1772, was now to be entirely suppressed. To supply its place Gustavus instituted a new commission or council, modelled after the *cour plénière*, which had recently been devised by the royalists in France as a mode of preventing the march of the revolution, but which had there been rejected as an impracticability. The powers granted to this new court in Sweden were in some respects ex-

tensive; but the most powerful of the aristocracy being rigidly excluded from it, and the whole being subjected to the immediate control of the king, it became in its operation little more than a mere council of state, after the fashion of those which existed in absolute monarchies. The clergy, the burghers, and the peasants hailed with delight a very comprehensive act called the "Act of Safety," which, among other things, conferred on the king the prerogative of declaring war and making peace—a prerogative which had always been attached to the constitutional crown of England. These three states also voted supplies for carrying on the war against Russia with the utmost alacrity. A fresh army of 50,000 men was raised with all possible speed, and some supplies and reinforcements were sent to the fleet. But Gustavus still apprehended that as soon as he should take the field in Finland the Russians would again bring the Danes upon his back; and as he was playing the part which the three allied courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague would have prescribed for him—as he was keeping up a very important diversion, highly favourable to the sultan—he considered that those three courts ought not merely to guarantee his safety on the side of Denmark and Norway, but also to furnish him with subsidies and other assistance. But Pitt, who was the main director of the triple alliance, had only made up his mind to half measures; he wished to preserve the Turkish empire without breaking with Russia; and so timid and cautious was he in the latter respect, that he had not even issued an order of council to recall the British officers serving on board Catherine's fleet in the Baltic; and thus, though ostensibly favoured by the English government, Gustavus had the mortification to know that brave and skilful English officers were fighting him under the flag of Catherine, and teaching and training her boors and land-lubbers in all the arts of navigation and naval warfare. This was anomalous and unjustifiable. A bolder and nobler course, or even some indirect assistance lent to Gustavus at this crisis, might have checked and humiliated Russia, and have restored to Sweden that balancing power, extent of dominion, and high consideration in the North which she ought to possess, and to which, in most respects, the manly martial character of her subjects entitles her. But all that Pitt would do was to procure and guarantee a strict neutrality from Denmark. Prussia and Holland were, of course, parties in this guarantee; and the Crown Prince of Denmark was again assured that if he touched the Swedish frontier, or joined his forces either by land or sea to those of Russia, they would give to the King of Sweden their speedy and efficacious assistance.

Hostilities recommenced in Finland as soon as the severity of the climate would permit. Towards the end of May several severe and bloody actions took place, the Russians being commanded by Mouschkin Pouschkin, and the Swedes by General Meyersfeldt. In most of these affairs the Russians were defeated by the brilliant valour of the Swedes; but the empress threw in fresh recruits and powerful reinforcements. Early in June, Gustavus arrived and assumed the command of his own army. Only a few days after his arrival in Finland a desperate battle was fought, and the Russians, though far the more numerous, were thoroughly beaten. Gustavus displayed as much bravery as Charles XII. could have done. His brother, the Duke of Sudermania, continued in the command of the fleet, and endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to prevent the junction of the Russian forces. Meanwhile Gustavus continued to be victorious by land; but every battle cost him many of his best men, and as he advanced into Russian Finland his difficulties increased greatly. In this part of his progress he was attended by a fleet of galleys, which moved along shore and co-operated with the army. But Catherine had collected in the Gulf of Finland a far more numerous galley-fleet; and a tremendous engagement, in waters where no large ships could approach, took place on the 25th of August. The result of this day of carnage was that the King of Sweden was obliged to evacuate the Russian territories, and retreat across his own frontier.

The troubles in the Netherlands had broken out afresh, and were not destined to come to a peaceful and satisfactory termination. Joseph's pride was hurt by the accommodation of 1787; and as soon as he imagined he had means sufficient so to do, he rashly resolved to annul all the concessions which he had made to the Flemings and Brabanters, and to carry into execution every part of his original scheme of reform. Above all things, he determined that the Capuchins should not be allowed to triumph over him, nor the doctors of Louvain be permitted to teach philosophy and theology in their own old way. The first intimation of Joseph's design was seen in the recall of Count Murray, and the substitution of General Dalton. Murray was a man of a lenient, conciliating temper; Dalton, an Irishman by birth, but who had grown gray in foreign service, was exactly the reverse in character and disposition. He was thoroughly a man of the sword, and one that thought the sword, in all cases, the best instrument of government. At the same time, Count Trautmansdorff was appointed to the civil government of those dominions. They arrived at Brussels at the end of 1787, or early in 1788. The first renewal of

discord was on the subject of the university of Louvain. The people stood up manfully for their old priests, monks, and divinity professors; and blood was soon spilled in the streets of Brussels, of Antwerp, and of other towns, by Dalton's battalions. The college was shut up, but so also were the hearts of all the emperor's subjects in the Netherlands to any return of good feeling or reconciliation with him. While blundering through his campaign on the Danube, and allowing his fine army to be repeatedly defeated by the undisciplined, unskilful Turks, Joseph found time to write letters to the Netherlands, expressing his perfect approbation of Dalton's vigorous proceedings at Louvain and at Antwerp. He indulged in the confident hope that these acts of vigour, and the flight of the principal malcontents, would re-establish order and a perfect submission to his will. He could not, or he would not perceive that these exiles might soon return with foreign armies at their backs; and that the Flemings, Brabanters, and the rest might rise to a man and join any standard rather than submit again to his rule. For the present, the whole of that fine country wore the aspect of sullen gloom and discontent; the prisons were crowded, the manufactories were left empty, the emigration continued, and a stop was put to nearly all trade and industry. Many of the emigrants threw themselves into the political clubs and all the revolutionary commotions at Paris, imbibing new, extreme, and violent notions of politics, and of the rights of man; and from this time clubs and secret societies began to be formed in Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liege, and most of the principal cities of the Austrian Netherlands; and ideas and aspirations received birth and encouragement which were not merely incompatible with the sovereign rule of the emperor, but with any monarchical government or any known and settled constitution. Frenchmen of ready wit and still readier tongues went from place to place as political missionaries and prophets; and these visitations were extended into Holland and the other United Provinces, where the democratic party, who had been put down by Prussian bayonets and cannon, were quite ready to rise again if they could only see a good prospect of support and success. By one edict Joseph sequestered all the remaining abbeys of Brabant. The states of Brabant now refused to vote any subsidies whatsoever; and at the beginning of the year 1789 Joseph recalled his oath to observe the terms of the "Joyous Entry," ordered fresh arrests and banishments, and intimated in the most unequivocal manner that he intended to establish by military force an absolute government in the Netherlands, to correspond with the despotism of all his other states and possessions, excepting Hungary and the

Tyrol. But in a brief space of time nearly all the nobility, gentry, and clergy—nearly all the manufacturers, merchants, burghers, and substantial farmers—openly declared against the emperor, who was so occupied by the war on the Danube, and so impoverished by it, that instead of 40,000 men which Trautmansdorff had spoken of, he could scarcely spare 1000 to send into the Netherlands. He had goaded his subjects there into universal insurrection at the very moment when his means of coercing them were at the lowest, and their hopes and encouragements at the highest pitch; for the French revolutionists were now advancing in full career. The Duke d'Arenberg and other great nobles, the Archbishop of Mechlin, the head of the clergy, with numerous bishops and lord abbots, the members of the states of Brabant, and the members of the now suppressed grand council, assembled at Breda in the course of the months of August and September, 1789, and on the 14th of September they constituted and declared themselves to be the legal assembly of the states. In that capacity, and supported by the almost unanimous voice of the country, they told the emperor that nothing but the immediate revocation of his illegal edicts, and the reinstatement of the provinces in their ancient rights, could possibly relieve them from the cruel necessity of appealing to God and the sword. A few weeks after, the militia and volunteers assembled in many towns under their old officers, and bands of insurgents, well armed and not unprovided with artillery, took the field and drove the emperor's garrisons out of forts Lillo and Liefenshoeck. Dalton sent against them a strong division under General Schröder, who retook the two forts. But a few days after, when Schröder ventured to follow the insurgents into Turnhout, he was defeated in a street fight and driven out of that town with great loss. After this success the insurgents took the name of the "patriotic army," and were joined every day by great numbers of returning emigrants, who, if they came from the south, brought with them French democrats, and if they came from the north, Dutch democrats. If Dalton had ever been fond of fighting, he certainly showed no such propensity on the present occasion: he kept away from the field and intrusted the command of the troops to others. Being informed that the patriots were making head at Tirlemont, he sent General Bender against them, and Bender, imprudently engaging in the streets of the town as Schröder had done before him, was thoroughly defeated and driven out of the place with great loss and shame. This was at the beginning of November. Within a very few days after, General Arberg was routed and compelled to retreat behind the Scheldt; and the

banner of independence was raised in Louvain, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and other important cities. The emperor now fell into an agony of alarm and suspicion. The letters from his sister Marie Antoinette conveyed dismal accounts of what was passing and plotting in France. He began to suspect almost every man that was anywise connected with the Netherlands, and he even doubted for a moment the fidelity of the brave and witty Prince de Ligne, who had hitherto been an especial favourite with him, but who, as a native of the Low Countries, and as one having great estates there and high consideration among his countrymen, now became an object of suspicion. And in fact the chiefs of the insurrection had applied to De Ligne, who was then commanding a part of the emperor's troops at the siege of Belgrade, to take the command of the patriot army in the Netherlands. The prince was not the sort of man that could break through the ties of allegiance, the obligations of a soldier, or the habitudes of a whole life; he was moreover personally attached to the emperor, who had many qualities proper to conciliate friendship and esteem; and De Ligne, who was quick-sighted and sagacious beyond most of his contemporaries, clearly foresaw the anarchy to which the French revolution must lead, and the identification which must take place between that revolution and the insurrection in his own country if not checked in time. He removed the emperor's doubts and suspicions by some of his familiar and witty letters; but under his pleasantry and badinage appeared in sober sadness his forebodings and apprehensions. He earnestly recommended the emperor to put an end to the ruinous war on the Danube, to content himself with the towns and the fortresses he had taken, to make peace with the Turks, and to apply himself with all his power, and with the least possible delay, to extinguish the flames in the Low Countries, and to prevent the spreading of the great fire kindled in France; and if Joseph had followed his advice, some of the earlier stages of the French revolution might have been less ruinous and disgraceful to the old monarchies and despotisms of Europe. If nothing more had been done, the quieting of the Low Countries, and the return of the people to their former tranquillity and attachment to the house of Austria, which might have been brought about without armies and without any bloody contention, might have closed the gates to the neighbouring French, instead of leaving them wide open, and the minds of the Flemings and Brabanters in a state to receive the republicans as friends and deliverers. The first outpouring of the French was sure to be towards Flanders and

Brabant, the old battle-fields of Europe—every motive, nearly every possible consideration, ought to have urged the emperor to make himself strong on this side; but he, on the contrary, had been throwing down every rampart and barrier, had been labouring, as if purposely, to facilitate the first movements of the French, and possibly even at the first moment on which the Prince de Ligne offered his good advice it was too late to follow it with effect. De Ligne says that he was himself oppressed with summonses and propositions to go and place himself at the head of the Flemish insurgents; that he was called upon to defend the rights and privileges of his country, and menaced with confiscation in case of his delaying any further to take that decisive patriotic step. To Vandermoot, who conducted this correspondence for the patriots, the prince returned no answer; but he wrote to others of his countrymen to assure them that there was more to be gained from a reconciliation with the emperor than from a perseverance in revolution and war, which could only be maintained by a union or alliance with the French, whose present temper and views he considered as perilous in the extreme, not merely to all crowns and sceptres, but to all nobles, to all men possessing property, to the entire aristocracy of Europe.

In the month of November the emperor addressed a conciliatory declaration to all his subjects in the Low Countries: he expressed a deep sorrow for the troubles which had broken out, and offered a redress of grievances upon condition of their first laying down their arms. Having already been deceived in this way, and having been exasperated and maddened by Dalton's military executions, the people would not trust Joseph again, nor rely in any degree on the paternal affection which he boasted. The states of Flanders, on the 20th November (1789), assumed the style of "High and Mighty States;" and they asserted their independence by passing and issuing various resolutions and manifestoes declaring the emperor to have forfeited, by tyranny and injustice, and the invasion of their privileges, all right or title to the sovereignty, and ordering the levy of an army of 20,000 men, and a close union with the states of Brabant. In Brabant, and particularly in Brussels, the patriots proceeded with increasing vigour and vehemence; for every day brought the most encouraging news of the emperor's illness and political weakness, of the irresistible might of the mother-revolution at Paris—and many of the aristocracy of the Low Countries were not so quick-sighted as De Ligne in discovering the tendency of French democracy, and its inevitable consequences if once allowed to get the ascendancy. Dalton, after all his bravadoes, had been compelled to shut himself up

¹ *Lettres et Papiers.*

in Brussels. The patriots soon rose upon him there, and attacked him unexpectedly at a moment when conciliatory negotiations were carrying on. All the unscrupulous conduct was not on one side, and in the Low Countries, as elsewhere, patriots could be guilty of treachery and deception as well as kings, ministers, and courtiers. The Irish soldier of fortune was so completely taken by surprise that he was obliged, on the 9th of December (1789), to sue for a capitulation. The patriots granted him leave to withdraw his troops into Luxemburg; and they then remained in undisputed possession of all Brabant as well as Flanders.

The applications of the Belgic patriots to France had commenced in the earliest stages of the French revolution, and before the character of that phenomenon could be ascertained. They gave birth to a strange variety of schemes and intrigues at Paris. One party thought of getting the Duke of Orleans appointed ruler of the emancipated states, which were to be formed into a separate kingdom, with something like the same limits which belong to the present kingdom of Belgium. Emissaries had been despatched to Brussels, to Ghent, and to other cities, in order to work out or prepare for this project; and it is even said that the Duke of Orleans opened the scheme to the British government, and endeavoured to obtain their concurrence or acquiescence on the ground that the Netherlanders would never again submit to the emperor.¹ This intrigue failed, as might have been expected. As a last resource the Emperor Joseph despatched Count Cobentzel, a practised and able diplomatist, to Brussels, with full powers to treat with the insurgents. Cobentzel offered to restore all their privileges and rights; but the states now haughtily demanded many new privileges and an extension of their rights, together with a better security, properly guaranteed, for the enjoyment of them. And on the last day of the year 1789 the states of Brabant bound themselves, in presence of the citizens of Brussels, by a solemn oath, to preserve the rights, privileges, and constitution of their country; and they administered the same oath to the members of the restored grand council, also in presence of the citizens and populace of Brussels, who rent the air with their acclamations, swearing in their turn to support the states and the council, and to live free or die. Shortly afterwards they formed an offensive and defensive league with the states of Flanders. By this time the King and Queen of France were little better than state prisoners in the Tuileries. The national assembly was transferred from Versailles to Paris, the scene of famine and almost daily insurrection. The revolutionary arena was now full of com-

batants, and the combat itself was considerably advanced.

By the part which it had taken in the American war, the government of Louis XVI. had reduced itself to a state of bankruptcy, and had given countenance and strength to the spirit of revolutionism in Europe. La Fayette, who ineptly figured during the first stages of the French revolution, became on his return to his own country a sort of popular idol; and nearly every Frenchman that had served with him in the western world was regarded with admiration and respect, as one that had witnessed the triumph of the cause of the people, and was capable of giving advice and instruction in all those political matters which Frenchmen had so long disregarded. Franklin, too, and all the American residents and travellers, were regarded as oracles in the *salons* of Paris; and republicanism became a fashion even among the nobility, especially among such as were poor, or out of favour at court, or younger brothers. It was in this state of mind that the writings of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Rousseau, Diderot, and their followers—the principles of the *encyclopédistes*, *économistes*, and *philosophes*, who were one and all agreed in animosity not merely against the Catholic church, but against all revealed religion—began really to ferment and to produce their rapid and wide-spreading effects. But, perhaps, as compendiums and manuals of political science Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* and his *Rights of Man* were in greatest vogue among the less educated part of the community. With such guides, and in their unacquaintance with the practical workings of a free system of government, the French were not likely to conduct a revolution with wisdom and moderation; yet that some great and sweeping changes were indispensable will not now be denied by any man in his senses. Not less, as we believe, through the imprudence and vices of the people than through the concerted despotism of the court, almost the last traces of a constitution or of liberty had for long ages disappeared in France. The states-general, which had once an authority corresponding to that of the English parliament, had been altogether discontinued; the parlements had been converted into mere courts of register; and those municipal institutions upon which all liberty and proper self-government depend had been reduced to a nullity. The taxes were most unequally distributed—the privileged classes, the nobility, the clergy, the monastic orders, contributing hardly anything to the public revenue. Plebeian birth was an all but insurmountable bar to any promotion in the army or navy. Yet the noblesse had no political privileges whatsoever; and if not considerable by their landed property, their employments, or military rank, they were

¹ *Memoirs of Dumouriez*.

simply valets of the court, or dissipated adventurers, or obscure yet proud country gentlemen. Impartial justice was rarely to be obtained, and arbitrary arrests by *lettre de cachet* and long confinements in the Bastille, without trial and without cause assigned, were, or rather had been common events among the superior classes of society. The poor people were oppressed by *corvées* and other intolerable services. These were only a few of the evils which the French had to complain of; and the redress of them would have sanctified a revolution if it had been conducted with wisdom and humanity.

The financial embarrassments of the government, which precipitated the crisis, originated in rather a remote period; the splendid and much-vaunted reign of Louis XIV., with its invasion and transient conquests, had impoverished the country; the profligate government of the Regent Orleans sank the state still deeper in debt; and under the reign of Louis XV. ruinous, sanguinary, and for the most part unsuccessful wars abroad, and an infamous misrule at home, increased this poverty and discontent.

It was under this reign that the court, the capital, and most of the great cities of France, became demoralized to a point beyond which all the horrors of the coming revolution could scarcely carry them. There were great and glorious exceptions among all classes, and in every part of the kingdom; in many of the remote and rural districts a simplicity and innocency of manners still reigned; there were generous sentiments and aspirations in a very large part of the nation, and existing even in the breasts of men to whom vice and sensual indulgence were most familiar; there was bravery to do and dare, for that essential quality never yet was wanting in the French; there was an abundance, or a superabundance, of talent, ingenuity, wit; but there was no political experience, no caution or moderation, no patient perseverance, no toleration for the errors or passions of others, no sympathy or friendship, but a deadly hostility between all the different ranks or classes of society, at the moment when Louis XVI. and his young wife became king and queen, with the touching exclamation or prayer uttered on their knees, and with streaming eyes, "O God! guide us, protect us; we are too young to reign!"

The new sovereign, a weak but amiable man, and not without acquirements and abilities which might have rendered him a good and useful king in a different country, or even in France under less numerous and fatal difficulties, found the people discontented, impoverished, suffering, and mutinous; the government embarrassed by an enormous and still increasing debt; the credit of the state destroyed by a bankruptcy profligately perpetrated by the Abbé Terray, the precious

finance minister of Louis XV.; the army disorganized, the navy almost annihilated, and all classes and conditions of his subjects calling for reform—for an immediate and sweeping reform—without being in the least agreed as to where it was to begin and where end, or as to the means to be employed in procuring it. At first, however, there seemed a fair prospect of contentment and tranquillity: the king chose for his premier the octogenarian Count de Maurepas, who had grown old without growing very wise; but he appointed Turgot, the most distinguished of the economists, and a virtuous and philosophic man, to be comptroller-general of the finances, and the wise and good Malesherbes to preside over the department of justice. The exiled parlement was recalled, and reinstated with honour. Turgot and Malesherbes, who knew the temper of the times, and that some grand changes were inevitable, wished the king to take the business of reform into his own hands, whereby, they calculated, he might be enabled to retain the direction of it, and prevent the extremity of a revolution—an extremity fearful even among a better trained and more phlegmatic people, but trebly dangerous with a people like the French. They proposed that the king should begin with some of the gross and monstrous burdens that ground the commonalty; that he should suppress the internal duties which weighed heaviest on articles of food, and above all the detested *gabelle*, or tax on salt; that he should abolish the *corvées*, or forced labour for the maintenance of roads, and the other tyrannical usages which had arisen out of the feudal system; that he should subject the nobility and the clergy to pay taxes as well as the *tiers état*, or common people; and that he should convert tallages and other services, which excessively harassed and distressed the country people, into a fixed territorial impost. They also recommended the abolition of torture; a total revival of the old criminal code; the compilation of a new and uniform civil code; full liberty of conscience, and the recall of the Protestants; the gradual suppression of the greater part of the convents and monasteries; the emancipation of the civil power from ecclesiastical jurisdiction; a proper provision for the parochial clergy and country *curés*, who did all the duties of religion that were performed in France, who possessed all the religion that was left in the French clergy, and who were and had for ages been condemned to starve or languish upon miserable pittance, while the dignitaries of the church—excessively wealthy and luxurious, and as dissipated and unbelieving as the lay aristocracy—were spending the money of the church at Paris. They further recommended the redemption of all feudal rents and obligations; the suppression of all the exist-

ing impediments to trade and industry, of everything which separated the provinces of France from one another, and checked the commercial intercourse of the kingdom; the formation of provincial administrations, to be composed of the great landed proprietors, who were to unite and give strength to the powers and spirit of the municipal bodies, to superintend the construction of roads and canals, in which France was miserably deficient, and to attend to a variety of important affairs too apt to be overlooked by the central government, residing continually in the capital. Turgot was intimately connected not only with the political economists, but with the whole body of philosophes, to whose free notions in metaphysics and in religion he subscribed: he therefore suggested, as important parts of the reform, that the philosophes should be retained for the government by proper fees and emoluments, in order to furnish "*the tribute of their philanthropic observations*;" that thought should be rendered free as trade; and that a new system of public instruction should be established, from which "*all the old prejudices*" should be weeded and excluded. As Louis XVI. was not a free-thinker, as he loved the old religion much better than the new ethics, as, like his grandfather, Louis XV., he suspected and dreaded the philosophes, their converts and partizans, there was much in the scheme proposed that was in the highest degree distasteful to him; and other essential portions of the project were still more odious to the aristocracy and the clergy, who exclusively surrounded the king, who already raised a loud cry about vested rights and ancient privileges, and who expressed, in the most determined manner, their intention of yielding nothing to the people. Deafened by these clamours, the young king threw out all the vital parts of the project; and agreed with his premier, old Maurepas, that nothing ought to be done that tended to disgust and alienate the nobility and the clergy, the real supporters of the power and splendour of the throne. Turgot, however, succeeded in inducing Maurepas and the king to consent to the abolition of the *corvée*, of the interior custom-houses between province and province, and of various other vexations and abuses, which, collectively, formed no insignificant instalment towards better government. But the French people and the philosophes were far too impatient to wait for what could not possibly be well done except with time and caution; and the other orders were variously dissatisfied even with the little that was thus done in the way of reform. The courtiers complained bitterly of the rigid economy which Turgot had introduced; and the parlement of Paris resented several measures which went to interfere with their old jurisdic-

tion, functions, and profits. The patriotism of the latter body seems to have evaporated from the very moment they discovered that their purses and their influence were to be touched. Turgot's ministerial life of two years was a very uneasy one. The wisdom and the boldness with which he opposed the mad war-party that drove Louis XVI. into the American war—predicting so many of the fatal consequences of that rash step—put the capstone to his unpopularity at court, and he was driven into retirement in 1776.

Turgot was succeeded as comptroller-general of finance by Clugny, who, after holding office about six months, gave place to Necker, from whom



NECKER.—From a portrait by J. S. Duplessis.

nothing less than absolute miracles were expected; and that too by a people who believed not merely that the age of miracles was over, but that it had never existed. The prevalence of the new ideas was seen in this appointment, for Necker was not only a plebeian, but a foreigner and *Protestant*. He was a native of Geneva, and the son of a professor of law in that little republic. He went to Paris in his youth to seek fortune or employment; and he found both in the house of Thellusson, also a Genevese, and at that time the greatest banker and capitalist on the Continent. His steadiness and perseverance, with some abilities, soon raised him from the condition of a clerk to that of a partner, and in the course of twelve or thirteen years he realized a very large fortune. There was some difficulty in overcoming the religious scruples and the national scruples of Louis XVI., who thought that his finance minister ought to be a Frenchman and a Catholic; but in the end, the alien and Protestant Necker was admitted to the most difficult office of the state, without, however, having the honour of a seat in the council. He refused the ordinary

pay and emoluments of office, declaring that his only object was to benefit the people of France, and save their government from bankruptcy. Men, however, who knew him well, and who even respected the many good qualities that were in him, thought that it would have given him some pain to see France saved by any other hand than his own; and that, though not covetous of money, of which he had already more than enough, he was covetous of distinction and glory as a statesman, and singularly ambitious of being thought the only regenerator of an undone kingdom. If Turgot's schemes had in some degree smelt overstrongly of the new philosophism and of the coterie of encyclopedists and economists, Necker's certainly savoured too much of the banking-house and the stock-exchange. He considered that the salvation of this rickety, worn-out monarchy might be found in public loans adroitly managed, in the introduction of a better system of collection and book-keeping, and in a very little economy on the part of the court and the various departments of government. Loans, new loans, were to supply the place of new taxes; for the people, the *tiers état*, were already so overburdened that they could bear no more, and the nobility and clergy had secured for a little while longer their exemption from all taxes. No doubt there was service to be done by a good banker and stock-broker, and Necker did honestly and with spirit, just as much as was to be expected from a man in that capacity; but he did, and could do little more, for Necker was scarcely a statesman at all, and the crisis required the greatest of statesmen. Nor is it at all improbable that the greatest statesman that ever has lived, or that ever shall live, would have utterly failed in that political chaos. As for Necker's economy, or reduction of expenditure, it was too insignificant in amount to have saved a little Swiss canton. He would have made it more. but he was thwarted by the young queen, who naturally loved pleasure and expense, by the whole household, and by nearly every aristocrat that had place, appointment, or pension, or was living in the hope of obtaining it. The more thoughtful part of this high, and privileged, and separate world agreed that some retrenchment might be necessary or expedient; but they never could agree as to the places where the retrenchments ought to be made, and every one of them thought that he, his own connections, or particular department ought to be spared. And Necker, afraid of making enemies, afraid of offending the queen, carefully abstained from any bold attempt. If it had been a time of peace his financial operations might have produced some more lasting benefit; but nearly all the money he could borrow was swallowed up by the American war,

and he found himself incapacitated from alleviating the crushing burdens of the people. He went on adding loan to loan. In the year 1781 he was permitted to publish his famous *comptes rendus*, or regular account of the finances of the kingdom, which disclosed for the first time the state of the revenue and expenditure—things which had hitherto been considered as sacred arcana of government, of which the people were never to have a glimpse. Although he was only half a philosophe and half a liberal, that party highly applauded this disclosure, declaring that it would render impossible the return of the old secret and absolute system. But, on the other hand, his disclosure made him many powerful enemies, and united against him a legion of placemen, pensioners, contractors, and others, who loved to live upon the public purse without the public having any knowledge of the fact. The *comptes rendus* certainly contributed somewhat to the great change that was approaching, and which was driven on by causes innumerable. Necker, assailed on every side at court, now declared that all his endeavours to retrieve the affairs of the country must prove ineffectual unless the king allowed him to change a part of the cabinet and to have a place at the council table. The king refused even the seat in the council, and thereupon Necker tendered his resignation, which was accepted in May, 1781, not many weeks after the publication of his *comptes rendus*. After a short uneasy interval, a finance minister was found perfectly to the taste of the court. This was Calonne, a bold, dashing, brilliant, self-confident man, who had a great deal of wit and a wonderful fertility of invention, and who would have saved France, if wit and impudence and wild schemes could have done it. Instead of recommending an extensive and statesmanlike economy as Turgot had done, or practising a paltry economy like Necker, he boldly declared that no economy was necessary, and that the gaiety and splendour of the court ought to be supported. He entirely captivated the suffrages of the court by the urbanity of his manners, the facility with which he granted favours or money, and the charming tone and tenor of his political philosophy. He was regarded as the best comptroller of finances that God had ever made—for courtiers. But this pleasant piping time could not last; a sum of money which, in francs, fills the breadth of a page, must be raised immediately, and an enormous addition must be made to the annual taxation of the country, or bankruptcy, ruin, anarchy, must ensue. Calonne felt, as a man who had bowels and sense, that it would be cruelty and madness to grind the people any further; and, after revolving many schemes, he determined to make an appeal to the nobility

and the clergy; and he obtained the reluctant consent of the king to convoke an "Assembly of Notables."

The notables assembled at Versailles on the 22d of February, 1787. The old courtiers were horror-stricken even at a deliberative, powerless, and most imperfect popular assembly like this; and the profligate Duke of Richelieu asked one of his friends what punishment he thought Louis XIV. would have inflicted upon any minister that had presumed merely to propose such a dangerous measure? These notables were almost to a man members of the privileged orders, and were exempted, either by birth or by profession, or by both accidents, from contributing to the wants of the state: but many of them were known to entertain the new notions, and to have expressed an eagerness for reform and the correction of abuses. It was, in fact, upon these grounds that they had been selected from among thousands and hundreds of thousands; and Calonne was credulous enough to imagine that they would display a perfect disinterestedness, and forward the liberal principles they professed at the expense of sacrifices from themselves and the orders to which they belonged. He thought, too, that if selfish men should be found among these notables of the land, they would, from their very selfishness, be ready to sacrifice a part to save the large remainder, to resign their exemption from taxation in order to keep their great estates and their rich benefices. It was, therefore, with his ordinary gaiety and vivacity that Calonne explained in detail the motives of their being called together, and the healing schemes which he had to propose for their consideration. These schemes consisted, first, in a new distribution of taxes, by which the revenue would be materially increased, and the expenses of collecting it materially lessened; and, secondly, in the abolition of the invidious privileges of the nobility and clergy, which provoked a perennial jealousy and animosity on the part of the *tiers état*, and which opposed an insurmountable barrier to permanent improvement of any kind. But his illusion was presently dissipated. Instead of approving his plans, the notables pointed out their defects and their very dangerous tendency. Such a storm was raised as completely overwhelmed even the bold and ready-witted comptroller-general; and though warmly supported by the queen, Calonne was dismissed on the 10th of April. He was succeeded by a forward, fashionable, self-confident dignitary of the church, Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, who accepted the post of Calonne with an appearance of confidence, and

was shortly after translated to the much richer archbishopric of Sens. At every change wonders were expected; but it soon became visible that Loménie had no plan, and that no plan was possible. The notables who had joined him in making war upon Calonne abandoned him the very moment he showed a disposition to resume and carry into effect a part of the projects which had been proposed by that minister and first contemplated by Turgot. He could neither continue the profusion of Calonne, by which alone the court was to be retained, nor fall back upon the saving system of Necker, which might have amused the people yet a little while: the loan-market was shut against him, and neither nobility nor clergy would open their purses to contribute. There was no hope for him or in him. He could scarcely dare to speak against the privileges and exemptions which he had so recently defended; and, when two or three of the notables hazarded reflections upon the amount of untaxed property, tithes, &c., they were put down by loud and indignant voices. "You demand the convocation of the states-general," said the new minister with an air of alarm and astonishment. "Yes," said La Fayette, whose revolutionary ardour had not excluded him from the assembly, "yes, and *something more than that!*" The notables, who were not incorrectly designated by La Fayette's pun *Not-able*, were rigid in their parsimony, and not very submissive in other respects. They, however, sanctioned the formation of provincial assemblies, which, with time and patience, might have been productive of great good, if only in accustoming the French to a little self-government; and they also approved of the ministerial plan for regulating the internal trade in corn. They agreed to the total abolition of the *corvée*, and to the imposing a new stamp tax; and here they halted. The court and the new minister of finance were about equally afraid of what they might do and what they had left undone; and it was resolved to put an end to a meeting which had disappointed all parties. On the 25th of May the king dissolved them. In July, the parlement of Paris refused to enregister the new stamp act which the notables had sanctioned; and requested that his majesty would be pleased to convoke the states-general of the kingdom. Then, by the advice of Loménie de Brienne and his other ministers, Louis had recourse to a *lit de justice*, or "Bed of Justice," a fashion which had been introduced in the course of the gradual growth of despotism and disuse of even deliberative assemblies, and which had often been resorted to before, when parlements proved refractory.

CHAPTER XXIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1789.

GEORGE III.

Progress of the French revolution—Assembly of the “Bed of Justice” at Versailles—The parlement of Paris protests against its edicts—Public ferment against the stamp tax—Force employed against the parlementers—La Fayette’s satisfaction at the symptoms of revolution—His revolutionary proceedings—The stamp tax abandoned—Unexpected entrance of Louis XVI. into the parlement of Paris—He demands its assent to two edicts—He is opposed by the Duke of Orleans—The duke and parliament protest against the edicts—They are punished by the court and applauded by the people—The court resolves to institute a *cour plénière*—Resolutions of the parlement against the measure—Attempt to arrest D’Espréménil and De Monsabert—They are arrested in the parlement and imprisoned—Revolt of the Bretons against the royal edicts—They form an alliance with La Fayette—The Duke of Orleans recalled to Paris—Destructive hail-storm in France—Famine succeeds—Poverty of the national exchequer—The Archbishop of Toulouse displaced and Necker recalled to office—Resolution to assemble the states-general—Proposal of the parlement to exclude the *tiers état* from it—The parlement becomes unpopular by the proposal—Resolution to give the *tiers état* preponderance over the other bodies—Pamphlets written on the subject—Difficulties about the amount of representation to be given to the *tiers état*—A double representation assigned to it—Popular delight at the concession—Riots in France before the meeting of the states-general—The states-general assembled—Their imposing procession—Controversy among the three bodies about their sitting together or apart—Characters by whom the *tiers état* was represented—They assume the title of the “National Assembly”—The three orders meet in one chamber—Necker dismissed—The Bastille stormed—Bailly made mayor of Paris, and La Fayette commander of the national guard—Necker recalled—His triumphant return to Paris—The demagogues predominate—The mob are let loose—Popular riots and executions in Paris—Uproar and violence of the country people in the provinces—Excesses tolerated or encouraged by the national assembly—Unfortunate military dinner of the 1st October—Indignation of the patriots at the military toasts and demonstrations—The national guards and mob march to Versailles—They bring the king and his family as prisoners to Paris—The Breton Club changes into the Jacobin Club—The Duke of Orleans exiled—His name made the scapegoat of the revolutionary excesses.



ON the 6th of August, 1787, the “Bed of Justice” was held at Versailles. Before the parlement quitted Paris to attend it, they entered a protest against anything that might be done or attempted contrary to the laws of the kingdom. At Versailles they were compelled to be silent, and to witness the registering of the edict at the express command of the sovereign; but, on the next day, when they reassembled in the Palais de Justice, at Paris, they declared, in a formal protest, that the edict, having been registered against their approbation and consent, was null and void; and the first person that should attempt to carry it into execution should be judged and treated as a traitor. They well knew that the other parlements of the kingdom would follow their example, and that the tax and duty payers—the great body of the people, who already paid too much—would not, with such encouragements, submit to the stamp tax. Altogether, a more unlucky choice of an impost could not have been made. The history of the stamp tax in America was very generally known, and there was La Fayette, with Jefferson and a knot of Americans, to indoctrinate the French people. The very name of the tax was enough to forebode mischief. At this time of ferment

all the printing presses of Paris worked night and day, pouring forth, for the most part, nothing but enlogiums on the patriotic parlement, anathemas on the government, libels on the king, and libels still more atrocious on the queen. The Count d’Artois, the king’s younger brother (afterwards the ill-starred Charles X.), was grossly insulted in the streets of the capital, for having told the parlementers that if he were king he would compel them to be more obedient. At court, with an excessive irritation, there was much indecision; for Louis, though claiming absolute power, had in reality little taste for absolute measures. But about a week after holding the unpropitious *lit de justice*, he assented to the proposals of his ministers for employing force and intimidation, and all the parlementers were suddenly arrested and conveyed to Troyes. When their departure became known there was a loud uproar; but the soldiers, who were not yet won over to the popular side, patrolled the streets and restored quiet by breaking a few heads and conveying some of the noisiest to their *corps de gardes* or to prison. But the king had not armies in every part of France, and at nearly every great town where there were no troops or only weak garrisons a spirit of riot and resistance was manifested. Even at this very early stage there were

symptoms that the people would make a wild and immoderate use of their power whenever they should be enfranchised; and that the revolution, like all its predecessors, would be a bloody one. But men would not permit their extravagant hopes to be overcast by these sad signs, or alarm to be excited by their warning.

La Fayette, who appears to us to be about the



LA FAYETTE.—From an anonymous print.

most inept man that ever meddled with the main-springs of revolutions, wrote in an ecstasy of joy to his old friends on the other side of the Atlantic — “Notions of liberty have been spreading very fast among us ever since the American revolution. The combustible materials have been kindled by the assembly of notables and by our parlements. . . . Liberty is cantering and prancing from one end of the kingdom to the other.”¹ Prancing, indeed! a wild unbroken colt, beating her unshodden hoofs to pieces on rough ground, where no roads as yet had been made, without bit or rein to curb and guide her, and with a crowd of self-confident but bad riders like La Fayette, each jostling the other and fighting to be first, fondly fancying that they could vault upon her back without saddle or stirrup, guide her as they list, and put her through her paces like an old well-trained Flanders mare. But if La Fayette was deficient in all the high qualities which make a statesman or a political philosopher, he was gifted with a wonderful share of activity. He attended the notables; he was in constant communication with the leaders of opposition in the parlement of Paris and in nearly all the other parlements of the kingdom; he voted and harangued in the provincial assembly of Auvergne, his native province; and in a trice he was back in the capital, consulting with Jefferson and other American republicans as to the best means of making and

conducting this revolution.² Other men of less name, but of infinitely more ability, were as active as La Fayette, for the revolutionary party comprised the young and middle-aged, whereas the monarchy was defended by the old only—who, as Jefferson complacently remarked, must be less active and be diminished daily in the usual course of nature. Loménie de Brienne, who had to bear the whole weight of government, and who was distracted by conflicting schemes and intrigues at court, not knowing what to do, did scarcely anything at all, beyond ordering the suppression of the political clubs, and causing the streets of the capital to be patrolled constantly by strong parties. Troubles and even open insurrections broke out in Dauphiny, in Brittany, French Flanders, Provence, and Languedoc; and the provincial states, nobility, clergy, and *tiers état* united in determined opposition. In this state of the public mind ministers could not venture to attempt levying the stamp tax or carrying into effect the *subvention territoriale*; and the president of the parlement, without any permission from the king, or previous notice given, was emboldened to quit Troyes, and repair to Versailles. On the 13th of September (1787) M. le Président obtained an audience of Louis, who had been for some time in a most painful state of poverty, doubt, and vacillation, not knowing whether to persevere in hostilities or to attempt a reconciliation. He told his majesty—what all the world had been telling him for months—that the kingdom would be absolutely ruined unless the present system was abandoned, the parlement reinstated, and the states-general convoked. The boldness of his language had an instantaneous effect on the timidity of the king, and decided his wavering mind—at least for a few hours. Louis engaged to give up the stamp tax and the territorial impost, to recall the parlement, and to give them satisfaction in some other respects; while all that he required from the president was, that they should register the patent by which Loménie de Brienne was recently appointed first minister of state. The parlement returned in triumph to Paris.

This apparent return of a good understanding between the court and the parlement lasted but a very short time; nor would its longer duration have been of much importance; for it was impossible that the questions at issue should be settled by these two bodies. Louis, unfortunate in his own character, unfortunate in his advisers, and in nearly all those who surrounded him, changed his mind and system within a very few days. With somewhat unusual noise and publicity the 19th of November was fixed for a grand royal hunt; and on the morning of that day, when the parlement thought that the king and

¹ Letters to General Washington, in *Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., of General La Fayette*; published by his family.

² *Memoirs of La Fayette, of Gouverneur Morris, and of Jay.*

court were chasing deer in the forest of St. Germain, Louis, attended by all the princes of the blood, the great officers of state, the peers of France, and a long retinue besides, drove into Paris and suddenly appeared at the gates of the Palais de Justice, wherein the parlement was

feelingly on the subject of religious toleration. "I will ever maintain," said he, "the holy religion in which I have the happiness to have been born, and I will not permit it to suffer any diminution of its pre-eminence in the kingdom; but I am of opinion that this same religion commands me not to leave a part of my subjects deprived of their natural rights." There followed a hot, loud, and passionate debate, which made the king red and pale alternately. The great theme was the necessity of immediately assembling the states-general, in order to achieve a rapid and universal reform. These harangues lasted six or seven hours; it was growing dark, and was far beyond the hour at which royalty and the great world then generally dined. Louis, whose good appetite no troubles or anxieties could depress, was hungry, faint, exhausted. At last, on a hint given him by Lamoignon, he rose to put an end to the sitting by declaring, as imperiously as he could, that he must have his successive loans edict registered without further talking. A short silence followed, and men gazed at one another as if each expected that some one else would reply. The personage to rise and break this silence was the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood next to the king's brothers, who had led one section of the opposition in the assembly of notables, and who had been for several years in fierce hostility to the court, to the king, and still more to the queen. Looking full at his majesty, Orleans inquired whether this was a *lit de justice* or a *séance royale*? He was answered by the king and many of the court, all in a breath, that it was a *séance royale*. Even under despotism certain little forms and rules of etiquette had been observed, and the duke now quoted one of these to the king's face. Orleans said it was an old rule that edicts could not be registered by order in a *séance royale*; and that he, for one, must enter his humble protest against such registry. "You may do as you choose," said the king, who repeated his order, saw it obeyed, and then departed with the same state in which he had come, attended by the princes of the blood, the peers, great officers, and the rest. But his Highness of Orleans accompanied his majesty no farther than the gate, and, returning instantly, entered his stinging protest, which was adopted as their own by such members of the parlement as had remained behind, and who declared the loan edict to be null and void, and Orleans to be the greatest of princes and the best of patriots. They then separated. Next morning the Duke of Orleans was commanded to quit Paris, and to confine himself to his château of Villars-Cotterets; and, by *lettres de cachet* Fréteau was consigned to the



THE PALAIS DE JUSTICE, PARIS, as at the Period.
From a sketch on the spot by T. S. Boys.

assembled. This was a poor and weak parody of a feat of Louis XIV., when he entered a similar meeting with his hunting whip, and frightened the members into instant submission. The time had gone by for such performances; and Louis XVI. was neither shaped in body and feature, nor formed in mind, to play, theatrically or otherwise, the part of an off-handed tyrant. His most unexpected arrival, however, produced no inconsiderable sensation; and, as Paris was still well filled with troops, there was some appearance of consternation as he entered the great hall. He brought with him two edicts, one for a new loan to the amount of 450,000,000 livres; the other, for the re-establishment of the Protestants in their natural and civil rights. This emancipation of the Protestants had at last become a popular measure in France, and had been even recommended to the king by the parlement some time before. It has therefore been thought that it was introduced on this occasion to reconcile both the public and the parlement to the successive loans. Louis, however, appeared to speak

dreary castle of Ham, and Sabatier de Cabre to the still drearier fortress of Mount St. Michael; the other members of the parlement being ordered at the same time to repair to Versailles with their journal or register in order to have the protest erased. If they were rebuked and brow-beaten at court, the parlement were honoured and applauded by the people of Paris, by the people of Versailles, and by all the people on the road. They returned to the capital bolder than ever, entered a fresh protest, and demanded the immediate recall and liberty of the Duke of Orleans, Fréteau, and De Cabre.¹

On the 4th of January, 1788, the parlement passed some strong resolutions against *lettres de cachet*,² and repeated their declaration that they would not cease their demands and remonstrances until security was given for the personal liberty of every Frenchman. The contest grew every day sterner. At last the court *secretly* adopted the project of instituting a *cour plénière*, which was to be possessed of such powers as to render the parlement unnecessary for all purposes of government. This *cour plénière* was to consist of princes of the blood, peers of France, great officers of the crown, the higher orders of the clergy, marshals of France, governors of pro-

vinces, knights of the different orders, and a deputation of one member from each parlement in the realm, and of two from the chambers of accounts and aids. They were all to be appointed by the king, but their appointments were to be for life. The parlement no sooner got the clue to the secret, through the activity, ingenuity, and liberality in bribing of D'Espréménil, than they passed a variety of resolutions condemning the whole scheme as an invasion of their rights and the national liberties, affirming that they were irremovable, and that no authority in the state was competent to suppress or usurp their functions. These proclamations, which greatly excited the whole city of Paris, brought down a fresh exercise of arbitrary power. Orders were issued for arresting D'Espréménil and De Monsabert in their own houses. But in the court, and in every office and department of government, there were individuals who, from jealousy and enmity to their official superiors, or sympathy with the opponents of the court, from a love of the new ideas, or a love of money, or from some other motive, were ever ready to betray all the secrets they could learn. This continued until the expiring candle of this poor monarchy was completely burned out; and the practice will ac-

¹ Those Antichristian ideas, which had long exercised the faculties and fed the vanity of literary and scientific men in France, now began to have a practical effect in breaking up the old routine of French society and government. Of this Guizot says:—

"It is scarcely necessary for me to say, that the burst of the human mind, the spirit of free inquiry, was the paramount feature of the eighteenth century. This influential epoch has been treated of, and so ably handled by others who have gone before me, that I am relieved from the necessity of following minutely all the phases of the wondrous moral revolution which was then accomplished. I am, however, anxious to note certain points which have been somewhat overlooked.

"The first which strikes my mind is one I have already alluded to, namely, the almost complete disappearance, so to speak, of the government in the course of the eighteenth century and the prominence of the human mind as the principal and almost only actor. Excepting the external relations attended to by the ministry of the Duke de Choiseul, and some concessions made to public opinion—for example, the American war—there never perhaps was a government so inactive, so apathetic and inert, as the French government of that time. In place of the stirring and ambitious government of Louis XIV., which interfered with everything, and put itself at the head of everything, we behold a power anxious only to keep itself on the background, so weak and shattered did it feel itself. Activity and ambition had passed over to the nation, which, by its opinions and its intellectual movement, mixed and interfered with all things, and, in short, alone possessed that moral authority which confers a veritable sway.

"The second characteristic which strikes me in the state of the human understanding in the eighteenth century, is the universality which marked the spirit of free inquiry. Previously, and particularly in the sixteenth century, inquiry had been exercised in a limited and definite field, having religious questions for its objects, or political and religious questions combined, but never extending its pretensions to all subjects. On the contrary, the characteristic of the free inquiry of the eighteenth century is its universality. Religion, politics, pure philosophy, man and society, moral and material nature, all became at once the subjects of investigation, doubt, and system. Old ideas were thrown off, and new ones took their place. It was a movement which penetrated to all quarters.

"This movement had, furthermore, a peculiar characteristic, which has not, perhaps, been twice exhibited in the history of the world, namely, that it was purely speculative. In former times, action had promptly participated with speculation in all human revolutions. Thus, in the sixteenth century, the religious revolution had commenced with ideas and discussions purely intellectual, but it had speedily gathered into events. The leaders of intellectual parties had rapidly grown into the leaders of political parties, and the realities of life had mingled with the operations of intellect. Thus had it happened in the religious revolution of the seventeenth century. In France, in the eighteenth century, we perceive the human mind exercising itself on all things, on ideas which, being closely interwoven with the real interests of existence, ought to have had the most prompt and potential influence; and yet the leaders and actors in those great debates remained apart from every sort of practical activity, appearing as mere speculators, who observed, judged, and delivered their opinions without ever interfering in events. At no epoch has the government over facts, or external realities, been so completely distinct from that over mind. The separation of the mental and physical orders of things was not real in Europe before the eighteenth century. For the first time, perhaps, the mental order was developed utterly apart from the material. This was an important fact, and it is one which has exercised a prodigious influence over the course of events. It gave to the ideas of the time a singular character of ambitiousness and inexperience; for never was philosophy more eager to rule the world, or at the same time less conversant with it. A day was sure to come when a conflict would arise, when the intellectual movement would pass into external facts; and as they had been so totally separated the shock was violent, the amalgamation more difficult."—*Civilization in Europe*, lect. xiv.

These remarks apply mainly to France, and even in France do not apply to the whole of the eighteenth century. The new ideas were practically influential in other countries long before the revolutionary explosion in France. They not only fermented but materially influenced practical affairs in the Austrian dominions, in Holland, and above all in British America, long before 1788, when they began practically to affect France.

² Royal orders for the immediate arrest of any individual, and his secret imprisonment.

count for many things in the revolution which might otherwise appear inexplicable. When the king's officer went by night to the houses of D'Espréménil and De Monsabert to capture them without noise, they were not to be found there or anywhere else. It was not the intention of those two gentlemen to flee or hide themselves for any time: what they wanted was to get up a scene, to injure the court by a scandalous *écrit*, to imitate the grand exhibition which had taken place in the English House of Commons when Charles I. went with an armed force to demand the persons of the five members: for these Frenchmen were always imitating, or fancying they were imitating, the patriots of England, or Rome, or Greece; and, as the two things resembled each other in name, though in nothing else, they thought their parlement might stand out in the eyes of the world like an English parliament. Accordingly, on the following day they went down to the Palais de Justice, and took their usual seats. What they expected and had counted upon for their master-stroke happened very soon after; the Palais was surrounded by a regiment, and an officer entering their hall, demanded, in the king's name, that M. d'Espréménil and M. de Monsabert should be delivered up to him. A profound silence ensued. At length the president rose and declared that he and every member present was a D'Espréménil and a De Monsabert, as they one and all coincided in the sentiments of those members. The officer, not knowing the persons of the two members, and not wishing to proceed to violence without express orders, withdrew, and either went or sent to Versailles to consult ministers or the king and queen. The troops remained outside the building, blocking up all the avenues leading to it, and the parlement remained within, having declared themselves in "permanent session." There were 167 of them, sixteen being peers. D'Espréménil compared them to the Roman senate, sitting in their curule chairs and purple robes, awaiting Brennus, the victorious Gauls, slavery or death; and told them that they were offering a grand spectacle to the universe! As they were allowed to send messengers out, and even to despatch a courier to Versailles, it is to be supposed that they were permitted to receive messengers within, and that the means of procuring food and wine were not denied to them. After some twenty hours the officer again entered the hall and required the members to point out to him M. d'Espréménil and M. de Monsabert, under penalty of being declared guilty of treason in protecting the king's enemies. There was a beating of drums and rattling of muskets in the court. It was evident that the officer, who was a man of iron, and who had been chosen on ac-

count of his resoluteness, would execute his order by force. The scene, besides, had lasted a long while—the majority must have been tired of playing at Roman senators—and so the two chosen victims stepped forth from their brethren and surrendered themselves. As D'Espréménil was escorted to a carriage by a file of soldiers with their bayonets fixed, he put a short question to the crowd of spectators, which, a very few months later, might have caused blood to flow like water. "Have you courage?" said he. The multitude made no reply, and the regiment doing duty on the spot—the French guards—were firm and unconcerned. D'Espréménil was carried away to a little island off the coast of Provence not far from Toulon, and De Monsabert to an old fortress near the city of Lyons. A few minutes after their seizure the officer turned out all their brethren, locked up the chamber of parlement, and carried away the keys in his pocket.

Not many days after these high events, on the 8th of May, 1788, the king held a "Bed of Justice" at Versailles in order to enforce or to establish the *cour plénière*. He produced certain ordinances ready signed. These were registered, the parlement meantime keeping profound silence, and the meeting broke up. But the very next day the parlementers assembled in a tavern or coffee-house at Versailles, and drew up a strong protest. Nor were the provincial parlements much more submissive; except that of Douai, not one of them would recognize the royal edict. But the last blow which upset the whole plan was the refusal of peers, nobles, bishops, counsellors, and other men of note, upon whose co-operation the king had confidently relied, to accept places in this new *cour plénière*, or to be in any way concerned in it. Absolutism made a few shifts and a few dying struggles before it resigned itself to its inevitable doom. The military were employed at Rennes, and forced the Breton parlement to enregister. Blood was spilled in the streets of that town, and, when the Bretons sent a deputation of twelve to Versailles with a remonstrance, Loménie de Brienne, after hearing them, packed them off to the Bastille by *lettres de cachet*. The Bretons sent a second and more numerous deputation, who were met on the road by emissaries of ministers, and frightened back to Rennes. The persevering Bretons despatched a third and still more numerous deputation, and, as these deputies travelled *incognito*, and by different roads, they succeeded in reaching the capital and the royal residence. The minister refused to grant them an audience, but they had other work in hand besides that of representation and remonstrance. Before their coming they had struck up a close alliance with La Fayette,

who, by letter, had assured them "that he associated himself in all opposition to every present and future act of arbitrary power." Though not a born Breton, La Fayette's principal property lay in that province, and his mother was a native of it. He was therefore considered as good as a Breton, and he became the rallying point, not only of the deputies, but of all the men of movement that came up from their country to Paris. Under his auspices was now formed the *Breton Club*, the first germ of the *Jacobin Club*. After these proceedings it was not extraordinary that the queen should conceive sentiments of suspicion and aversion against La Fayette, or that he should be deprived of his command of a military division of the kingdom. To those who represented the relegation of the Duke of Orleans to Villars-Cotterets as too severe a punishment for a prince of the blood, Louis replied, that he knew that of him which would justify him in taking off his head; yet he soon yielded to entreaties, and recalled the duke to the pleasures and excitements of Paris. It was observed, or fancied, that from the moment Orleans returned, there was an increase of activity in the press and in the mob, and rumours began to be spread of great sums of money distributed in the faubourgs, and of plots for dethroning the king and setting up Orleans as captain-general and provisional regent. Many of these reports were premature, or altogether fabulous; but some countenance appears to have been given to them by the duke's crowded dinner-parties and assemblies in the Palais Royal, where, without distinction and without etiquette of any kind, parlementers, philosophes, economists, journalists, peers, nobles, liberal churchmen (who neither believed in the doctrines of the church nor in any one point of the Christian faith), and all the men in Paris that were the most wedded to the new opinions, congregated day after day.

But the mischief and the woe were aggravated by the arrival of a far more terrible agent than the Duke of Orleans, whose influence on the revolution has been vastly overrated. In the month of July of this year (1788), a terrific hail-storm fell upon Paris and the country for 150 miles round about, destroying the harvest, as it was all but ready for the sickle, spoiling all the fruit upon the trees, and doing incalculable damage in other ways. As this storm had been preceded, in most parts of France, by a long drought, there was a certain prospect of scarcity, and of the rage of hunger being superadded to the other miseries and madnesses of the people. Surrounded by difficulties of every kind, without money, or the hopes of getting any—for the people were refusing to pay taxes, whether registered or unregistered, and the capitalists would not look at

the successive loans, or lend a sou to a bankrupt government which was evidently falling to pieces—the king agreed that the states-general should be convoked in the following month of May, after the holding of such an assembly had been discontinued for more than 150 years.

The poverty of the court, and the emptiness of the national exchequer, precipitated events. The king had but 2000 louis-d'ors left in his strong box at Versailles, and the state treasury at Paris did not contain wherewith to meet its obligations. At last, Count d'Artois waited on the queen to assure her that Loménie must be dismissed, or the monarchy ruined; and, after tears shed both by her majesty and the minister, it was agreed that the archbishop should travel for the benefit of his health, and that Necker, who had returned to Paris some time before, should be invited or implored to accept the task of righting the finances and the monarchy. Loménie de Brienne took the road to Nice and Italy; and the Genevese banker, on the very same day, the 24th of August (1788), was reinstalled finance minister, with wonderful acclamations on the part of the people, who once more believed, for a little moment, that he was destined to be the saviour of France. His appointment gave so much satisfaction that Paris, which had long left the name of royalty out of her *vivats*, shouted all day and all night, "Vive le Roi!" "Vive Necker!"

The promise to assemble the states-general in May, and even a royal decree to that effect, had been given under the wretched ministry of Loménie. Necker only confirmed the king in this resolution. It would have been beyond the power of Necker, and all the finance ministers and statesmen of Europe, to have put off the meeting; but a wiser man might assuredly have made some better preparations for it. Some sort of revolution was as necessary as it was inevitable—perhaps the worst was better than lingering on in the present state;—yet, by previously defining and properly limiting the respective powers of the three orders of the state, and by providing beforehand some barriers against the sudden inrush of the democracy, it appears just possible that much blood and crime might have been spared, and that Louis, instead of being dragged under the axe of the guillotine, might have been made the not unhappy or incompetent head of a constitutional monarchy. But in spite of their boasted new lights and new philosophies, all classes, in constitutionalism and the science of representative government, had almost everything to learn; and unfortunately each from the beginning seemed determined to ride over the other, to treat it as an enemy, to impose its own will for law upon it by force or by manœuvre.

The parlement of Paris, which was honourably reinstated as soon as Necker returned to office, positively and pompously declared that the states-general ought to sit according to the form observed at their last meeting in 1614, which was the same as declaring that the nobility and clergy should be everything, and the *tiers état*, or commons, nothing. The parlementers evidently thought that patriotism was an aristocratic occupation, and that they ought to preserve the monopoly; but their dogma, their heresy, their high treason against the *tiers* was no sooner promulgated than they lost, and for ever, all favour with the nation. Even in France, there has seldom been a transition so rapid and extreme. On the 22d of September they were reinstalled in the Palais de Justice, amidst the plaudits, and rejoicings, and congratulations of all Paris; on the next day they delivered their opinion on the subject of the states-general; and on the next all Paris hissed them, hooted them, and loaded them with execrations. As a body they never raised their heads again: they had played their part in what was only a prologue to the great drama, and they were thrust aside to make room for other actors. On the other side the Breton Club, the *Club des Enragés*, all the clubs, with all the philosophes, economists, and ultra-liberals of Paris, went as far into extremes, or rather farther, than the parlement had done—advising and insisting that the *tiers état* ought to have a greater weight in the states-general than the two orders of the nobility and clergy united; for (so they argued, with a force that was irresistible to those who had nothing to lose) as great sacrifices were to be demanded from those two aristocratic and privileged orders, how was it possible that resolutions and laws to that effect should be carried, if those two orders were not outnumbered and outvoted by the *tiers*, who were calling for the sacrifices, and were to be directly benefited by them? A paper, entitled “Deliberations,” was put forth as the production of the Duke of Orleans, though it was written, no doubt, with advice and assistance from the philosophes and littérateurs that sat at the duke’s table, by Lacroix, the author of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, one of the most debauched and debauching works ever written, even in France. Lacroix was secretary to the Duke of Orleans, and a servant very worthy of such a master. The conclusion intended to be drawn from these deliberations was, that the third estate was the nation, and that nobility and clergy were nought! On the other hand, the Count d’Artois, with other princes of the blood—the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Enghien, and the Prince of Conti—published a *mémoire*, or memorial to the king, in which they declared that such principles

must endanger privilege, nobility, monarchy itself, church, state, and the king’s treasury. This was quite certain; but what could the helpless king, or what could these princes of the blood do to prevent it, or to overset a political philosophy that was inculcated by 10,000 pens, and that would soon be maintained by 400,000 swords—by all France, except the privileged orders? But the production which was by far the most ably written, which made the most noise, and produced the greatest effect, was the pamphlet of the Abbé Sièyes—*Qu’est-ce que le Tiers Etat?* or, “What is the Third Estate?”—in which, answering his own query, the author said it was everything; that it had hitherto been nothing, but that it now wanted to become something. Sièyes, one of the many priests who had let their tonsures grow, embraced the new philosophy, and thrown their theology to the dogs—had been vicar-general to the Bishop of Chartres, a canon and chancellor of that cathedral; but he had been living for some time in Paris, with the philosophes and political reformers, having a voice potential in all their deliberations for the regeneration of France and the world. He was one of the ablest men of that school, but visionary, fanatic to his system or systems, and as blind as all the rest to the danger of throwing all the power of the state, and all at once, into the hands of the people who hitherto had had no share of it. As well might this logical Sièyes have believed that a child might construe Virgil before being taught his alphabet, as believe that the huge and untaught democracy of France should pass at once from the condition of bondsmen to that of lords and masters, and still act with moderation and wisdom. He and his fellows, no doubt, reposed an entire confidence in their own great wisdom and moderation, and in the enlightenment of the middle classes, who were at least well read in Voltaire; and fancied that, when the masses of the people had thrown off the yoke of king, nobles, and priests, they would, with exemplary docility, submit to the guidance of philosophes, and to the laws and regulations adopted by the middle classes. We shall see how his vision ended.

Necker had found out before this that there are accounts more difficult to manage than accounts of finance, and that it is easier work to raise loans than to create constitutions; and he evidently had no scheme of his own. As a means of solving the difficulty, or of settling some of the points in dispute, he advised the re-assembling of the notables who had sat so inauspiciously in the time of Calonne; and the very same men were once more called together on the 6th of November (1788). The questions proposed to them were principally the double representation of the *tiers*

état, and the vote by head. Should the *tiers état*, or commons, have as many members in the states-general as the noblesse and clergy united? Should the states-general vote and deliberate altogether in one body, or vote in three separate bodies—vote by head, or by order or class? Simply, the two questions amounted to this:—Shall the *tiers état* have power to outvote the other two orders or not? As the notables thus re-assembled consisted of princes of the blood, great lords, great churchmen—consisted almost exclusively of members of the two privileged orders—it could hardly have been expected from them that they should answer in the affirmative. Necker's wish appears to have been that the double representation should be granted, but that the three orders should not vote by head, but deliberate and vote separately; and he had the vanity to believe, that, by the weight of his character and influence, he could carry the notables along with him. After sitting about a month without coming to any decision, these notables were dismissed, with bad humour on all sides. When the perplexed king applied for the advice or opinion of the parlement of Paris, they meanly shrank from any resolution, saying that it was for the wisdom of the king to decide these weighty questions. At last Necker presented a report to the king in council, wherein he recommended, or almost enjoined at his own risk, the granting of the double representation, without enforcing what ought to have been a corollary, separate deliberation, and the vote by order, not by head; and, on the 27th of December, an ordinance was issued in which Louis gave the double representation to the *tiers état*, leaving the other question of voting by head or by order to be settled by the states-general themselves, when they should meet at Versailles in the happy month of May, 1789. French writers of memoirs and histories draw a fanciful picture of this dawn of liberty, making it all gentle, soft, and balmy, like a sunrise picture by Cuyper or by Claude, filled with lowing cattle and piping swains, or with goddesses and nymphs dancing before the rising orb, and making with their own fair hands music for their own merry feet; but in sober truth, and sober sadness, the picture was of a character and a composition altogether different from this; the dawn was dark and stormy like the noon that was to follow it; the tempest had not only gathered on the horizon, but was already spreading itself as fast as winds can fly over the whole hemisphere; and instead of that absence of hatred and all the evil passions which philosophes and littérateurs dreamed of in their Paris lodgings, all the evil passions, with hate and revenge at their head, were crowded and jostling together as in a carnival. During the elections innumerable duels, scuffles, and downright battles

took place all over the kingdom. In all town riots, where no troops were employed, the democracy had the upper hand, and made the noblesse and clergy taste the bitterness of mob-law. The fierceness of the populace was augmented by their privations. Trade, manufactures, and nearly every kind of industry had come to a dead stop, and the price of bread rose to an enormous height when money was scarcest. Blood had been shed in riots in many parts of France, and in the streets of Paris on the very night that rejoicings were made for Necker's return to office. But worse followed. Only a few days before the meeting of the states-general at Versailles the capital was the scene of frightful disorders. The people, crying "Down with the aristocrats," attacked the house of a rich paper-manufacturer, and plundered or destroyed everything in it. The military were called out, the mob fought with them desperately; and before the affair ended, from 400 to 500 persons, including women and children, were killed or wounded.

But nothing less than absolute perfection in government and laws, and a national prosperity without check or end was now anticipated; for the 4th of May had arrived, the deputies of the three orders were all assembled in Versailles, and the states-general were going in solemn procession with the king and court to the cathedral church at Nôtre Dame to propitiate Heaven to bless their labours, which were to commence on the morrow. It was a *grand spectacle*, and all Paris, and all towns, villages, and hamlets in the valley of the Seine, or within twenty leagues of it, went to see. There was scepticism, Voltaireism, or Holbachism, or downright atheism in luxuriant abundance; but religion of any kind, except the religion of nature or the theism of Rousseau and his Vicaire Savoyard, there was little or none except only in the breast of the king and a few old courtiers, who had not been able to shake off the fashions of old times, or their reverence for the Church of Rome; and yet this procession of the states-general assembled in and started from one church—the church of St. Louis—to go to another, where high mass was to be sung, and all knees bent at the elevation of the host. There was a hollowness and mockery in this very beginning. The streets were lined with regiments of the French guard and regiments of the Swiss guard. The first that came forth from the church of St. Louis were the deputies of the *tiers état*, 600 in number, and all—as had been nicely regulated at court beforehand—wearing plain black mantles, plain white cravats, and slouched hats; then came the noblesse, 300 in number, all clad in gold-embroidered cloaks, with lace cravats, and plumed, turned-up hats à l'Henri IV.; after the noblesse marched the clergy, also

300, the high dignitaries, the archbishops, and bishops distinguished by the violet-coloured robe, the alb, and rochet, and the rest in soutanes, grand mantles, and square caps; and last of all came the court, most splendidly attired and blazing with jewels, with the king looking hopefully and even joyously, and the queen already changed from what she was, her bloom and beauty fading, and her hair prematurely turning gray. It was remarked that during the procession the Duke of Orleans, in contempt of the laws of etiquette, was continually quitting his place as a prince of the blood to mix with the sombre-clad deputies of the *tiers*. As they all wended on their way to the church of Our Lady the priests chanted, military bands played, and trumpets and drums sounded. Within the temple the three orders took their seats according to their ranks, on benches prepared for them in the nave; the king and queen were conducted to a dais near the high altar, and sat under a velvet canopy violet-coloured and sprinkled with golden *fleurs de lis*. *O Subutaris Hostia* was chanted, the grand mass was finished, and then M. de la Fare, Bishop of Nancy, delivered a sermon or discourse on the theme—"Religion makes the force of empires, religion makes the happiness of the people." Even philosophers, doubt-alls, and scoffers were touched for a moment by the music, the incense, and the imposing pomp; and the multitude of spectators that only saw the procession in the streets returned to Paris, or their other homes, declaring that it was beautiful, sublime, ravishing—that so grand a spectacle had never been seen.¹

On the following day—the 5th of May, 1789—the states-general assembled in a great hall at Versailles, which had been prepared for them not without expense. It was the *Salle de Menus Plaisirs*, or hall of amusements, in which the court had been wont to disport itself in all kinds of merry games; but carpenters and upholsterers, painters and decorators had done their work, and, in French phraseology, "that vast hall was arranged with a magnificence worthy of the imposing solemnity of the occasion." The king, with a countenance still cheerful and hopeful, read a commonplace speech, recommending disinterestedness to the privileged classes and prudence to the others, and expressing his own earnest love for his people. He was interrupted more than once by warm acclamations, which made the queen weep for very joy; but not one voice was heard to wish her well. His majesty was followed by the keeper of the seals, who spoke for an hour, and then by Necker, who spoke for two. The finance minister, who might now be considered as prime minister, read a long *mémoire* on the

state of the kingdom, and wearied those whom he did not offend by the great length of his explanations.

On the next day the combat began between the *tiers* and the two superior orders. It was intimated that the deputies of each order should repair to the chamber appointed for them. Besides the great hall, two smaller halls, opening upon it, had been constructed, one for the noblesse the other for the clergy. The first operation to be performed was to verify the returns, or to make what was termed a *vérification des pouvoirs*, and there instantly arose the question whether this should be done in common or by each order or state separately. The *tiers*, alleging that each part of the states-general ought to assure itself of the lawful returns of the two others, demanded that the verification should be made in common, and not by each order separately. The noblesse and the clergy, wishing to assert and maintain at starting the principle of separation by orders, insisted that each order should verify and constitute itself apart from the rest, and after very little debate they quitted the great hall and retired to their several chambers. The *tiers*, understanding that this would be followed by the assumption on the part of the privileged that the orders should also vote separately, and not by head, determined to make their stand here, and to adopt a "system of inertia" until the noblesse and the clergy should give in and consent to the verification of powers in common; and accordingly there they sat in the great hall, day after day, doing nothing beyond declaring that they were waiting for the other two orders, and declining to receive letters and petitions as they were not yet constituted, but waiting for their colleagues of the other orders.

In contemplating this body at present so inert, but soon to be moved into such portentous activity, the first remark which suggests itself is, that the representatives of the *tiers état* represented in their own persons almost everything but property. There were physicians and metaphysicians, poets and painters, a great astronomer, and several natural philosophers, chemists, mathematicians, journalists, *littérateurs*, and more than *three hundred and fifty lawyers*; but the number of proprietors was exceedingly small.² The majority of the 600 were young men—men

¹ *Mémoires du Marquis de Ferrières*; Madame de Stael, *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*; Dulaure, *Esquisses*.

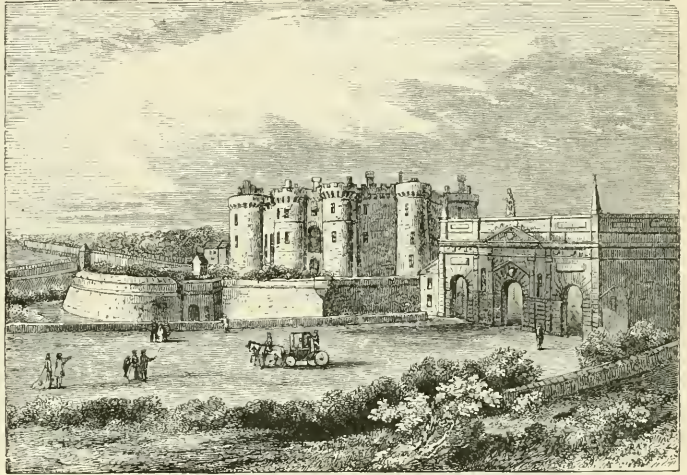
² The Marquis de Bouillé says, that of the six hundred members who represented the *tiers état*, three hundred and twenty-four were lawyers of some kind or other. The *tiers état* of Rennes had sent, as one of their deputies, a rough old farmer, one Gérard, commonly called Père Gérard, or Father Gérard, and described as "a man of common sense and honesty, without any learning." On being asked, after he had had some experience, to say candidly what he thought of his colleagues, Gérard said, with his farmer frankness, "I think there are a great many scoundrels among us!" (*Je pense qu'il y a beaucoup de c'quins jarmi nous*)

at least under thirty years of age—who had no experience in public business of any kind, and who could not, from the previous condition of the country, have had any training in political life. The only men at all trained, and their education was not good, were the members of the parlements, who belonged to the privileged orders, and sat, like D'Espréménil, with the noblesse. Instead of experience and practical knowledge, the deputies of the *tiers* brought theories and systems, with all the impatience, intolerance, and fanaticism of system-makers.

Instead of doubt and diffidence, there was an overweening and most rampant vanity, nearly every third man among them believing that he and his scheme alone could regenerate France and the world. A great many of them were so poor that they could not have supported themselves without the daily pay which was allowed them. This pay, or *traitement*, moderate as it was, formed a better income than many of them had ever enjoyed before. At first there were in some quarters delicate scruples whether patriots and world-regenerators ought to

take pay for their sublime functions; but patriots and regenerators must eat and drink, be lodged and clothed; and, seeing that the members of the American congress were paid for their attendance, there was even republican precedent for the acceptance of the *traitement*. As the noblesse and clergy possessed nearly two-thirds of the landed property of the kingdom, as their respective deputies were considered as representing property and privilege, as the deputies of the *tiers* did not represent property, and were come to destroy all privilege, nothing but a combat *d'outrance* could be expected. Notwithstanding the tremendous threats of the people, and nearly every possible means of intimidation which were resorted to by the leaders or drivers of the *tiers état*, the nobles were resolute, and formed their separate house. The clergy wavered; and after an inaction of six weeks, the third estate, being joined by a few of the clergy, and feeling themselves strong in the support of the mob, declared themselves the legislative body, and assumed the title of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. The majority of the clergy were brought to acquiesce in this assumption; but the king, supported by the nobles, declared these proceedings to be null and void, and commanded the deputies to separate.

Violent tumults followed: Paris poured out its clubs and its mobs to Versailles; a part of the soldiery gave unequivocal symptoms of attachment to the popular cause; and, in fine, the king prevailed on the nobles to give way, and an imperfect, incongruous union of the three orders in one chamber took place. Thus nobility and clergy were swamped, and all balance was lost, never to be restored, except by blood. Compliant or recusant, voting by order or by head, the two superior orders were equally doomed;



THE BASTILLE.—From a print in the Sloane Collection.

and one chamber, a nullity and nonsense when the sovereign is powerful, must become a tyrant and a devourer when the sovereign is powerless. There was, indisputably, much to redress, but there was no patience or practical wisdom in any quarter for the difficult work.

In the meantime an army was collecting round Paris; and as soon as the court felt its strength, the step was taken, on July 11th, of suddenly dismissing Necker, with an order to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours. The intelligence of this event excited a furious commotion in the capital, and an attempt to disperse the populace by means of a foreign regiment having been defeated, the citizens armed, and were joined by the French guards. On the 14th of July, the Bastille was stormed and taken by the people of Paris, aided by some of the military. Since the accession of Louis XVI. it had been almost void of state prisoners, but it certainly had been for long ages an infamous place, a detestable den, wherein despotism threw her victims to pine and to rot; it was a place to be destroyed and obliterated from the face of the earth; but the French people could not achieve this triumph over tyranny without committing atrocious cruelties, and deeds as savage and treacherous as any that

had been perpetrated in old times under the worst of their kings. Having once tasted of blood the people of Paris became ravenous for it; and many individuals were butchered in the streets with levity and atrocity. As the murder, only on the preceding evening, of De Flesselles, had left the new municipality without a head, Astronomer Bailly was immediately elected, by acclamation, to succeed that unfortunate provost, with the higher title of mayor of Paris; and, as the new civic guard, now to be called the National, was in want of a commander of good revolutionary repute, La Fayette, also by acclamation, and without any deliberation, was named to that post, which was soon to become the most important in the kingdom.¹

On the next day, the 16th of July, the permanent committee of the new municipality, which already seemed to assume a sovereignty separate from that of the national assembly, decreed the immediate demolition of the Bastille. This order was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and in the name of La Fayette.

In these days the white cockade of the Bourbons entirely disappeared, and the tri-colour cockade was mounted by La Fayette, the national guard, the French guard, and nearly every man in Paris.

The king now issued orders for the removal of the troops stationed in the vicinity of Paris, and once more recalled the marvellous Necker—who was always to perform miracles, but never did. While daily assassinations were perpetrating in Paris, and while bleeding heads—the heads of aristocrats or of men holding office were exhibited—Necker recrossed the Jura Mountains. He arrived at Versailles on the evening of the 26th of July, after having traversed France in triumph, followed by one continuous mob, shouting and applauding, and receiving from him paternal nods—to be peaceable and orderly. The king received him with some embarrassment, but the national assembly welcomed him back enthusiastically; for his triumph was their triumph, and they alone had brought him back. His best friends had endeavoured to show that France was now in a state not to be governed by any minister, or any system of administration whatsoever, and had strongly dissuaded him from returning or trying any more dangerous experiments; but Necker said in his sententious manner that it was better to expose one's self to danger than to remorse. He was elated by the mouth-honour

he had received on the highways, elated by the equally hollow applauses of the assembly, and experience and a duplicated failure had not weakened his gigantic confidence in his own puny powers and abilities. That his triumph might be complete, and the applauses of the provinces confirmed and heightened by the voice of the capital, on the morning of the 30th, when he had been only a few hours in Versailles, he set off for Paris, and for the Hôtel de Ville, wherein there resided more sovereignty—cramped and mob-controlled though it was—than in the palace of the king or hall of the national assembly. The vanity of the man was gratified to the utmost: he was received with transports, and all the way from the bridge of Sèvres to the Place de Grève his progress was a triumph; his path was strewn with flowers; bouquets, garlands, and wreaths were showered upon him; and the air was rent with shouts of “Vive Necker!” “Vive le Ministre du Peuple!” At the Hôtel de Ville, where was the new municipal body which had been composed by Bailly and La Fayette, the banker implored that an end might be put to assassinations and massacres. “In the name of God, gentlemen,” said Necker, “no more judgments, no more judgments, no more proscriptions, no more bloody scenes!” The national *sensibility* showed itself in an universal shouting of “Grace! pardon! amnesty!” When the enthusiasm had subsided, Clermont-Tonnerre proposed that the amnesty should be embodied in a decree. The motion was carried without discussion, and the electors of Paris decreed, in the name of the people of that capital, that *they pardoned all their enemies*, &c. Mayor Bailly, being called upon to sign this precious decree, positively refused. His refusal may have proceeded truly and conscientiously from the motives he assigned for his conduct; but it was nevertheless attended by two very apparent consequences—it increased Bailly's popularity with the mob, and it made the mob believe that, since the mayor of Paris would not sign it, the decree was nought. After the hollow or useless amnesty had been read in the midst of acclamations, it was proposed that the busts of Necker and Bailly should be placed by the sides of the American-given bust of La Fayette which figured in that hall; and that these two new busts should be executed at the expense of the Paris electors. Necker, attended by the same triumphant procession with which he had arrived, and revelling in a mirage or bright *fata morgana*, partly of his own making, and partly conjured up for him by the great magicians in the town-hall, returned towards Versailles. But this was the last day of his triumph and popularity. By the morrow the vision was fled: it had burst like the mirage of the desert—it had faded away and

¹ The election of La Fayette is made more picturesque in French books. The citizens of the United States, soon after the war of independence, had presented to the city of Paris a marble bust of the marquis. That bust was now in the Hôtel de Ville. Moreau de Saint Méry extended his hand towards it, all eyes went in the same direction, and then a general cry proclaimed La Fayette commandant of the Paris guard — *Thiers*.

become invisible more rapidly than ever *fata morgana* vanished on the Calabrian coast or the beautiful Straits of Messina. Necker had left Paris in the afternoon an idol, a guardian angel, a god; but before midnight he was *suspect*; and on the following morning he was an aristocrat, a devil. Thus perished the popular fame and



BAILLY, Mayor of Paris.—From a portrait by Duplessi Bertaux.

influence of every man that attempted to check the popular appetite for blood, or that recommended moderation in anything. These reformers, in order to terrify the court into submission, had entirely let loose the fierce democracy, had armed the mob, had debauched the army from its allegiance, and had given countenance and encouragement to the mad political clubs which dictated alike to king and people, to the national assembly, and to the municipality of Paris, which had made itself more than the assembly. The Faubourg St. Antoine, nearly all the districts of Paris, sent off a deputation to the national assembly at Versailles, to complain of the attempt at an amnesty; to warn them against originating or sanctioning any such unpatriotic measure; to tell them, in short, more plainly than by words, that the people were and would be their masters and the sole lawgivers in France. The assembly, partly out of jealousy of the high functions which had been assumed by the municipality and the electors, and partly from their own vile dastardly fears, received these vagabond, bloodthirsty deputies with respect, and assured them that there was no intention of withdrawing the enemies of the country from the hands of justice. And they presently voted and decreed that a tribunal should soon be established to try the late ministers and other state delinquents. But the Parisians continued to administer the law in their own manner, indulging in personal animosities, and passing a *non fiat* upon every kind of privilege, and already on most kinds of property.

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There was much to redress, and there was no patience for the work, and in no one quarter a proper notion of doing the work gradually and so as to respect existing interests, and to grant compensation to sufferers from changes. The hangings at lamp-posts (*les lanternes*) and other assassinations were continued. Convinced more and more every day that principalities and powers were at their feet, and that there was in reality no power in France except their own, the people proceeded to make that power felt in all directions. They could make no allowances whatever, they would hear of no compromises, they would show no mercy to their old oppressors, or to those who had in any way stood above them in the eyes of the world. In Paris and in most of the great cities they broke up in a single day all municipal corporations, all trade incorporations or chartered companies, insulting and terrifying out of their lives all the more conspicuous members of them; and with a very exemplary unanimity they not only refused to pay any taxes to government, but also refused to pay any rent to the proprietors of their dwellings, shops, and warehouses. Their philosophes and their patriots in the national assembly had taught them to ascend to first principles in all things, and to doubt the propriety of any such artificial distinctions as those that regulate the possession and descent of property; and the revolution was especially a millennium in their eyes, *because* they saw in it the prospect and the certainty of a new division and distribution of property.

The country people in the various provinces of France daringly set forth their right to the land which they tilled or upon which they dwelt; and their Jacquerie went on with still increasing ferocity. Even in the showing of writers who seem to have considered the rich and privileged classes as only fit for destruction, the violence and the cruelty was excessive—atrocious.¹ The flames spread rapidly through all parts of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Dauphiny, Champagne, Alsace, Brittany, and other provinces; and it was soon observed that they raged with a fearful impartiality. At first those seigneurs were attacked who had been proud and oppressive, or for other reasons most unpopular; but soon all were assailed alike, the least proud and oppressive, with those who had been most so, the most popular with the unpopular. It was quite enough to be a seigneur and to have a château—in this burning hell there was no distinction among persons. Old fathers of families, matrons with their daughters, were sent fleeing through the night from their burning houses with nothing on them but their bed-clothes, and happy if they had not to

¹ Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*; Mignet.

endure in their flight the practical experiments of some low-born De Sades, ready, with hellish glee, to prove and test the fact laid down in one of the most-read books in France, that the indulgence of cruelty heightens the relish of lust.¹ These deeds were perpetrated at a time when there was no resistance, when the nobles were consenting to everything, when a considerable part of them had devoted themselves to the popular cause, and when they had all renounced their privileges, and intimated, however tardily, their readiness to submit to a new order of things. Except in the provinces, which became the seat of a protracted and most savage civil war, the nobles and gentlemen who did not flee their country, and who escaped the first slaughters, remained like sheep in a butcher's pen, and with the butcher's knife never far from their throats.

In these ebullitions the people were as furious against the clergy as against the lay nobility, and they burned and destroyed as many churches as châteaux, mingling in these exercises every possible sport and device to show their utter contempt, not merely for the ministers of religion, but for religion itself—not only for the doctrines and the mysteries of the Roman form of Christianity, but for every part and parcel of the Christian creed, and of all other creeds whatsoever.

Nothing is more certain than that the national assembly alternately winked at and encouraged the châteaux-burning, the destruction of title-deeds, and the rest. "The assembly," says an attentive and competent observer of all their proceedings, "were so afraid of offending the people, that they almost regarded as a snare every motion tending to repress the disorders or blame the excesses of the populace. It was still doubt mixed with fear that lay at the bottom of men's hearts. They had triumphed by means of the people, and could not be severe against the people; on the contrary, although the assembly often declared in their preambles that they were profoundly afflicted, and even incensed, at the violence committed by the bandits and brigands that were burning the châteaux and insulting the noblesse, they enjoyed in secret a terror which they believed necessary." [*In short, they acted and felt much as Robespierre and his followers did, afterwards, during the more tragical "Reign of Terror."*] "They had put themselves under the necessity either of fearing the noblesse or making the noblesse fear them. They condemned for decency, but they managed and conciliated the mob for policy: they gave compli-

ments to authority, and *encouragements* to those who defied it. Their respect for the executive power was nothing but a formula of style; and when the king's ministers manifested their weakness and fears, and revealed the state of nothingness to which they were reduced, the members of the assembly, who remembered too well the time when *they themselves* had feared, were not sorry to see that Fear had changed her lodgings. If, thought they, you ministers were strong enough to make the people respect you, you would be strong enough to make *us* fear you. This was the predominant sentiment of opposition. It was a reaction of fear."²

In this stage of things, when the king saw no safety or protection for his wife and family, and when the members of the national assembly themselves were not without their fears that they might be butchered by the mob for not doing the work of revolution fast enough, a regiment of infantry—the inauspicious regiment of Flanders—was brought to Versailles on the 23d of September, with the consent and concurrence of the assembly. The garde du corps or body-guard doing duty in the palace gave a grand dinner to welcome the arrival of the regiment. This was common, or at least not unusual; but what was considered a very alarming innovation was that permission was granted by the court to hold the military banquet within the palace, in the Grande Salle de Spectacle, or theatre. The feast was given on the 1st of October; and, besides the officers of the regiment of Flanders, the officers of the Swiss guards, of the Cent Suisse, and many of the officers of the Versailles national guard, were invited to it. The band, instead of *Ça Ira*, or other new liberty tune, struck up some old loyal air. This alone was considered as a very heinous sin by some of the spectators in the boxes. It seems, however, to be admitted by the severest of these censors that the officers behaved themselves with sufficient decency during the first course, or down to the moment at which the champagne corks were cut loose; but when this brisk wine had circulated a little, all decency, all respect to liberty and patriotism were, it is said, audaciously thrown off. The bands of the gardes du corps and regiment of Flanders were ordered to play, and they played with great expression the air—

"O Richard! O mon roi!
L'univers t'abandonne."³

This appeal to the feelings was too much for the sensibility and enthusiasm of the royalists; and

² Dumont.

¹ This atrocious theory forms the sum and substance, the *morale* of the popular novel (it is still popular in France!), *Justine, ou Les Malheurs de la Vertu*, written by the notorious Marquis de Sades.

³ "O Richard! O my king! all the world is forsaking thee." The words of this opera song were supposed to be sung by Blondel, the faithful minstrel, on discovering our Richard Cœur de Lion a prisoner in the emperor's dungeons. In many respects they were applicable to the case of Louis XVI.

while some wiped their eyes, others set up a shout of "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!" The devil could not have been more irritated by exorcism and holy water than were the patriots present at the tune the bands were playing and the loyal shouting. A few other indiscretions were crowned and completed, when the king and the queen, leading the little dauphin by the hand, entered for a minute upon the stage, and when the gardes du corps, the officers of the regiment of Flanders, and all the other officers bidden to the feast stood up with their swords in their hands—300 good blades shining and pointing heavenward—and in that martial attitude, and with faces reddened by wine and loyalty, they drank to the king, the queen, and the dauphin.

For a considerable time before this scene took place, the mob of Paris had threatened to march to Versailles and make the king a prisoner; for provisions continued to be very dear (which they attributed to the manœuvres of the court), and it was *suspected* that Louis was preparing to flee to the frontiers, and there put himself at the head of a devoted royalist army commanded by the Marquis de Bouillé. But the fête given to the regiment of Flanders now precipitated the execution of the threat; and on Monday, the 5th of October, 30,000 of La Fayette's national guards, and more than 30,000 of the rabblement of Paris rushed into Versailles, took possession of the national assembly and of the town, and surrounded the palace with cries for bread and blood. Between night and morning, when the royal family were in bed, the mob broke into the palace, committing various atrocious murders; and on the afternoon of the 6th the royal family were conveyed to Paris as dishonoured and helpless captives. The journey was torturingly slow: the cortège was preceded by the bleeding, ghastly heads of two of the gardes du corps stuck upon pikes, La Fayette caracoling on a white charger by the side of the king's carriage; and when the barriers of Paris were reached, Mayor Bailly inhumanly insulted fallen royalty by delivering one of his eternal harangues or academical discourses, and by telling the king that this was a glorious day, a beautiful day, that saw him restored to Paris as his habitual dwelling-place. It was eleven o'clock at night ere La Fayette saw the royal family lodged in the long-deserted palace of the Tuileries, and left them there as in a prison, he not being their jailer—at least not their sole jailer, but one jailer among hundreds of thousands—a sort of upper turnkey, responsible to all Paris and all the people of France, and liable at any moment to have his brains knocked out with his own keys. Yet the vain inept man, the minion and tool of a monster faction, of a whole people broke loose and gone mad, went home to his bed

that night with the happy conviction that he was the greatest man in France, in Europe, in the world; and that now they had gotten the king to Paris, the work of liberty was done and most gloriously completed. He was so elated and so constantly surrounded by a crowd of politicians, as little statesmen as himself, that he had no time for reflection—no ear to give to the few sensible men then in France capable of affording good advice.

At the same moment that the national assembly transferred itself from Versailles to Paris, the Breton Club, vastly increased, took possession of the great hall of the convent of the Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré, and thenceforward obtained the name of the JACOBIN CLUB. The change of name marks a great revolutionary epoch: the change of place soon subjected the assembly to the club, to the Palais Royal, and the mob. That mob continued as turbulent as ever; for it was found that, though they had got the king, they could not get bread, and fresh stories were invented of atrocious plots and conspiracies against liberty and the people. Peaceful men, if they had good coats to their backs, could not walk the streets without danger; and one of the very first acts passed by the assembly was a declaration of martial law! They held their first *séance* on the 19th of October, and on the 21st decreed martial law. The measure was proposed by *La Fayette*¹ and *Bailly*, and most vigorously opposed by Robespierre, the advocate of Arras, and representative for Artois, who spoke with wonderful unction on the virtues and sufferings of the people, and whose popularity was notably increased thereby. Among many other striking proofs of the progress liberty and law were making, was the exile, at this time, of the Duke of Orleans—a measure in which La Fayette will allow no share of merit to any other man, but greedily takes it all to himself. If the Duke of Orleans were guilty of the state crimes imputed to him, he ought to have been seized and put upon trial for his life; but he was ordered out of the country without any trial, process, or examination of any kind. He was exiled upon hearsay; and a few months later the national assembly itself declared that there was no truth in the foul reports. A considerable party, knowing the jealousies and animosities that existed between the house of Orleans and the reigning branch, had maintained all along that the duke was indirectly aiming at the crown, was encouraging the excesses of the revolution in order to frighten the king and his family out of France, and was regularly paying and subsidizing a set

¹ The day before making the motion, La Fayette had nearly been murdered by a mob that were assassinating a Paris baker named François.

of brigands and assassins, who were guilty of all that was done amiss. It was pleasant to have a drain of this kind into which all the filth of the revolution could be poured; and in this manner they now endeavoured to represent that, if the march of half Paris upon Versailles had not been ordered by the Duke of Orleans,¹ at least every

atrocious deed committed there had been committed by his agents. These opinions were the more easily propagated, as several silly underlings of the court had chosen the duke as their bugbear, and were intimately persuaded that his spite, malice, money, and ambition had excited twenty millions of people.

CHAPTER XXV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1789—1790

GEORGE III.

The notice of England attracted by the French revolution—English sympathy with its commencement—Prophetic misgivings of Burke for its result—The French revolution applauded by the dissenters of England—Annual meeting of the "Revolution Society" in London—Its congratulatory address to the French national assembly—Revolutionary symptoms in England—Meeting of parliament—Commendations of Fox on the proceedings of the French revolution—He is answered by Burke—Burke's debate with Fox and Sheridan on the revolution—Schism produced in the Whig party by the debate—Sentiments of George III. and Pitt on the French revolution—The dissenters again claim exemption from the test and corporation acts—Their claim brought by Fox into parliament—The motion negatived—Motion for the amendment of parliamentary representation—It is withdrawn—Affair of Nootka Sound—Its satisfactory adjustment—Wilberforce's labours for the abolition of negro slavery—Parliament appoints a special committee for the examination of witnesses—Death of the Emperor Joseph of Austria—His death accelerated by the revolt of the Netherlands—His successor Leopold establishes a peace with Turkey—Proceedings of the revolt of the Netherlands—The bigoted character of their new form of government—Sympathy in Belgium with the French revolution—Strifes and dissensions among the different parties in the state—The Emperor Leopold makes conciliatory advances—His offers advocated by a strong party in Belgium—Anarchy of the Belgic provinces—Continuation of the war of Russia against Turkey and Sweden—The King of Sweden takes the part of his people against the aristocracy—Victories of the Swedes over the Russians—Defeat of the Russians by the Swedes at sea—Sweden unsupported in the war by the other powers—Peace concluded between Sweden and Russia—Suvoroff invests Ismail—His rapid mode of siege—He takes Ismail by storm—Massacre of the inhabitants by the Russians.



ENGLAND had not been an inattentive observer of this great revolution among her nearest continental neighbours. From the first dawn of the event, through the quarrels with the parlements and the assembling of the notables, down to the convocation of the states-general, all classes of Englishmen had eagerly watched events; and from the moment the states met at Versailles—now only eight months ago, for all these momentous changes had been effected in that brief space of time—the affairs of France had occupied attention to the almost total exclusion of other public political matters. All parties at first agreed in believing, or at least in hoping, that the states, being properly modelled, would by degrees effect the most important reforms, and none doubted that an extensive system of reform was indis-

pensable. It was, indeed, the deplorable condition of that kingdom, the poverty and oppression of the people, the abuses of *lettres de cachet* and other means of despotism, the insurmountable barriers placed between the commonalty and promotion, fortune, and fame, the checks put upon industry, the neglected state of agriculture under the old régime, that made every Englishman desirous that a sweeping change should take place. Matters were bad enough in reality, but, in many particulars, they had been represented by recent French books, and in the reports of a few somewhat enthusiastic travellers, as being far worse than they were: they seemed so bad that any change must be for the better. Attributing to one great single cause that superior order and prosperity which reigned in England, and which were produced by slow degrees through the concurrence and co-operation of numerous ac-

¹ Thiers equivocates and mystifies the whole story; but Mignet speaks out frankly, and in his natural republican tone. "The insurrection of the 5th and 6th of October," says he, "was a true popular movement. We ought not to seek for secret motives, nor attribute it to concealed schemes of ambition; it was provoked by the impudence of the court. The dinner of the gardes du corps, the reports of the king's flight, the dread of civil war, and the scarcity of provisions, were what carried Paris to Ver-

sailles. If private instigators (and the most rigorous researches have left that fact *doubtful*) contributed to produce the movement, they changed neither the direction nor the object of it. The event had for its result the destruction of the ancient régime of the court; it deprived the court of their guards; it transported them from the royal residence of Versailles into the *capital of the revolution*, and placed them under the surveillance of the people." — *Histoire de la Révolution Française*.

cidents or circumstances, and innumerable causes, moral and physical, men fancied that, if a constitutional form of government could only be established in France, everything would be done. There were, perhaps, some that were jealously and unpleasantly excited by apprehensions that France, the old enemy of England, by availing herself of the advantages of a free constitution, might become a much more powerful, and consequently a more dangerous neighbour than ever; but we believe that this jealousy and fear was limited to a very few, and that, without speaking of the enthusiasts for the new French liberty, who formed, if not a very numerous, a very loud party, there was, at first, a general burst of sympathy and generous feeling—an ardent wish that the revolution might succeed, and speedily terminate in the establishment of free institutions.

Individuals the most opposite in habit and thought were united in this feeling; and, if the agreement did not last long, it was solely owing to the excesses of the revolutionists. Even the melancholy and devout reclusé, Cowper—"fast by the banks of the slow-winding Ouse"—roused himself in his sickness and sadness, and poured forth, in a few energetic verses, his congratulations on the destruction of the Bastille. All the most cultivated and most generous spirits of the country looked to the meteor that had risen with joy and hope; and, alas, but too many of them fondly clung to their hope when it was truly a desperate one. In the first phases the great antagonists, Fox and Pitt, united in a tribute of admiration. Of the great public men of the day, Burke was perhaps the first to catch a real glimpse of the one great cause which would disgrace the progress of the revolution, and render the acquisition of liberty doubtful at the last. He had read well the old history of France, and he remembered the old national admixture of impatience and ferocity. About three weeks after the storming of the Bastille he wrote to a friend in Ireland—"The spirit it is impossible not to admire; but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner. It is true that this may be no more than a sudden explosion; if so, no indication can be taken from it; but if it should be *character*, rather than accident, then that people are not fit for liberty, and must have a strong hand, like that of their former masters to coerce them. Men must have a certain fund of natural moderation to qualify them for freedom, else it becomes noxious to

themselves, and a perfect nuisance to everybody else."¹

The misgivings of Burke gradually converted themselves into a sad certainty, into the fixed and rational conviction that nothing that was good or free would come out of the horrible turmoil. He saw clearly that the same delight in murder and the same savage cruelty would be again renewed. Whether the deeds which had been perpetrated since the capture of the Bastille proceeded from a settled design of the regenerators and revolution chiefs in the assembly, or from the fierce instinct and *will* of the people, the case was equally desperate. By this time the assembly had made such progress in their work as to enable a statesman to judge of what would be the merits of their constitution. "In all appearance," adds Burke, "the new system is a most bungling and unworkmanlike performance. I confess I see no principle of coherence, co-operation, or just subordination of parts in this whole project, nor any the least aptitude to the conditions and wants of the state to which it is applied, nor anything well imagined for the formation, provision, or direction of a common force. . . . I cannot think with you that the assembly have done much. They have indeed *undone* a great deal; and so completely broken up their country as a state, that I assure you, there are few here such Antigallicans as not to feel some pity on the deplorable view of the wreck of France."² Such were the feelings and opinions of one who was not free from human error—of one who, even on this great question, allowed his feelings to overcome him, and his passions to carry him to extremes—but who was assuredly, as a whole, the wisest man and the greatest political philosopher of that generation, and whose thorough honesty and sincerity on this great vital point were indisputable. But the keen insight into the French character which Burke possessed was not common to all his party, or even to all his close personal as well as political friends; and the rapid progress and self-evident tendency of events which had convinced him had carried no conviction to the hearts of various kinds of enthusiasts, who continued to hope that, after the first ebullition, the French people would return to their senses. Some there were so extravagant in their own discontents and animosity to despotisms, or to all established governments, as to declare that little or nothing had been done amiss. But a notion that was entertained by more persons was, that the excesses committed were indeed very lamentable,

¹ Letter to Lord Charlemont, as given by Prior. *Life of Burke*. At this time the French had scarcely begun making their constitution, and the confusion of the three orders into one chamber might be considered as merely temporary. But Burke evidently doubted, from such a beginning, whether any toler-

able system would be adopted. "To form a solid constitution requires wisdom as well as spirit; and whether the French have wise heads among them, or if they possess such, whether they have authority equal to their wisdom, is yet to be seen."—*Life of Burke*. ² Letter to M. de Menonville.

but wholly attributable to the old tyranny, which had brutalized the people, and were not at all likely to last. A very considerable part of the dissenters, who had to complain of sundry restrictions and invidious distinctions not yet removed by the legislature, and a body considerable in numbers and in the fame and abilities of their leaders, who were calling for a parliamentary reform, for the correction of sundry abuses and anomalies, who were over-impatient, and disposed to extend the democratic principle somewhat further than seemed compatible, in the eyes of the vast majority of Englishmen, with the character of the constitution, were the most active applauders of the French movement, considering from the very beginning that it would bring about more speedily than might otherwise be expected the changes at home which seemed to them so essential. We must in charity suppose that a great deal of ignorance as to the real state of France existed with a great deal of excitement. On the 4th of November an ultra-Whig association in the metropolis, known by the name of the "Revolution Society," met to celebrate the memory of William III. and the Revolution of 1689. It was strange that they should couple together two events so totally different; but, at their meeting, they praised in the same breath the great English change which had taken place 100 years before, and the changes that were only a few months old, and not yet completed, in France. Nay, they seem to have soon lost sight of the English revolution, to fix their eyes solely on the French one. In the morning Dr. Price, the reputed father of Pitt's sinking-fund system, delivered a sermon, or discourse, in a dissenting chapel in the Old Jewry, on "The Love of our Country," in which he panegyrized the event as if it were the millennium itself—the commencement of universal peace, and love, and liberty. The doctor was very old, but age had not cooled his enthusiasm, although it may have dimmed his sight in more ways than one. At the dinner which followed the sermon, Dr. Price moved that the society should offer in a formal address "their congratulations to the national assembly on the event of the late glorious revolution in France." The motion was adopted by acclamation; and Lord Stanhope, the chairman—in whom the hereditary talents of the Stanhopes had taken a twist—undertook to transmit the address to the national assembly. The assembly could not do less than declare Dr. Price to be the apostle of liberty, and Lord Stanhope a finished philanthropist. A great parade was made in receiving and reading the said address; the title of *Mi Lord* was pronounced with due emphasis; and care was taken to impress the belief that there were great people in England that not only admired

the revolution, but that were anxious to imitate it. Other societies met in London and in some of the provincial towns; and some permanent clubs were formed, that were supposed to bear a too close resemblance to the Breton, now the Jacobin Club. It was well known that French propagandists were pursuing their missions with rare zeal in half the countries of Europe; and that no inconsiderable number of them were, and had been for some time in England. Mr. Pitt and his government honoured these revolutionary missionaries with more attention than they deserved; but we believe it would be difficult to find that one proselyte was ever made in England by all these secret agents; that many must have been disgusted with their principles on hearing them from their own lips, and with their own natural vehemence; and that perhaps one of the readiest ways to disenchant the credulous would have been to encourage a large importation of these Frenchmen. Additional alarm was excited at the tone assumed by a part of the newspaper press, which had become all at once Gallican and republican. Some of these papers indeed might have been written in Paris, or dictated by Sièyes, Brissot, or some of those coteries; they overflowed with abuse of the old constitution, abuse of the church, abuse of the aristocracy—abuse of almost everything and everybody except the French revolution and the wonderful men who had made it. Before the parliament met, Burke, in private, bitterly reprehended that popular feeling, or fraction of popular feeling, which could approve, or fancy it could applaud the national assembly and its proceedings; he called it "a gross infatuation," "a tolerance of crime," "an absurd partiality to abstract follies and practical wickedness."¹

A.D. 1790. The British parliament assembled on the 21st of January. The king, who now appeared perfectly recovered from his malady, and from the indisposition which had followed it, attended in person. The speech from the throne concluded by affirming the increase of the public revenue, the extension of the commerce and manufactures of the country, and the general prosperity of the people. The estimates for the military establishments were neither greater nor less than those Pitt had proposed the preceding year; but Fox, Sir Grey Cooper, and other members of opposition thought or said that there ought to be a considerable reduction. Pitt and his relation Grenville urged that, though there was no reason at present to apprehend a war, yet the unsettled state of Europe, and the *internal situation of several parts of it*, made it necessary for us to keep ourselves in such a state as to be able to act with vigour if occasion should require; that it was a preposterous economy to tempt at-

¹ Prior, *Life of Burke*.

tack by a display of weakness, and for a miserable present saving to hazard a great future expense. In the course of this debate Fox with great exultation announced that the conduct of the French soldiers had tended greatly to remove one of his strong objections against standing armies; and that the French army, by refusing to obey the court or act against the people, had set *a glorious example to all the military of Europe*, showing that men by becoming soldiers did not cease to be citizens. It was an injudicious and unlucky selection; but, in a subsequent debate on the subject of the military estimates, Fox returned to his laudation of the French military. On the 9th of February, when the estimates were reported from the committee, he repeated his eulogium. But now he extended his praise to the entire revolution. For some time it had been suspected by watchful observers that there was something approaching to a coolness between Fox and Burke; and this was attributed by different speculators to a variety of causes—apparently to almost every cause except the true one. Hitherto Burke had been silent in the house on the great subject, hesitating ere he would do or say anything that might proclaim an open and most serious disagreement between himself and Fox and the Whig party; it is said that he even went down to the house this evening with the intention of remaining silent: but Burke's feelings were too impetuous to be controlled, and his eloquence was always a full vessel, running over with fermenting contents. He rose greatly agitated. He tried to be calm, and he was passably so until he came to speak directly to the point. Then he lost all temper, and called the revolution "an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, confiscating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, tyrannical democracy." He had spoken before of France as in former times the champion of despotism and Popish intolerance; but now that people, whose character knew no medium, were seeking to lead mankind into anarchy. "On the side of religion," said he, "the danger of their example is no longer from intolerance, but from atheism; a foul, unnatural vice, foe to all the dignity and

consolation of mankind, which seems in France to have been for a long time embodied into a faction, accredited, and almost avowed." After paying some compliments to the admirable genius of his honourable friend, which made the sanction of his name to such doctrines the more dangerous, he entered into an examination of the principles, proceedings, and tendencies of this French revolution. In conclusion, Burke said that he was near the end of his natural, and probably still nearer to the end of his political career; that he was weak and weary, and wished for rest; that at his time of life, if he could not do something by some sort of weight of opinion, it was useless and indecorous to attempt anything by mere struggle; that, with respect to the constitution itself, he wished but few alterations in it—happy, if he left it not the worse for any share he had taken in its service.

As soon as he had concluded, Fox got up, declaring that it was with a concern of mind almost impossible to describe that he found himself driven to the hard necessity of making a short answer to parts of a speech which, some observations and arguments excepted, he admired as one of the wisest and most brilliant flights of oratory ever delivered in that house. He added, however, that things had been said which ought to have been omitted or deferred. He must, however, declare that such

was his sense of the judgment of his right honourable friend, such his knowledge of his principles, such the value which he set upon them, and such the estimation in which he held his friendship, that, if he were to put all the political information which he had learned from books, all which he had gained from science, and which any knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one scale, and the improvement which he had derived from his right honourable friend's instruction and conversation were placed in the other, he should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference. He had learned more from his right honourable friend than from all the men with whom he had ever conversed! Fox then entered into explanations as to his true meaning. His declaration, he said, did not warrant the idea that he was a friend to democracy. He was equally the enemy



EDMUND BURKE.

¹ From the statue by W. Theed, in St. Stephen's Hall, new Houses of Parliament.

of all absolute forms of government, whether an absolute monarchy, an absolute aristocracy, or an absolute democracy. He was adverse to all extremes, and a friend only to a mixed government, like our own, in which, if the aristocracy, or indeed any one of the three branches of the constitution, were destroyed, the good effect of the whole, and the happiness derived under it, would, in his mind, be at an end. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty which had been acted in France no man could have heard of without lamenting; but still, when the severe tyranny under which the people had so long groaned was considered, the excesses which they committed in their endeavour to shake off the yoke of despotism might, he thought, be spoken of with some degree of compassion; and he was persuaded that, unsettled as their present state appeared, it was preferable to their former condition, and that ultimately it would be for the advantage of this country that France had regained her freedom. Never would he lend himself to support any cabal or scheme to introduce any dangerous innovation into our excellent constitution. He would not, however, run the length of declaring that he was an enemy to every species of innovation. That constitution which we all revered owed its perfection to innovation. His right honourable friend might rest assured that they could never differ in principles, however they might differ in their application of principles. What had given him the greatest uneasiness was, lest from its being well known that he had considered it the boast and happiness of his life to have lived on terms of the most perfect confidence and intimacy with his right honourable friend, an impression might be left on the mind of that house, or on the minds of the public, that there had existed some grounds of suspicion that he could so far forget himself, upon the score either of principles or of duty, as at any moment to countenance, or rather not vehemently to reprobate all doctrines and all measures inimical to the constitution.

Burke rejoined: he said he could, without the least flattery or exaggeration, assure his right honourable friend that separation of a limb from his body could scarcely give him more pain than the circumstance of differing from him violently and publicly in opinion. He had no idea that his friend would lend his aid to any plan for the support of dangerous and unconstitutional procedures. He knew the contrary. He only wished to warn those who did not possess the brilliant talents and illuminated penetration of his right honourable friend from entertaining sentiments which he conceived to be adverse to good government. Here the discussion might have ended for the present if it had not been for the *facile* levity, or light facility, of Sheridan,

who was anxious to make a speech on a grand subject, of which he knew very little, and upon which he had never bestowed one serious thought. Sheridan said he felt it a duty to declare that he differed decidedly from Burke in almost every word he had uttered respecting the French revolution. After paying some compliments about general principles, &c., he said he could not conceive how it was possible for a person of such principles, or for any man who valued our own constitution, and revered the revolution that obtained it for us, to unite with such feelings an unqualified abhorrence of all the proceedings of the patriotic party in France. He conceived theirs to be as just a revolution as ours, proceeding upon as sound a principle and a greater provocation. He eulogized La Fayette, Bailly, and other patriots of that class. He vehemently defended the general views and conduct of the national assembly; and he concluded a flippant harangue—a congeries of common-places, made ornamental and emphatic by sheer oratory—by charging Burke with being an advocate for despotism, and with having spoken of the national assembly with an unwarrantable freedom of speech. Burke instantly rose to reply. There could never have been any great friendship or sympathy between the two, and he could assuredly throw off Sheridan without any of that deep and tender regret he felt in merely differing with Fox. He said he lamented the necessity, but must declare that henceforth his honourable friend (Sheridan) and he were separated in politics. He added that he had expected, even in the moment of separation, that his honourable friend—for so he had been in the habit of calling him—would have treated him with some degree of kindness, and would at least have done him the justice of representing his arguments fairly. But this was not a fair and candid treatment. Was it not evident that the honourable gentleman had made a sacrifice of his friendship for the sake of catching some momentary popularity? If the fact were such, even greatly as he should continue to admire the honourable gentleman's talents, he must tell him that his argument was chiefly an argument *ad invidiam*, and that all the applause he could hope for from clubs was scarcely worth the sacrifice which he had chosen to make. The Whig party were alarmed at this schism; attempts were immediately made, and again repeated within two days, to bring about a reconciliation by means of mutual explanations. On the night of the 11th, at about ten o'clock, there was a meeting at Burlington House, the Duke of Portland, the nominal head of the Whig party, and several other party chiefs, besides Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, being present at it. The discussion lasted till three hours after mid-

night, and appears to have terminated very little to the satisfaction of Sheridan; for, during the remainder of the session, he seldom came to the house, and very rarely spoke.

The king, who had never learned to look with a different eye on the American revolution, considered that that great event had been chiefly brought about by a system of yielding and conceding; he saw a confirmation to this belief in the conduct of Louis XVI. and the march of this new revolution, which, in his apprehension, was nothing but the legitimate, or illegitimate, offspring of the American. He had fully made up his mind to make no more concessions anywhere, hoping to shut the doors against great changes by keeping them locked and barred against all changes. Pitt was an authoritative minister, but on these points he would have found the king imperative. But Pitt had come nearly to the same conclusion as his royal master. On the other hand, the dissenters thought that this season of change was excellent for pressing their old claims to be removed from the oppressions and distinctions of the test and corporation acts, being also encouraged by the very small majority which had rejected a motion to that effect in 1789. They took the field with great activity and confidence, they canvassed individual members of the present parliament, and they intimated that they would only vote at the next general election, which could not be now far off, for such candidates as were friends to religious liberty and well affected to their cause. They even forgot their old intolerance so far as to court a union with the Roman Catholics, who were to be allowed the same freedom from the obnoxious acts that they claimed for themselves. On the 2d of March the subject was brought by Fox before the House of Commons, which was one of the fullest that had been assembled for some time. In the long and argumentative speech with which he introduced his motion, Fox strove to ward off the objection which was known to be uppermost, not merely in the mind of the king, but also in the minds of a very large portion of the nation, by reminding the house that the former application of his clients had been made three years ago, when the most sagacious among them could not have formed anything like a conjecture of what had since happened in France. The motion was warmly opposed by Pitt, and afterwards Burke spoke on the same side. Whatever he might have thought of the repeal of the test and corporation acts in other circumstances, he regarded it at the present moment as altogether inexpedient. There was, he said, a wild spirit of innovation abroad, which required not indulgence, but restraint; for, the avowed leaders of the dissenters had in their

speeches, resolutions, writings, and even catechisms and sermons, given countenance to the worst portion of the political spirit of the day. Upon a division taking place, the motion was negatived by a majority of nearly three to one. Two days after this debate, a motion still more hopeless, under the circumstances, was made by Mr. Flood; it was for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people in parliament. The plan was recommended in a very eloquent speech. It was opposed by Mr. Windham, who said, among many other things, that if he had approved ever so much of this proposition of reform, he should object to it on account of the time at which it was introduced. He asked where was the man that would advise them to repair their house in the hurricane season? He thought that speculatists and visionaries enough were at work in a neighbouring country: *there*, there was project against project, and theory against theory, encountering front to front. He entreated the house to wait a little for the event, and in the meantime, to guard with all possible care against catching the French infection. Fox argued in favour of the motion, candidly confessing, however, that he believed the opinion he supported was not only not that of the majority of the house, but was not the opinion of the majority of the nation. Burke then rose to combat the whole scheme, and all the arguments that had been used to support it. He contended that the people did not call for, or wish for any parliamentary reform, and that these attempts were not so much as countenanced by them. Wilberforce, Grenville, and Powys spoke on the same side; and at length Mr. Flood agreed to withdraw his motion.

On May 5th the public was surprised by a message from his majesty to parliament containing information of the violence committed on two vessels belonging to his subjects, on the north-western coast of America, by a Spanish naval officer; also of his applications to the court of Spain for satisfaction; of the exclusive claims of that court to the navigation of those seas, and its hostile preparations. This dispute was a consequence of the establishment, by an English trader, of a small settlement for the purposes of commerce, at Nootka Sound, on the coast of California, the liberty for which he had purchased from the Indian chief of the district. In May and June, 1789, two English vessels were seized in that bay by the commander of a Spanish frigate, who made the crews prisoners, took possession of the lands on which the building for a settlement was erected; pulling down the British flag, and hoisting the Spanish in its stead, with a declaration that all the lands comprised between Cape Horn and the sixtieth degree of north

latitude belonged to his Catholic majesty. Negotiations respecting this act had been carried on between the two courts, which had not produced an accommodation; and the king's message on the occasion expressed a determination to support the honour of his crown and the rights of his people. The House of Commons unanimously voted an address to the king corresponding to this resolution, and passed a vote of credit for a million. Vigorous preparations for war were made on both sides; but the Spaniards not choosing to proceed to extremities, the dispute was adjusted by a convention, in which Spain agreed to the restoration of the settlement at Nootka, with reparation for the injury sustained; and also to a free navigation and fishery in the Pacific Ocean or South Seas by British subjects, with a proviso, in order to prevent smuggling, that they should not come within ten leagues of any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain.

There were wanting neither then nor at a later date men who sneered at the notion of going to war about an inconsiderable settlement in the Pacific Ocean; but though Nootka Sound was itself of no very great value, it was becoming essentially important to our trade and navigation that we should have free access to some ports in those latitudes; and, besides, a most flagrant insult had been offered by the Spaniards to the national honour, and this was deeply resented by every right-minded Englishman. Mr. Grey—the late venerable Earl Grey of our own day—had said, with proper spirit—‘This national honour is not, as some have represented it, a visionary thing: a nation without honour is a nation without power. In losing this one inestimable attribute, it inevitably loses the genuine spring of its spirit, energy, and action. Every nation, therefore, ought to be vigilantly careful of its honour; to be careful lest, by one mean submission, it encourages an attack upon the dignity of its character, that best security for the preservation of its peace.’ After the conclusion of the convention with Spain, flattering eulogiums of the minister, in the shape of congratulatory addresses to the king, were sent up by the cities of London, Bristol, and Glasgow. In foreign courts the reputation both of Pitt and of his country was indisputably raised by the promptness with which he had prepared for war, and by the negotiations through which he had secured peace.

Mr. Wilberforce continued to devote time, life, fortune, and no common share of ability and eloquence to the great subject of the slave trade. Once a week the “slave committee” dined with him. Clarkson, Dickson, and others, who had taken up the pen in the cause, and who were jocosely named by Pitt “Wilberforce’s white

negroes,” were his constant inmates; and were employed in classing, revising, and abridging evidence under his own eye. His house was like an hotel, ever open to those who could in any way assist in the great work; and his influence out of doors, throughout the society he frequented, was very great, and was principally turned to the same purpose.¹ On the 25th of January he had opened the campaign in the House of Commons, by moving that the house would, on Wednesday the 27th, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take the question of the slave trade into further consideration; and this motion having been agreed to after some debate, he had, on the 27th, carried the appointment of a special committee for the examination of witnesses. He became himself by far the most active member of this special committee—he and his friend the late William Smith conducting personally nearly all the examinations. After many witnesses had been examined, some in favour of the slave trade and some against it, a strong party in the house evinced a disposition to resist the admission of any more evidence. Upon this Wilberforce bestirred himself more actively than ever, not only imploring his friend Pitt to prevent the adoption of a course which would leave his case incomplete, but also making visits among Pitt’s opponents, and calling upon Fox and Burke, and others of the opposition, for the same object. On the 23d of April, Lord Perbryn moved in the commons that no further evidence should be allowed; but, through Wilberforce’s zeal and activity, there was found a majority against his lordship. Through the same untiring agency, many additional witnesses in favour of the abolition of the slave trade were found out, brought forward, and examined by the special committee. But here the business ended for the present, and the further consideration of the subject was adjourned till next session.

On the 7th of February the Emperor Joseph was gently informed by his physicians that the disease under which he had been so long labouring was incurable. “I have weighty affairs on my mind that I wish to settle,” said the emperor; “do you think I may hold out a few weeks longer?” He was told that it was possible, but that the nature of his complaint rendered it not improbable that he might be carried off suddenly at any moment. Joseph, who had some practical philosophy, and many qualities that make one love and pity him, was silent for a few minutes, but did not appear dejected. He then signed a despatch which his ministers had prepared for him, and the object of which was to apprise his brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was at Florence, of his approaching dissolution,

¹ *Life of Wilberforce*, by his sons.

and to press him to come to Vienna as soon as possible. The last sand in the hour-glass was made to run the faster by a domestic shock. Early on the morning of the 18th his favourite niece, the Archduchess Elizabeth, died in child-bed.¹ In the course of the 19th, the last day of his life, being no longer able to make use of his own hand, he dictated a letter to the excellent old Marshal Lacy, to express his gratitude for all the services and all the instruction he had received from him. On the same day, or more probably a day or two before, he said to the Prince de Ligne, a native of the Austrian Netherlands, "Your country has killed me! Ghent taken by the insurgents has been my agony; Brussels abandoned by my troops, my death!" He repeated several times to the prince—to the witty, light-hearted man, now crying like a child—"It is this that kills me!" After thanking the prince for his faithful services, Joseph said, "Go to the Netherlands; make them return to their duty to their sovereign; but if you cannot do that, remain there. Do not sacrifice your own interests; you have children!" On the 28th, between night and morning, the emperor breathed his last, being then in the forty-ninth year of his age. When his successor, Leopold, arrived at Vienna, his first care was to free himself from the Turkish war. Negotiations for peace were opened at Reichenbach, in Silesia, on the 4th of June, under the mediation of England, Prussia, and Holland; and an armistice was immediately concluded between the Emperor Leopold and the sultan. This was soon followed by a treaty of peace, settled on the *status quo* principle, or that each party should retain what it had before the war began, restoring all that it had won. Russia was invited to be a party to the treaty, and Austria engaged to remain neutral in case Russia should refuse to accede. The congress at Reichenbach also interfered in the affairs of the Netherlands; and England, Prussia, and Holland guaranteed to the Emperor Leopold all the possessions of the house of Austria in Flanders, Brabant, &c., provided only he acknowledged and re-established the ancient privileges and constitution of those provinces.

In the meanwhile the Flemings and Brabanters, with the rest of the Belgians, now styling themselves the United Belgic States, had called a congress of their own, and had issued the plan of a constitution, differing in some essential particulars from the ancient constitutions of the provinces, and being constructed with a view of complete independence of the house of Austria and of every other power. The Belgians had

struck a medal to commemorate their independence and the throwing off of the Austrian yoke; and they had taken into their service a considerable number of English, Prussians, and Dutch, in order to form rapidly a regular army. They had, as a matter of course, called out their old militia and organized their corps of volunteers. The peasantry, urged on by the priests and monks, came in and enrolled themselves in great numbers, and the whole country was put in an attitude of defiance before the Emperor Joseph breathed his last. Most of the surrounding nations seemed to wish success to these efforts; but enlightened men found a great deal to condemn in the intolerant spirit in religion which was linked with the spirit of independence. The quarrel with the Emperor Joseph had, in a manner, begun about the Catholic clergy; the revolution had been driven on by Catholic priests and monks; and now the constitution-makers, who had complained of the emperor's tolerating other religions as an insufferable grievance, seemed resolved to carry intolerance to its utmost lengths. The constitution, or plan of constitution, they put forth excited great disgust among the liberal party even in England, who thought that they had thrown off the yoke of the house of Austria to little purpose, since they willingly submitted to the double yoke of a proud aristocracy and a persecuting superstition. The superstition, the bigotry, the black intolerance were dear to the hearts of the great body of the people; there was no touching the new constitution on that side; the very propagandists of France had found themselves compelled to feign to be bigoted Catholics in Belgium; but in merely worldly matters they found the Belgians very ready converts, and they successfully preached an extreme democracy—a democracy like their own—though they could not make philosophes of the burghers and boors of those fat low countries. In old times, too, the Flemings and Brabanters had been the foremost democracy in Europe—the people that had waged one of the fiercest of the wars against the insolent and oppressive feudal aristocracy. On this side they were predisposed to sympathize with the French revolutionists. The Jacobin Club in Paris had their agents in Brussels, in Ghent, in all the great towns; swarms of Frenchmen, inoculated with the revolutionary virus, and in search of employment and bread, which they could not find at home, kept constantly crossing the frontier, enlisting in the army of the Belgic states, or undertaking other services which brought them in contact with the people. A society, calling themselves the "Patriotic Assembly," met at Brussels, held regular and public meetings, and put forth their opinions almost in the shape of decrees; they

¹ This princess of the house of Wurtemberg was only his niece by marriage. She was the first wife of his nephew Francis, who so soon became emperor.

were, at the least, calculated to overawe the congress and assembly of states, and to dictate the course they ought to pursue in constructing a separate and independent government. They complained—and so far there was some reasonableness in their complaint—that all the powers of government, all the legislative and executive functions, had been usurped, on the overthrow of the emperor's authority, by a few individuals, who formed a complete oligarchy, more odious and difficult to bear than the imperial despotism.

These disputes began as soon as ever General Dalton and the emperor's troops were expelled; and they continued till great armies were ready to take the field against them. The revolution had been made by the concurrence and union of all the orders; but now these orders were divided among themselves, and a war, without truce, was declared by the people, by the clergy and monastic orders, against the high aristocracy; and then, in a very brief space of time, the necessity of a new revolution was preached and proclaimed. The highest of the clergy took part, of course, with the aristocracy; but the great working body, the country curés, the parish priests in the towns, and most of the orders of monks, who had all been shaken and terrified by the Emperor Joseph, were on the democratic side, and disposed to go to very great lengths for popular liberty, reserving their antiquated intolerance in matters of religion. The magical words, *tiers état*, were pronounced; Sièyès' definitions were accepted; and the grand and exclusive right of the democracy was proclaimed as a truth and an axiom. The aristocracy had pretended to too much; and the democrats would now allow them nothing. As in France, neither party would trust or tolerate the other. A jealousy arose between the congress and the army; and before this independence was two months old a portion of the army began to wish the power of the emperor re-established. On the accession of Leopold, before the meeting at Reichenbach, or before any kind of measure was attempted, either diplomatically or otherwise, a manifesto was despatched from Vienna to the Netherlands. This paper condemned, as improper, unjust, and despotic, much that had been done by the late Emperor Joseph; made strong professions, on the part of the new emperor, of lenity, kindness, and affection for the people; gave them the strongest assurances of his wish and intention to redress all their real grievances; but at the same time it asserted, in high terms, the emperor's undoubted right to the sovereignty of the country, and intimated that he would maintain that right with all his might. If this manifesto hurt their pride, it conciliated the interest of many of the Belgians, for it solemnly assured them that their

old institutions should be restored; and a very large portion of the people had already discovered that those old institutions were much better things for working and for every-day use than their new constitution or the theories of the men who had made an anarchy in France.

The character of the new emperor also seemed to have a claim on confidence, respect, and affection. As Grand Duke of Tuscany he had gained universal applause by the gentleness of his disposition, by the mild and equitable spirit of his government. It was well known that he had left Tuscany in the condition of one of the happiest and best governed states in all Europe. Even men who had been most active in this Belgian revolution conceived that now, their enemy Joseph being gone to his account, they might make terms with his brother and successor. Though the rising had been so general, there was always in the Netherlands a strong loyal imperial party, composed of individuals of various classes who owed obligations to, or hoped benefits from the house of Austria. This party now began to declare themselves pretty openly, to wear the old cockade instead of the new patriotic ribands; and they soon formed the nucleus of a numerous and imposing force. The inhabitants of several villages assembled under Austrian flags, beating and plundering, in the name of the emperor, those who, a few months before, had beaten and plundered them in the name of liberty. For the present these bands were dispersed by the troops of congress; but the wounds and blows they received only made them the more eager to re-assemble again when circumstances should be more favourable, and when the pleasure of revenge might be added to their other enjoyments. Men of a superior condition, though averse to the extreme democratic principles, detested the oligarchy, and seriously doubted whether it were possible to establish a republican form of government that would act quietly and well, and preserve the country from feuds, factions, and perpetual disorder. The people, no doubt, had sundry good qualities, but in point of enlightenment they were about the most backward of all in Europe. The idea that these populous and fertile provinces should all be united into a separate kingdom, and have a king of their own choice, had been entertained by not a few of the Flemings and Brabanters from the first beginning of the quarrel with the Emperor Joseph. A certain party now revived a plan for calling the Duke of Orleans to fill this new throne; agents were despatched to Paris, and, notwithstanding the disgrace the Duke of Orleans was in at court, and the dark imputations against him, a portion at least of the French cabinet had not been unwilling to favour his highness's promotion. But

the intriguing Dumouriez, who was sent to Brussels, returned to Paris with the conviction that France, at the present moment, could derive no advantage from such a chaos, and that the people of the Low Countries were on the high road to anarchy and ruin. He told Montmorin and La Fayette that the scheme of supporting those revolted provinces ought to be abandoned. The minister fully agreed with him; but La Fayette, who thought that, because the Americans had succeeded in their revolt, every other revolt must necessarily be successful, treated him and his opinion very coldly. Dumouriez was convinced that the fate of Belgium must depend upon the congress assembled at Reichenbach; and, as that body of diplomatists had started with the leading principle that the ancient constitutions of the provinces, with the conditions of the "Joyous Entry," and all other rights whatsoever, should be restored to them, and guaranteed by England, Prussia, and Holland, there seemed little ground for lamenting that the decision of the case should be left to that congress. Almost any state of things was better than the existing anarchy.

The Empress Catherine, though deprived of her Austrian ally, refused to take part in the pacific negotiations at Reichenbach, and carried on the war with the Turks on one side, and the Swedes on the other. Gustavus Adolphus, almost ruined by the great expenses of the war, and hoping nothing from the Swedish noblesse, whose enmities now seemed irreconcilable, threw himself more and more into the hands of the people. He became as great an advocate for the *tiers état*, and almost as averse to the titled and privileged classes, as were any of the Frenchmen in the national assembly. The noble officers of his army had mutinied against him even in the field, and with the armies of the enemy in his front; the noble officers of his navy had refused to serve even under his own gallant brother, the Duke of Sudermania; and, in the civil service, the noble heads of departments and bureaux had resigned almost universally. Under these circumstances Gustavus issued a declaration that all orders of the state, without distinction of birth or rank, had an equal right to serve the country in all situations; it being contrary to common sense that any particular order should be allowed to monopolize all those appointments. The road to honour and promotion was thrown open to every Swede that had character and abilities. This measure charmed the mass of the citizens and people quite as much as it enraged the aristocrats: the States, from which the nobles were now almost entirely excluded, voted subsidies and imposed heavy taxes to enable the king to maintain the war against Russia. The nobles murmured at these heavy impositions, and de-

clared, wherever it was safe to do so, that the acts of the Swedish states were illegal, as wanting their consent. They appear to have felt the more deeply as the taxes were levied upon all classes alike, in just proportion to their property. Calling his men of iron into the field, at a very early season, in the midst of snow and ice, Gustavus sent the Prince of Anhalt in the direction of St. Petersburg. With a body which did not exceed 3000, Anhalt penetrated to within twelve leagues, or two days' march, of the Russian capital, and possessed himself of an exceedingly strong post, with a fort, redoubts, &c., at Karnomkoski, on the Saima Lake. Here the Swedes were attacked, in the month of April, by 10,000 Russians, under the command of General Ingelstrom. After a tremendous conflict, the Russians were driven back; they renewed the attack, to be again repulsed; and, after a third attack, they retreated in good order, but leaving 2000 of their dead upon the field. The Swedes, however, lost their brave commander; and were not in force sufficient either to advance upon St. Petersburg, which was again in a panic, or to maintain their positions on Lake Saima. The Duke of Sudermania then made some descents on the coast to favour the operations of the land army; and, towards the end of June, his brother, the king, commanded in person the rest of the Swedish fleet in an attack upon a Russian division of ships and gun-boats, anchored in the bay of Viborg. Before Gustavus could succeed in his object Admiral Chitschakoff with the grand Russian fleet, and the Prince of Nassau with his galleys, were upon him. The Duke of Sudermania came to his brother's rescue; but still the Swedish force was very inferior. In the battle which took place two Swedish ships blew up, four fell upon the rocks and were taken, and a considerable number of small vessels or galleys were captured by the Russians, whose own losses were very serious, and whose high hopes were disappointed—for they had laid their account with nothing less than the capture both of the King of Sweden and his brother. This desperate combat took place on the 3d of July. Six days after, with a force still inferior, but with more sea-room, Gustavus attacked Chitschakoff and Nassau near Svenkasund with incredible fury. The battle, waged by ships and galleys, crammed on both sides with men, soldiers as well as sailors, lasted for two days. Several English officers were now serving with the Swedes, and foremost in the number was Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, then a young man, romantic, brave, and daring to excess. On the second day, after a frightful carnage, victory declared for the Swedes, who took or destroyed forty-five of the Russian galleys, ruined several of their largeships, and made above 4000 prisoners.

The Empress Catherine immediately sued for peace, in a manner that must have been grievous to her pride. Gustavus was still bound by his Turkish alliance, and the sultan was more in need of his assistance now than when the Swedes had first taken the field. But the Swedish exchequer was empty, and Gustavus, who had counted upon the assistance and co-operation of England and Prussia, found that nothing was to be hoped from those quarters. No very enormous vote of English money might have enabled him to prosecute the war, and keep up the important diversion in favour of the Ottoman empire; and the war might have been ended by such a treaty as should considerably have checked and thrown back the encroaching, grasping spirit of Russia, by putting Sweden in the position which she ought to occupy—that of a great power in the North. Gustavus complained that he was badly used; and we cannot but think he had sufficient reason for his complaint, for, though they had kept themselves out of any treaty or direct engagement with him, England and Prussia, and Spain and Holland, had certainly encouraged him to begin this war, for preserving the crazy Turkish empire from dismemberment. It was too selfish, it was monstrous, to pretend that this last great object should be worked out by Sweden alone, and at the sole expense of so poor a country. One million of English money disbursed now might have produced more effect than twenty millions spent at a later period. Moreover, if Sweden had been properly supported, and if this war had been vigorously sustained for another campaign or two, not only might the bloody triumphs of Suvaroff on the Euxine and the Danube have been checked, but the third, last, and worst partition of Poland—a project which Catherine was now entertaining—might also have been prevented or delayed. After a very short correspondence, in which care was taken by the crafty Catherine to flatter the vanity of his Swedish majesty, plenipotentiaries met at Warela, near the river Kymen, between the advanced posts of the two armies; and, with the interposition of Spain, a treaty of peace was concluded there on the 14th of August, upon the *status quo ante bellum* principle. The old treaties of Abo and Nystad were confirmed; each power was to retain what it possessed before the war, and Sweden renounced all claim to the possessions which had once belonged to it, and which it had overrun during the present war. Russia granted permission to export grain from Livonia; but the empress, who had pledged herself to the disaffected Swedish nobles to support their rights and privileges, who had put Gustavus' infringements of the old aristocratic form of government in a prominent part of her manifestoes, said not a syllable about

this old constitution in the treaty. She left the Swedish noblesse, who had plotted for her, entirely at the mercy of their king.

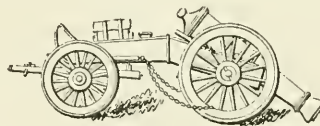
For some time the Russian army on the Danube remained very inactive. The empress was uncertain as to the intentions of the King of Prussia, who was collecting troops on the Polish frontiers; and she was apprehensive lest some strong representations made to her by the courts of London and Vienna might be the forerunners of a declaration of war. She was, moreover, in a bad state of health; and whenever that was the case all kinds of business languished. It was late in the autumn ere Suvaroff received reinforcements, supplies, and positive orders from Prince Potemkin to invest the fortress of Ismail, a place of some strength, esteemed the key of the Lower Danube, and which would open to the Russians the road to Schumla and the Balkan Mountains.¹ It was the only fortress of any value that remained to the Turks in those parts; and there was nothing between it and Constantinople except an entrenched camp at Schumla, and the difficult mountain-pass of the Balkan. Being assisted by a fleet of galleys under Admiral Ribas, Suvaroff invested Ismail by land and by water, and summoned the Turks to surrender, as the place must be considered untenable. The Turks never surrender upon summons, and seldom know whether a place is tenable or not until they are driven out of it: the garrison returned a haughty defiance. It was now the month of December—no time for making regular sieges in that inclement, uncomfortable climate; if Suvaroff had attempted a regular siege he would have had to undergo the same difficulties and hardships which had been encountered in 1788-9 at Oczakoff, where Potemkin's army had been almost ruined. Nor were such slow and regular processes at all suitable to the genius of this rude, rough, and ignorant soldier of fortune. On the 25th of December—Christmas Day in our calendar, but not in that of the Russians—he ordered an assault, which was executed by an army of 23,000 men, and by the galleys, which mounted 567 pieces of artillery. The Turkish troops, who had from 200 to 300 heavy cannon in battery, and who were joined and assisted by every man and nearly by every woman and child in the place, held their fire until the Russians were within a short distance, when they fired from every cannon and every musket, making old Ismail look like a volcano in its most active eruption. In vain Suvaroff stormed and cursed, and beat his Russians over the head, as his fashion was; there was no stopping their retrograde move-

¹ Potemkin's order to Suvaroff was as brief and peremptory as could well be. The whole letter consisted of the words—"You will take Ismail, cost what it may."

ment, and for some time there was no possibility of getting them back to the assault. He made another attack in different columns, but he was beaten again and again. It is said that the Russians were repulsed six or seven times from every quarter, and that Suvaroff was obliged to make all his cavalry dismount, and take an equal share nearly with the infantry in the desperate assault. At last, one ill-constructed earthen battery was carried, and Suvaroff, the first to apply the scaling-ladder, planted the standard of the empress within the Turkish works. His bravery was not of the merciful and generous kind; Suvaroff was a brute in manners, a savage in body and soul. It is reported of him that, as he was leading or driving his people to the assault, he said, "Brothers, no quarter to-day, for bread is very scarce!" The losses they had sustained and were still suffering made the survivors mad with fury and revenge; and, as all kinds of barbarous hordes were mixed with the Russ and Muscovites, there was small chance of Suvaroff's being overburdened with prisoners to eat his filthy bread. If the Turkish works had been only tolerably constructed, he must have been repulsed even now; but the traverses were all wrong, or were everywhere except where they ought to have been; the palisades were set right in the middle of the parapet, which enabled the assailants to form behind them; and, through all these blunders of construction, the storming parties were enabled to carry the first parapet. Though assailed all round, and fired upon from the battery which Suvaroff had taken, and from other parts of their own works, the Turks fought on with shouts of "Allah! Allah! Hu!" At last, at about an hour after sunset, the third line was carried; and then Russians, Cossacks, Zaporavians, and all the savage bands who followed that congenial leader, Suvaroff, burst into the very heart of the town, and began a carnage as horrible as any recorded in authentic history. Every horror was committed; and in the midst

of that hell upon earth, with mosques, serais, and houses burning around him, and with his ears filled with the shrieks of women and children, Suvaroff sat down, and wrote in Russian rhyme, "Glory to God and to the empress, Ismail is ours."¹ Scarcely a Turkish officer was left alive; the old seraskier pacha, who had the chief command in Ismail, was found pierced with sixteen bayonets; including the inhabitants, the women and children, above 30,000 perished. The loss of the Russians themselves was estimated as high as 9000 or 10,000, including an amazing number of officers, and some of them of the highest rank. The Prince de Ligne, who, now that Joseph was dead, preferred serving the czarina to going among his own mad countrymen in the Netherlands, witnessed this scene of horror, and was wounded in the assault. The Duke de Richelieu, then a young volunteer, and afterwards the founder and benefactor of Odessa, had a narrow escape; and practised a generous humanity where few would follow his example. Catherine triumphed in St. Petersburg; but Sultan Selim did not yet despair in Constantinople; and, when the Turks had seen the head of the grand vizier taken off and laid in the niche by the seraglio gate, they hoped for a better campaign next year. The first time the czarina saw Sir Charles Whitworth, the British ambassador, after receiving the news and the trophies from Ismail, she said, with an ironical smile, "Since the king your master is determined to drive me out of St. Petersburg, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople."

¹ *Histoire de la Nouvelle Russie*. This account, written by a French officer in the Russian service, is the one which Lord Byron has followed very closely, as far as the incidents are concerned, in cantos vi., vii., and viii. of *Don Juan*. *Comte de Segur*; *Annual Register*. Some years after the event, when Suvaroff was asked by an English traveller whether, after the massacre at Ismail, he had felt perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the day, he replied that he went home and wept in his tent!—*Remains of the late John Tweedell, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge*.



CHAPTER XXVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A D. 1790.

GEORGE III.

Affairs of France—Predominance of the clubs and the mob—Plan of the king to head the revolution—His declaration of adherence to it in the national assembly—Enthusiasm with which his declaration was received—The national oath of fidelity to the constitution—A reaction—Federations instituted—Declaration of the rights of man—Liberty superseded by equality—Impossibility of establishing two chambers in the French senate—Renunciation of war proclaimed by the national assembly—Fête of the 14th July in the Champs de Mars—Its ceremonies and observances—Egotism of the performers—Encouragement afforded by the fête to the anarchists—Apathetic conduct of the king—Progress of insurrection among the military—Check given to it at Nancy—Complaints of a deputation from Nancy at the check—National funeral service for the insurgents who had been put to death—Necker resigns office—His unpopularity—His arrest on his departure from France—He is allowed to retire to Geneva—Schism produced in the French church by the revolution—Affairs of Belgium—Democratic and levelling spirit of the Belgians—They imitate the French revolutionists—Warning given to them by Vandermersch—He is imprisoned at Antwerp—The Duke of Ursel also sent to prison—Violent proceedings of the Belgian revolutionists—Their dissensions—The Emperor Leopold again makes overtures to the Belgians—His promises to respect their ancient rights and privileges—The Austrian army advances into Belgium—The democratic congress takes to flight—The country returns to the rule of the emperor—Continuation of war between Russia and Turkey—Symptoms of its approaching close—War in India of the English against Tippoo Sultan—He applies for assistance to France—Louis XVI. refuses to grant assistance—Commencement of the war—Repeated defeats of the Sultan—Meeting of the British parliament—Fox's comments on the royal address—Pitt's financial statements.



EVOLUTIONARY France, at every step, got deeper and deeper in blood. The king was a prisoner, exposed to daily insults and menaces. There was no longer any government, although Necker continued at his unenviable post; there was no restrictive power anywhere; the great reformers themselves were overruled by the noisy mobs that crowded the galleries of their house, by the political clubs, by the demagogues of the Palais Royal, and by the lowest rabble of the faubourgs. La Fayette commanded the national guards; but his authority was of the most precarious kind, for the Jacobins had already conceived suspicions against him, as also against his great ally, Mayor Bailly. Provisions became dearer than ever; and the ignorant mob continued to believe that the dreadful scarcity, which had proceeded from the elements, was wholly attributable to the king, the queen, and the aristocrats. Early in the year the national assembly transferred themselves from the archbishop's palace to the Grande Salle de Manège, or riding school, which had been prepared and fitted up for them, and which stood conveniently near to the Tuileries palace, wherein the royal family continued to be watched and guarded in the most vigilant and jealous manner. As opposition was impossible, and as the king would neither attempt to escape nor adopt any other bold measure, some of his friends thought fit to advise him to do something, as if spontaneously, that should captivate the good-will of

the assembly and people, and place himself, as it was called, "at the head of the revolution." The advice was condemned by others of the king's private counsellors as inept or perfidious. Gouverneur Morris addressed a note to the queen, to oppose the idea; to submit that the king had already gathered fruits but too bitter from his intercourse with the assembly; and that all that he had now to do was to remain quiet, and let things take their course; that disasters were thickening; that confusion would follow; and that ere long the people, disgusted with the novelties that were working so much to their injury, might be disposed to return to the king, to offer him the spoils which they had wrested from him; that then it would depend on the king alone to insure the happiness of France; and then a constitution, securing the liberties of the nation, and adapted to its condition, might be framed. The great point with Morris was, that nothing should be done by the court at present. But the plan was adopted at court, nor can we think what was done of much consequence, or that it made matters worse, except as tending to lower the character of the king afterwards, and to give the people the opportunity of accusing him of insincerity, perfidy, and perjury.

On the 4th of February, while the deputies were debating, the door-keepers cried of a sudden, "Here is the king, the king!" and immediately afterwards Louis entered the hall, the deputies rising and receiving him with some applause. There was a respectful silence when the

king, followed by Necker, and by no one else, stood up near the president's chair to speak. He spoke standing, the deputies being now all seated. Louis began with representing the terrible disorders to which France was a prey, and the efforts he had made to calm those troubles and provide for the subsistence of the people. He then recapitulated the works and acts of the assembly, declaring that he had attempted to do the same good things by means of the provincial assemblies, before they met; that he had always been desirous of reforms, &c. He added, that he felt it to be especially his duty to unite himself to the national assembly, to the representatives of the people, at a moment like this, when they were finishing a constitution, and submitting to his approbation decrees destined to give a new organization to the kingdom. He then declared that he approved of the principles of this new organization; and that he would favour the new constitution, when it should be finished, to the utmost of his power, and consider every attempt made against it as an offence to be pursued with all the rigour of law. He ventured, however, to express his anxiety about the respect due to the ministers of religion and the rights of property; and even to recommend to the assembly not to undertake too many things at once, but to reserve some of the plans or changes—"a part of the good things their intelligence suggested"—for a future and quieter season. He also represented how necessary it was to establish the authority of the executive power, without which there could be no lasting order within the kingdom, no respect abroad, and no effective government. He hoped that this day, on which he, as king, came down to unite himself with the assembly and people in the frankest and most intimate manner, would be a memorable epoch in the history of that empire! And he concluded, "It will be so if my ardent wishes, if my earnest prayers may serve as a signal of peace and reconciliation among you. Let those who would still avoid this spirit of concord sacrifice to me all the remembrances which afflict them; I will pay them for it with my gratitude and affection. From this day let us profess, let us *all* profess—and I will set you the example—but one opinion, one sole interest, one only will—attachment to the new constitution, the ardent desire of the peace, happiness, and prosperity of France."¹

The applause was tremendous; and as soon as the king had taken his departure, to be reconducted to the Tuileries by a shouting multitude, all vowing and swearing that now, indeed, he merited his title of "Restorer of French Liberty," a vote of thanks, not only to his majesty, but also to the queen, was proposed in the assembly and carried

by acclamation. Before the enthusiasm grew cool, somebody from the tribune, or among the deputies on the benches, suggested that, as the king had so solemnly promised on his part to be true to the constitution, they, the members of the national assembly, ought, on their parts, to swear to be so. This proposition was adopted by acclamation; and there immediately began a wholesale swearing to a constitution which was not yet finished! The president swore first—"To be true to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain with all his power the constitution decreed by the national assembly and accepted by the king." Every deputy was to take this oath separately and distinctly; and there followed a loud, quick, running fire of *Je le jure!*—I swear it. Before the deputies had done swearing, the people in the galleries began to swear; and the crowd in the body of the house, and the mob out of doors, began to swear, so that nothing was heard for a long time but the sonorous *Je le jure! Je le jure!* In the evening Mayor Bailly and the committees, and all the municipals took the oath in the Hôtel de Ville, and another mob took it in the Place de Grève, but in a more regular and formal manner than the crowd in and about the Grande Salle de Manège; for, on the suggestion of Danton, "that the public would like to partake," Bailly, with an escort of twelve municipals, stepped out to the front of the building, stretched out his hands, pronounced the words, and took the *jures* of the people, with a thunder of rolling drums, and with shouts that rent the air. Then in the streets of Paris the people "spontaneously formed groups, and swore one another." Every square, street, and alley was illuminated. The revolution was surely safe now! The illumination was continued through a series of nights; for, not contented with the spontaneous, irregular swearing which took place on the day and the night of the 4th in all parts and corners of Paris, the districts would swear separately and in a more formal manner, and each district, after it had done swearing, had a particular illumination of its own. The professors of the universities, schools of medicine, &c., paraded the streets with their students, who were so exuberantly riotous that they could not be quiet even in taking oaths, but broke people's windows and heads, all out of love to the constitution which was to be made, and which was to make every man happy and free, except such monsters as dared to differ in opinion with the patriots! In imitation of Paris, every city, every municipality, every mob in the kingdom took the oath. From the British Channel to the shores of the Mediterranean—from the sandhills of Dunkirk to the Pyrenees and the mightier Alps, was one prolonged, continuous echo of *Je le jure! Je le jure!*

¹ *Hist. Parlementaire.*

Surely the constitution must be safe now. Alas, no! In a week or two the old doubts and suspicions were revived; and while the court alleged,

commended by the example of the national assembly on the famous 4th of February. Towns federated with towns, districts with districts, whole provinces or departments with departments—for provinces were no more, new-modelled France being mathematically divided into *departements*—and all took the same oath to stand by one another, by the assembly, and by all the laws it had made, or *might hereafter make!*

The constitution, which was to be nothing short of absolute perfection, was still for a long time a-making; but the assembly had passed a declaration of the "rights of man," which was considered by the common people as comprising within itself all the valuable principles of a constitution. Many



THE HÔTEL DE VILLE AND PLACE DE GRÈVE, at the period.—From a sketch by T. S. Bays.

in private, that no sign of confidence would satisfy the assembly—that no friendship and affection could restrain the assembly and the people from carrying the revolution further—the assembly and people openly proclaimed that the queen and the aristocrats were plotting against the revolution and constitution; that no faith whatever could be put in the court, who were corresponding with the Count d'Artois and other royal or noble emigrants, and urging them to make haste with their levies of mercenaries and their foreign armies. A royalist and religious reaction began to manifest itself in several parts of the south, where the new philosophy had been somewhat slow in taking root, and where, in a good many districts, the common people and *bourgeoisie* were determined royalists and bigoted Catholics, prompt to take offence at the least injury or insult offered to their priests or to their faith. To oppose this league, the revolutionists of the south began to make federations. When these associations were entered into by armed men, and by numerous towns in rapid succession—for the train, when once laid, ignited and ran along the land like gunpowder—the national assembly, instead of taking into consideration the inevitable result, were transported with joy at these spiritedly patriotic demonstrations, and they encouraged the federates to go on with their work. La Fayette gave the federations the sanction of his great name, and recommended the associations to the people of Auvergne and Bretagne. They spread more rapidly than ever after the universal oath taken to the unfinished constitution, re-

of the more moderate members of the assembly had urged that it would be better to finish the constitution first; but as the Americans had begun their revolution in that way, and as La Fayette was anxious above all things for the declaration, all other business had been made to give place to it. They rubbed up their logic and their metaphysics, and sat disputing whole days and nights about words or the vaguest of ideas. "I remember that long discussion, which lasted for weeks," says an ear-witness, "as a season of mortal ennui: there were empty disputations about terms; there was an accumulation of metaphysical rubbish and an overpowering loquacity; the assembly seemed converted into a disputations school of Sorbonne, and all the apprentices in legislation made their essays on these puerilities. After many models had been rejected, a committee of five was appointed to draw up a new one. Mirabeau, one of the five, had the generosity, which was ordinary to him, to take the whole task upon himself, and then give it to his private friends to perform it for him. Here then we were, Duroverai, Clavière, Mirabeau, and myself, composing, disputing, writing a word and scratching out four words, exhausting ourselves over this ridiculous task, and producing at last a piece of patchwork, a miserable mosaic of the pretended natural rights of man which had never existed. During the course of this *triste* compilation, I made reflections which I had never made until then. I felt the falseness and the absurdity of the work, which was nothing but a puerile fiction. The declaration of rights, said

I. may be made after the constitution, but not before it; for rights exist by laws, and cannot precede them. Such maxims, besides, are dangerous. We ought not to bind legislators by general propositions which we may afterwards be obliged to modify and limit; above all things, we ought not to bind them by false maxims. It is not true that 'ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL.' They are not born free; on the contrary, they are born in a state of helplessness and necessary dependence. And where are they born equal? Where can they be so born? Do we mean equality of fortune, of talent, of virtue, of industry, of condition? The falsehood is manifest. Volumes would be required to give an appearance of sense to this equality which you proclaim without any exception." But Rousseau had proclaimed in prose, and Voltaire before him in verse, that all men were equal; and Sièyes, with all the philosophes and the great majority of the assembly, had made up their minds that this dogma, this untrue truism, should stand at the head of their declaration of the rights of man. After much cobbling and alteration, a declaration was adopted and published to the world, though without the royal assent, at the beginning of September, 1789. It did as little honour to the logic as to the common sense of those who concocted it. It was full of contradictions and inconsequences. It proclaimed that all men were free and equal—were not only *born* free and equal, but *remained* so—but at the same time it imposed restraints which were necessary indeed, but which overset the whole theory of perfect liberty and equality. What had been seen and predicted happened immediately. The people regarded only the crude dogma, and utterly disregarded the comment and the limitations. Their pride was flattered, and all their evil passions were encouraged to dissolve the ties of social order, and work out the doctrine by seizing the property and destroying the persons of all who were richer or more elevated than themselves.

But besides passing this declaration of the "rights of man," the assembly, driven on from without, and invaded within their own chamber by the rabble whenever they showed any hesitation, had certainly done a great deal of work of various kinds. They had abolished all feudal rights and privileges whatsoever; they had seized upon all church and monastic property, declaring it to be confiscated to the state; they had created 400,000,000 of livres in paper money or assignats; and they had, by their decrees and promulgation of the "rights of man," kindled the flames of a horrible war in St. Domingo, where the negroes butchered the French colonists in quoting to them the doctrines of liberty and equality. But in France itself the great majority of the common

people were becoming quite as ferocious as the blacks of St. Domingo.

The 5th and 6th of October of the preceding year—the days on which the mob marched to Versailles and brought the king to Paris—began in a manner the reign of the Jacobins; it was no longer liberty, but equality, that became the aim and object of the revolution; and the inferior classes of society began from that time to gain, by rapid strides, ascendancy and dominion over all. As a necessary and indispensable sacrifice to this Moloch Equality, followed the annihilation of all titles of nobility, of all names derived from estates, of all aristocratic prefixes or affixes, of the particle *de*, which was considered to establish a damnable distinction between man and man; and, in short, the abolition and destruction of hereditary honour, now and for evermore. Yet all this while the national assembly pretended that they were erecting not a democratic republic, but a constitutional monarchy. At first Mounier, Lally-Tolendal, Rochefoucauld, Liancourt, and a few others—we believe their entire number never exceeded a dozen—had constantly recommended as a model the constitution of Great Britain, which was also honoured by the approbation of Necker and two or three of his brother ministers. But the old national prejudices rose up in arms, and the majority not only felt, but declared in language more or less plain, that it would be dishonourable and disgraceful for free and enlightened Frenchmen of the eighteenth century to adopt a constitution which had grown up in the ages of barbarism, and which still smelt of feudalism; and as for the philosophes and writers out of doors, who were ever dictating to these legislators, they asked how Frenchmen could possibly follow the example of a dull people, that were slavish enough to respect a king, and superstitious enough to believe in a God.

But, without copying the whole of the English constitution, they might have seen that no constitution could march without two chambers; and here they had even republican precedents, for the Americans had, at an early stage, felt the necessity of having a senate, and no republic had ever flourished without a senate, or some sort of body to check and control the direct representatives of the people. Even Jefferson had hinted to them that 1200 men were too many, and that for good legislation two houses or chambers were necessary; nay, at one time, this thorough-paced democrat had even thought that it would not be amiss to place the privileged classes in one house, like our peers and bishops in the House of Lords, and the unprivileged in another, like our members in the House of Commons. But his disciple, La Fayette, thought

any such scheme improper or impracticable; the general feeling was decidedly hostile to any separation of the legislative authority; Sièyes chopped logic and split straws in order to demonstrate the monstrous absurdity of any such scheme; and, except Mounier and Lally-Tolendal, scarcely a man in the national assembly would so much as listen with patience to the name of an *upper* house. A CHAMBRE-HAUTE would indeed have been a preposterous anomaly after their declaration of the rights of man, with its perfect-equality dogma. Besides, was not the entire people let loose, like a hundred thousand packs of famishing hounds, to destroy all privileges and distinctions? Was not the name of noble, aristocrat, bishop, or priest, a cry to arms and cutting of throats? And was there any wisdom, or moderation, or political experience in the upper classes who might have been made to compose this upper house? And, if these qualities had existed in the high aristocracy, could the *tiers état*, who had denounced the whole body of the noblesse as blood-suckers and traitors to the people, believe in their existence, or rely on the exercise of them when collisions, which were inevitable, should take place between the two chambers? Men most hate and fear those whom they have most injured and insulted: the last thing we forgive in an enemy is the wrong we have done to him. Dumont in a few words tells the whole story, and shows the impossibility of any accord or co-operation—"The tiers had placed themselves under the necessity either of fearing the noblesse, or of making the noblesse fear them." Nor was there any agreement among the noblesse themselves, or any clear conception of what an upper house was or ought to be. A very large portion of the aristocracy now assuredly looked to nothing less than a counter-revolution, to be effected not parliamentary, or by debates and words spoken in chambers, but by steel and gunpowder, and the assistance of foreign armies; and of those who still attended the discussions in the hall, and looked to some more pacific settlement of the revolution, all that belonged to the inferior nobility (*la petite noblesse*) detested the idea of an upper house in which they could not hope to find a place. Cooler and wiser men, even in rejecting the hereditary claims of the *Pairs de France*, and of an aristocracy (as such) altogether, might yet have hit upon some plan for forming, if not an *upper*, at least a *separate* house or chamber, and might have profitably followed the example of the Americans. But they were all convinced that they knew how to manage "these things better in France;" and they were captivated by the syllogisms and logical definitions of Abbé Sièyes, who laid it down as matter more indisputable, unchangeable, and true than all the gospels ever

written, that society was one great whole—that the mass, without distinction of classes, ought *to will*—that the king, as sole magistrate, ought *to execute* what the mass *willed*. As a corollary to this absolute maxim, Sièyes affirmed that a monarchy or a republic would be the same thing, with no other difference than the less or greater number of magistrates charged with the execution of the national will. The vast majority of the assembly, indeed, wished and willed a thoroughly democratic republic, with a nominal king at its head—a twelfth-night king, with no more power over the assembly, with no more faculty to control its proceedings, than the king of sugar and flour has power to eat the cake it is stuck upon. The intention of establishing the nullity of the sovereign power was fully developed in all the discussions or harangues on the royal prerogative. In the course of these, while determining that to the king should be intrusted the prerogative of announcing to the assembly the necessity of war or peace, Petion proposed a resolution, "that the French nation renounced for ever all idea of conquest, and confined itself entirely to defensive war." This was carried with universal acclamation. The great principle was often repeated; and it passed into an axiom or text, that the French people were too free, virtuous, and enlightened ever to think of engaging in an offensive war. It is strange, yet nevertheless true, that among enthusiasts of the revolution in various parts of Europe (not excepting England) credit was given to this terse declaration, even while the French were committing the most atrocious massacres within their own territories, and endeavouring, by means of proclamations and secret Jacobin agents, to rouse civil war and anarchy in all the neighbouring countries.

On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, the grand fête of the federation was held in the Champs de Mars. By the advice of La Fayette, Bailly, and others who had encouraged the provincial federations, a certain number of deputies from each of those armed bodies had been invited to Paris. These men, and all the world besides, were to swear to the constitution. The royal family were obliged to attend. A sort of throne was erected for his majesty, but otherwise he was treated with very little respect. The chief performance devolved upon La Fayette, who, dismounting from his white charger, ascended the steps of the gallery in front of the throne, and received from the hand of the king the written form of oath which the assembly had decreed. La Fayette then repaired to the altar, and, having laid down his sword upon it, he read the paper, swore himself, and raised his hand to heaven as a signal to the rest, performing oath-fugleman to nearly half a million of

people. The banners were waved triumphantly; the president, the deputies of the assembly in the gallery, the federates in the arena, and the spectators on the terraces, all raised their right hands and pronounced the *Je le jure*. This was followed by bands playing and cannons firing, and by shouts that seemed to frighten away the last retiring clouds. Then in bright sunny air Louis stood up in the gallery, and stretching his right hand towards the altar, he pronounced in an audible voice the oath which the assembly had prescribed for him: "I, King of the French, swear," &c. At this moment the queen held out the little dauphin in her arms to show him to the people, who thereupon strained their throats once more. When the king had done swearing, the deputies sat hugging and kissing one another, and the cannons roared, and the flags waved, and 1800 musical instruments played again. The municipality of Paris had ordered a grand dinner in the royal château of La Muette, at the distance of a short mile from the Champ de Mars, for the federates, and thither about 25,000 of them repaired immediately after the swearing. Tables were arranged in the avenues of the park, and La Fayette, as head of the federation, as commander-in-chief of all the national guards of France, was to take the chair. There were so many unprecedented things on this great 14th of July! and La Fayette, on his way to the château de la Muette, was near meeting an unprecedented death—was well nigh being killed by accolades and men-embraces. One of the aides-de-camp saw his danger, called up some soldiers, and relieved him by force from a crowd that would have smothered the hero of two worlds.

That night all the streets of Paris were illuminated, and there were feasting, dancing, reviews, and spectacles for four or five days. On Sunday, the 18th, La Fayette reviewed the federates in the Champ de Mars; and in the evening, besides numerous balls and amusements out of doors in other places, there was a grand dance on the spot where the Bastille had stood. On Monday morning the king, with La Fayette at his side, passed in review all the federated troops, the deputations of the troops of the line and of the marine, &c., as well as the national guards. The uppermost passion of the French, in all these celebrations, was vanity. Every man thought that the eyes of the universe were upon him. Romilly, who had made a trip to Paris in the preceding year in order to take a nearer view of the revolution, relates an anecdote which in itself tells a great deal of the story of this revolution:—"What struck me as the most remarkable in the dispositions of the people that I saw, was the great desire that everybody had to act a great part, and the jealousy which, in consequence of this, was

entertained of those who were really eminent. It seemed as if all persons, from the highest to the lowest, whether deputies themselves, declaimers in the Palais Royal, orators in the coffee-houses, spectators in the gallery, or the populace about the door, looked upon themselves individually as of great consequence in the revolution. The man who kept the hotel at which I lodged at Paris, a certain M. Villars, was a private in the national guard. Upon my returning home on the day of the benediction of their colours at Notre Dame, and telling him that I had been present at the ceremony, he said, 'You saw me, sir?' I was obliged to say that I really had not. He said, 'Is that possible, sir? You did not see me! Why, I was in one of the first ranks: all Paris saw me!' I have often since thought of my host's childish vanity. What he spoke was felt by thousands. The most important transactions were as nothing, but as they had relation to the figure which each little self-conceited hero acted in them. To attract the attention of all Paris, or of all France, was often the motive of conduct in matters which were attended with most momentous consequences."¹

Although the levellers found much to condemn as aristocratic in this federation festival, the royalists, the constitutional royalists, all sensible foreseeing men who wished the revolution should go no further, regarded it at the time as having most essentially served the cause, and enlarged the views and hopes of the anarchists. La Fayette and his respectabilities should have thought of this beforehand. It was, in fact, a sort of solemn league and covenant between the national guards and the troops of the line. Every regiment of the latter had sent a detachment as a deputation; and these detachments, particularly those that came from the army commanded by the Marquis de Bouillé, were soldiers firm and steady to their officers before they came up to Paris; but there they were initiated in all the mysteries of the clubs, were feasted and affiliated, were flattered and fully proselytized. De Bouillé, who gives all the honour of the invention to his kinsman, La Fayette, says:—"This confederation poisoned the minds of the troops. On their return from the capital they brought with them the seeds of corruption. These they instilled into their comrades; and in a fortnight, or at most a month, the whole army was in a state of the most terrible insurrection."

Yet of the provincial deputies who had attended the federation, not a few were sensibly touched and affected by a near view of the real situation of the court, and by the graces of the queen, who neglected no opportunity of deepen-

¹ *Narrative of his Early Life*, written by himself; in *Memoirs, Correspondence, &c.*, edited by his sons.

ing the impression by kindness and flattering attentions. Many people thought that the king might have availed himself of these favourable sentiments to effect a counter-revolution at Paris; but Louis was incapable of any such bold attempt, the final success of which must have been very doubtful. It is said by some who had the best

In the month of August, De Bouillé received an order from the king to take under his command the troops of Lorraine, Alsace, Franche-Comté, and all Champagne. These, united to the garrison of Metz, formed a force of 110 battalions and 104 squadrons of horse, which, altogether, covered the whole frontier from Switzerland to the Sam-

bre; but this force, instead of being effective to preserve order in the interior of the kingdom, was only proper to consolidate disorder, and carry out the revolution to the utmost extremes of democracy. Instead of obeying either the king and the commander he had appointed, or the national assembly, it obeyed the Jacobin club. The cavalry were a few points better, for they were composed of a better description of men than the infantry, and the mass of them, instead of occupying barracks in the great towns, had been distributed, for facilities of forage, &c., in the smaller rural towns and in the villages, and had thus been much less exposed to seduction; but as for the foot soldiers, De Bouillé himself said, in the middle of August, that out of the 110 battalions there were not more than twenty which he was certain would obey his orders, and these twenty battalions were either German or Swiss. The garrison of Nancy, being joined by 5000 or 6000 men, either common people of the neighbourhood or deserters from other regiments, all eager for pillage, had broken open the arsenal, taking from it 5000 muskets; had seized upon the powder magazines, and had placed eighteen pieces of cannon in battery, loaded to their muzzles with grapeshot. The soldiers had plundered the military chest, had assaulted and ill-treated their officers, and had thrown many of them, including the general who commanded them, into prison. In concert

means of knowing the truth, that he never in his heart entertained the idea, but shrank from it even when everything proved, that with or without his concurrence there would be a civil war in France. He could scarcely make an effort even to captivate the good-will of those provincials who had never approached royalty before.

with the mob, they had exacted money from the constituted authorities of the place, and had threatened to *lanterne* the municipal officers and the commissioners of departments in case they did not comply with their demands. They had avowed a sovereign contempt for the national assembly, and had burned its decrees; and they



THE CAMP DE MARS DURING THE REVOLUTION, AND THE HOTEL DES INVALIDES.—After Duplessi Bertaux.

were intimating their intention of plundering and sacking the city, and had marked out the principal victims for the *lanterne*. De Bouillé resolved to put a stop to these proceedings, and to drive the mutineers out of the town. He succeeded; but not until the streets of Nancy had been deluged with blood. The council of war condemned twenty soldiers to death, and between fifty and sixty to the galleys. The sentences were put into execution. De Bouillé had no right to interfere in the matter; but the executions were all laid to his account by the Jacobins, who described the whole affair as "the horrible massacre of Nancy," brought about by detestable treachery on the part of De Bouillé and the royalist officers with him. About 200 of the king's regiment, and about 300 of the people, who had likewise been taken with arms in their hands, he let go, and not one of them ever met with any punishment.

On the 3d of September, the king, from St. Cloud, wrote an autograph letter to the noble general, assuring him that his conduct at Nancy had given him the most signal satisfaction; that on the 31st of August he had saved France, and that his behaviour on that day of crisis ought to be an object of imitation for all well-wishers to their country. But the Jacobins, not only in their club but also in the assembly, endeavoured to exonerate the revolted troops and the people of Nancy from the least share of blame, and to represent De Bouillé as a traitor to the nation, and an unprovoked murderer of brave and innocent Frenchmen. Robespierre took a very active part on this side, and insisted that a deputation sent from Nancy should be heard at the bar of the house. "In the king's regiment," said these deputies, "there are a great number of young men of decent families serving as common soldiers; better educated and informed than their comrades, they have taught them what our constitution is, and have preached its principles to them." Here was the *mot de l'énigme*. In nearly every regiment a knot of young men had formed a political club, and were in the habit of lecturing their unlettered comrades into the mysteries of liberty and equality, and of reading to them the Jacobin journals. What were called the honours of *séance* were accorded by the assembly to these Nancy deputies. Nevertheless, the respectabilities and the non-Jacobins ventured to question the veracity of these honourable men, to declare that insurrection was contagious, and that if not properly chastised at Nancy it would spread to the heart of the kingdom, and would presently be at the gates of Paris. La Fayette, who, on a previous occasion, when the revolution was younger and more timid, had declared insurrection to be the holiest of duties, now thought himself obliged to express his strong disapproba-

tion of the mutiny and insurrection at Nancy, to declare that he thought the situation of the country very critical, and to propose that the assembly should instantly pass a vote of thanks to De Bouillé. The assembly also sent a commission to Nancy to take measures for restoring tranquillity, and for bringing the most guilty to condign punishment. Robespierre attempted to remonstrate, but he was silenced by some of Mirabeau's loudest thunder.¹ The Parisians showed their lively sensibility and tender grief for the loss of their brothers in arms by a grand national funeral service, celebrated in the Champ de Mars. The triumphal arch, the amphitheatrical galleries on which the court had been seated at the federation festival, were covered all over with black mort-cloth. The wooden altar of the country was converted into an ancient tomb, surrounded by cypresses, and covered with corresponding inscriptions in golden letters. There were music and incense, and Jacobinized priests, wearing tri-coloured sashes over their calico albs. In short, it was another ravishing spectacle which all Paris and the neighbourhood went to see; and La Fayette was there on his white horse, and Mayor Bailly in his gilded coach; and nearly all the deputies of the assembly were there, except the Jacobins, who had protested.

On the 4th of September, the very day after the vote of thanks to De Bouillé, the president announced to the assembly that he had received a letter from the minister Necker, who wished to quit office and the kingdom. The letter, which ought to have been written to the king and not to the assembly at all, was ordered to be read. It was very characteristic of the Genevese banker, and full of an inflated vanity, even in that abyss of failure and disgrace. It stated that his health was ruined by continual labour, trouble, and anxiety; that his physicians had imperatively advised him to go and drink the mineral waters; that "the mortal inquietudes" of a wife, who was "as virtuous as she was dear to his heart," had determined him to delay his retreat no longer. He had given the account which the assembly had demanded of the receipt and expenditure of the public treasury; he hoped it would prove satisfactory; and he had nothing more to offer on that head. He made a merit of leaving behind him property which he could not sell, and money which, if he could have got at it, which is very doubtful, he would certainly not have been permitted to carry away with him; and this, he said, was a guarantee for the purity of his administration of the finances, and this he would confide to the safeguard and honour of the nation. The letter concluded with a complaint of the acts of enmity and injustice to which he had been exposed, and with a hope that

¹ *Hist. Parlement.*

the guarantee which this injustice had induced him to offer would prove satisfactory. He might well complain of injustice, and writhe under the continuous scourging which had been inflicted on him by the Jacobins in the assembly and out of doors. Danton, that terrible cordelier, had for a long time been accusing him of corruption and the grossest official peculation. He had even been in the habit of naming the very sums that Necker was pillaging, and his ciphers seldom fell short of millions. Marat was not less pitiless in his newspaper: the other journals imitated these classical examples, and, from being considered the people's minister, the guardian-angel of France, the poor *banquier-philosophe* had by these means obtained the reputation of being the greatest scoundrel, rogue, and thief that had ever entered the kingdom. For some time past he had been serenaded by the mob with most unwelcome and alarming music; and, whatever was his own opinion, his wife evidently thought that, if he did not leave the kingdom, he would be hanged some fine night under the *lanterne*. With bold filial piety his rhetorical daughter¹ suppresses these important facts, and attributes his resignation and departure to his dislike of assignats or paper money, and to the want of wisdom and decision in the king and his advisers; but the simple truth appears to be that Necker went because he could not stay. In the midst of an *émeute*, which had apparently been excited by Marat and the other journalists, Necker, with his wife and four friends, stole out of Paris, and took the road for Switzerland. He travelled, with a heavy heart, along the same road on which the people, not many months before, had drawn him in triumph, hailing him as a deliverer and saviour. He had provided himself with one passport from the king, and with another, of somewhat more efficacy, from Mayor Bailly. Nevertheless, on arriving at Arcis-sur-Aube, near the Swiss frontier, he was arrested with all his party by the national guards of the place. This was hard treatment for the people's minister, who had so essentially contributed to the opening of the first act of the revolution—without seeing what would be the after-acts. On the 11th of September the assembly received a plaintive letter from the captive, and a letter, with *procès-verbal* of the arrestation, from the municipal officers of Arcis-sur-Aube. Malouet, who had been for some time past the only friend and defender of the finance minister in the assembly, observed that they could hardly hesitate as to the course they ought to take. One or two other deputies said slightly that they thought Necker an honest man, who had done some good to the country, and consequently ought not to be kept

a prisoner. Another deputy thought that the national guards had shown a laudable zeal for liberty and the public service in arresting him, and that thanks ought to be voted to the municipality of Arcis-sur-Aube. Camus, the Jansenist and rigorist, wished to know whether the assembly meant, in liberating Necker, and in replying to his letter, to felicitate him on his administration; and he hinted that some of Necker's accounts were irregular, and ought now to be examined, although the assembly had not objected to them when presented. Another deputy on the same side of the house was of opinion that Necker ought not to be permitted to quit France, as there were suspicions against him. The majority, however, decided that the president should write to the municipality to order them to allow Necker and his companions to continue their journey; and also that he should write a letter to that ex-minister, reading it to the assembly before he despatched it. In a few days Necker crossed the mountains to the beautiful lake of Geneva, and arrived safely at his pleasant château of Coppet, where he too took to writing books to show how the promising revolution had gone astray and failed, and how almost everybody concerned in it, except himself, had committed enormous blunders.

Fierce contests with the clergy chiefly occupied the national assembly for the remainder of the year. An oath had been imposed upon them in July, by which each beneficed clergyman was, among other articles, to swear to maintain, to the utmost of his power, the new constitution of France, and particularly the decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy. This injunction had been little regarded till November 27th, when a decree passed, declaring that all who should neglect to take an oath, would be considered as ejected from their benefices, and be condemned to severe pains and penalties if refractory. As the pope had strongly declared his disapprobation of this oath, it was declined by a great number of the clergy, including almost the whole of the episcopal order. Numerous emigrations were the consequence, and a schism in the church took place.

The course of the Netherland or Belgic revolution and its final overthrow by the arms of Austria had notably increased the furor of the French democrats, and roused the suspicions and fears even of the non-Jacobin party in the assembly, who had not been bold enough to strike in, or generous enough to rush into a war for the defence of men whose insurrection had been originally promoted and encouraged by French propagandists, but who had lamentably proved their incapacity of helping themselves. The patriotic assembly of Brussels, and the other political clubs

¹ Madame de Staël.

in the great towns, had become as Jacobinical as the great mother-society at Paris. They, too, raised and kept up the cry of "Down with the aristocracy!" and, because the nobles and the superior classes had framed a constitution upon aristocratic principles, they proclaimed pretty openly that they were entitled to no better treatment than that which was proposed by Camille Desmoulins in France for Austrian invaders; and instead of thinking how to unite their forces in order to oppose the emperor, they employed their thoughts about the best means of destroying their own native nobility. This left the noblesse nothing to do but to rally round the standard of Leopold, renouncing the fond hope of establishing a national independence, and of obtaining for their native land a name and a place among European nations.

To destroy the last gleam of hope, the violent democratic leaders quarrelled with the whole body of the clergy, country curés and all, and thus armed against themselves, and almost to a man, one of the most priest-ridden and superstitious of rural populations. The patriotic assembly at Brussels, who wanted something very like the French declaration of the rights of man, which had flown over the world on the wings of the wind, read insolent lectures and put in the most arrogant demands to the states and provisional governments. These things were but transcripts of the French revolutionary papers. These Belgian patriots represented that, though their country might not as yet be quite ripe and prepared for a civil constitution like that which was being reared in France, still an approach to its principles ought to be made upon the basis of liberty and justice. They claimed a share in the government, which would have left almost nothing to the aristocracy and the church, and they required the immediate summoning of a national assembly. The United Belgic States, strong in the support of the priests and the peasantry, boldly refused any concessions of this nature, and shackled the press through which they were recommended. The army of independence had been partially democratized and Jacobinized, but the mass of it was still imbued with the old feelings of reverence for priests; and, being of a less lively temperament and duller imagination than their neighbours the French, it would evidently be a work of time to convert these bores into unbelieving or misbelieving philosophes. Among their other antiquated notions, the Belgian soldiers retained a respect for their commanding officers, and were apparently much attached to General Vandermersch, who had deserted the Emperor Joseph at the beginning of the struggle, and had so incensed that potentate that he caused him to be hanged in effigy and threatened to hang him in

reality. This Vandermersch had acted in the field with great energy and ability, and to him the patriots had been indebted for nearly all the successes they had obtained against the imperialists. Warned by what was taking place in France, and by the mode in which a wild democracy let loose was treating all the superior officers of the army, and not having originally any predilection for that form of government, Vandermersch expressed in a pointed manner his disapprobation of the political clubs and of the extravagant pretensions of the temporary democratic congress, which assumed legislative and executive powers that belonged only to the states. Towards the end of March the said congress sent commissaries or deputies to Namur, where Vandermersch was lying with the greater part of the army. The object of these commissaries was to remove him from the command, and make him a prisoner; but, almost as soon as they arrived at Namur, Vandermersch, taking the initiative, arrested them and threw them into prison. He was backed by all his officers, who, the very next day, unanimously passed and published a variety of resolutions which did not merely amount to the denial of any power or authority in the congress, but seemed also to usurp, for the army alone, the powers which had been vested in the several states. The chief of these resolutions were, that the Duke of Ursel should instantly be placed at the head of the war department; that General Vandermersch was, and should continue to be, generalissimo of the whole Belgic army; that the Prince d'Arenberg, Count of Lamarek, should be appointed second in command; and that addresses should be sent to all the provinces, inviting them to co-operate with the army for the reformation of abuses and the re-establishment of order. The congress hereupon issued orders for the troops in Brussels and in other towns to march towards Namur, to concentrate and unite near that town, and then to advance in martial order against Vandermersch and the troops under him. Everything seemed to threaten a civil war: but by means which are not explained, but which may easily be imagined, the greater part of Vandermersch's troops were induced to rise upon their officers and to put their general into the hands of the troops despatched by the congress, who presently committed him a close prisoner to the fortress of Antwerp. It is even said that he was loaded with chains and thrown into a noisome dungeon. The Prince d'Arenberg was absent at Paris, where he was employing himself heart and soul in the cause of Marie Antoinette, and labouring to arrest the progress of the revolution there; but the Duke of Ursel was in the country, and upon him the congress fell with fury. This nobleman, hereditary chief of the order of noblesse in

Brabant, had spent his large income for the defence of the country's liberties, and had been one of the first to oppose the Emperor Joseph. But he was now denounced as a traitor, arrested by Vaneupen, thrown into prison, and for five weeks subjected to examinations and inquisitions in order to find grounds for charging him capitally. This was in the province of Flanders, into which he had fled from Brabant, his own province, for protection. The judges declared that he was innocent; but the states of Flanders attempted to prolong his confinement and to suppress the decision of the judges. As some companies of volunteers, to whom they applied for assistance, refused to co-operate, the states endeavoured to have the duke carried off by night, and consigned to the more powerful hands of his enemies in Brabant. A party of lawless ruffians they employed actually tore him from his family and forced him into a carriage; but the volunteers, who had before refused to co-operate, rushed to his rescue and delivered him.

These measures increased the odium and unpopularity of those who had been concerned in them; and the two supreme leaders of the democratic party—Vaneupen, whom Dumouriez had described as a hypocrite, and Vandernoot, whom he had styled a Masaniello—got still harder names from the Belgian people. The common people of Flanders who had been proud of General Vandermersch, a native of their own province, were well nigh fleeing to arms to rescue him from his captivity, and take vengeance on Brabant for arresting him. Favoured by these distractions and fierce dissensions, the troops of the emperor, who had been almost entirely driven out of the provinces, recovered heart and confidence, and, retracing their steps, they occupied again several important positions, and defeated the disorganized, ill-commanded Belgians wherever they met them and whatever was their superiority in number. Vaneupen and Vandernoot made a terrible noise, but could do little else. They wanted money and men, but their credit had sunk so low that they and the congress could not raise a small loan either at home or abroad; and on account of the arrest of Vandermersch all the towns of Flanders peremptorily refused to send a single man to the army. It was better, they said, to have the emperor back again than to live under two such emperors as Vaneupen and Vandernoot. At the same time the people in all the provinces were incensed by the discovery of enormous frauds and peculations which had been practised by many of the patriot drivers of this revolution, and of a palpable tendency in many of them to make advantageous terms for themselves with the court of Vienna. In this state of popular feeling the Emperor Leopold issued another me-

morial, in which he solemnly pledged himself to observe every article of the "Joyous Entry," and to restore to the states the constitutions they had enjoyed previously to the innovations of the Emperor Joseph. And very soon after, having wisely put an end to the causes of discontent in Hungary, Leopold was enabled to tranquillize that brave and important part of his subjects, and to obtain from them both money and men. By the month of August, the imperialists, who had concentrated their forces on and near to the frontiers, under General Bender, were strengthened by the arrival of several regiments, and of all the material necessary for prosecuting the war with vigour. The Belgian congress had applied in vain for assistance to Prussia, to Holland, to England, to France. Prussia even intimated that she would rather take part with Austria than permit the present anarchy to continue in the Netherlands; and what the house of Orange most feared was, that the Belgians, if assisted by France, might press upon the frontiers of Holland, and call upon the democratic party there, who had so recently been put down by force of arms, to rise again. In fact, the only country from which the Belgian democrats ought to have expected assistance was France, where a democracy fiercer than their own seemed all-triumphant.

The same revolutionary principle united these two nations; and, as Vandernoot proclaimed the sovereignty of the people in Belgium, and upheld France as his model, it seemed but fair and natural that the French people should assist him. By some strange and unaccountable means the subject was kept out of the national assembly at Paris, or at least no decrees were passed or direct motions made about the Belgians until it was too late to render them any service. But the Jacobin Club at Paris made up for the silence of the assembly, they discussed the business night after night, and returned the admiration with which Vandernoot had honoured them. The French Jacobins declared that, if the rights of man, and liberty and equality, were allowed to be trampled upon in Belgium, the attempt would soon be made to bring the iron-shod hoofs of despotism upon them in France; that if Belgium was overrun by the emperor, France would lie open to his attack. But the king's ministers were allowed to persist in their inactivity and seeming indifference, which appears the more strange, as they were accused of considering the Belgian provinces as the bridge over which the royalists' counter-revolution was to penetrate into France, and of being quite enchanted at beholding the fate which awaited insurrection in that near country.¹ In the month of October the Emperor Leopold, as had been agreed at the con-

¹ Dumouriez's *Mémoires*.

gress of Reichenbach between him and the courts of Berlin, the Hague, and London, engaged in the most solemn manner, and under the obligation of an oath to be taken under the guarantee of those three allied powers, to govern each of his Belgian provinces according to the constitutions, charters, and privileges which were in force during the reign of his beloved and popular mother the Empress Maria Theresa. In the same manifesto he invited, called upon, and summoned his Belgic subjects to acknowledge his lawful authority; declaring that he would bury in oblivion all the excesses and disorders committed during the late years by a general amnesty, to be published in favour of all who, before the 21st of November, should lay down their arms, and cease from all instigations and attempts against the peaceable exercise of his authority. He promised to visit all the states in order to ascertain the wishes of all classes, and concert, with persons properly chosen, the best means of promoting the general good; and he conjured and entreated them all, in the name of that oath which they had sworn to their country, and which was as dear to him as to them, not to reject the hand which he held out to them, and which was the hand of an affectionate father. The parties who had begun the insurrection, including noblesse, priests, monks, divinity professors, peasantry and common people, would have been disposed to rest satisfied with these conditions, even though they had not been disgusted with the Vandernoots. Many men who had hitherto remained in the field went home without furloughs. Still, however, the congress persisted, and maintained a tone of defiance, even when the army under Bender was raised to 30,000 men, consisting of the best troops in the Emperor's service. Vandernoot's diminished army was commanded by General Schoenfeldt, who is described by Dumouriez as a Prussian officer, an impostor also, and as being in the pay, at the time, of the King of Prussia. It had been foiled and defeated with terrible loss in the month of September by only a small part of the Austrian forces; and now that Bender was coming on, Schoenfeldt ran away to Prussia; and all that the disorganized, demoralized, distracted army of independence could do was to retreat skirmishing. In all these affairs a considerable number of French Jacobin volunteers got knocked on the head by the Austrians. The provisional governments in the different provinces began to disband as fast as the soldiers, fleeing for the most part to Paris. Vanenpen, who was a priest by profession, before he became a democratic revolutionist and co-dictator with Vandernoot, did what in him lay to keep up the spirit of his party, which seemed suffering everywhere a most rapid

thaw and dissolution. He entered the assembly of congress, holding a crucifix in his hand, and, placing the sacred emblem in the chair of state, and falling on his knees before it, he protested in the most solemn manner that he would never pay allegiance to the emperor or the house of Austria. A proposal was made on the 20th of November, the very eve of the day appointed for their submission, that the emperor's third son, the Archduke Charles, should be acknowledged sovereign of the Netherlands—the succession to remain in his family, but not to revert to any branch of the house of Austria possessing the sovereignty of any other country. If made at an earlier period—if proposed before the alarm spread through all the courts of Europe by the headlong course of the French revolution, and before the deliberations, conclusions, and treaties entered into at Reichenbach—there might have been a bare possibility of success to this scheme, and the Belgians might have obtained for their sovereign the ablest and most spirited prince that the house of Austria has produced for many ages; but now it was greatly too late for that or any other proposition, except absolute submission, to be entertained. General Bender was crossing the Meuse with his 30,000 men, and the army of independence was become an army of runaways. Advancing right upon Brussels, Bender despatched an aide-de-camp to the congress sitting there, to name a short number of days within which they were to determine whether they would accede to the conditions offered them, and trust to the honour and faith of the emperor and of the three mediating powers, assuring them at the same time that, if they obliged him, General Bender, to draw on his boots once more, he would not take them off again until he had chased them all out of the Netherlands. The congress was silent. The time expired. Old Bender drew on his boots and marched rapidly to beat up their quarters. But the congress-men did not await his arrival; with the members of the war department, and with all who had been most active in the revolution, they consulted their safety by flight, some fleeing into Holland, some into Germany, but the greater part of them betaking themselves to the more congenial atmosphere of Paris. The city of Brussels surrendered to the Austrians on the 2d of December. The example was followed by the other cities of Flanders and Brabant; and before the end of the year all those provinces quietly returned under the dominion of the emperor, who religiously kept all his engagements with them.

A convention between the ministers of the emperor and those of the three allied powers, Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, was signed at the Hague on the 10th of December, by which

the Belgic provinces were not only restored to their old rights and privileges, but also obtained several new advantages calculated to render more secure their ancient constitutions. These constitutions were not models of absolute perfection—they would have been regarded with sovereign contempt by that rule-and-line constitution-maker the Abbé Sièyes—but they had kept the Netherlanders a tolerably happy people, and they certainly secured some of the most important of the rights and blessings of freedom. With regard to the great question at issue in France, the easy overthrow of the half-fledged democracy and Jacobinism of the Netherlands certainly exercised some evil influences, which contributed essentially to enormous miscalculations and blunders, and to disgraceful and fatal reverses; it induced the French emigrants, the princes, and the aristocracies of Europe to believe that the overthrow of the gigantic democracy of France would be a work of almost equal ease; and hence arose delays, insufficiency of preparation, and a blind and presumptuous confidence.

In this busy year attempts were begun to revolutionize Poland, and the first impulse was evidently received from France; but we may wait till the year 1792 to give an account of the ill-judged or ill-timed proceedings, which ended in the total destruction of the Polish republic. The truce which the Emperor Leopold had concluded with the Turks soon after his accession, and which had so soon been followed by a treaty of peace, had not induced the Empress Catherine to lay down her victorious arms. During the summer and autumn of 1790 a desultory savage war was carried on between Russians and Turks on the shores of the Black Sea, and by the banks of the Danube. In several petty encounters the Turks had the advantage; but, when they made a grand effort to penetrate into the Russian conquests between the Black Sea and the Caspian, they were defeated on the river Kuban with terrible loss. The Russians, however, began to feel the effects of their long efforts in a languor and exhaustion; and the czarina was warned by the congress at Reichenbach, that England, Prussia, Holland, and even her old ally Austria, were determined not to permit any further dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. Moreover, she knew that the Poles had opened secret negotiations with Sultan Selim, and were disposed to rise and take her Turkish armies in flank and rear as soon as ever a favourable opportunity should offer. The great termagant of the North had already lowered the insolent tone of her diplomacy; it was therefore pretty clear that this war would soon cease.

Another war, which more directly concerned England had broken out in the East. Tippoo

Sahib, or Tippoo Sultaun, who could never forget or forgive the humiliations he had met with at the end of the last war, hated the English almost to the pitch of madness; and he had superadded a religious fanaticism as mad as this hatred. He



TIPPOO SULTAUN.—From a portrait in the East India House, engraved in Beaton's *View of the War with Tippoo Sultaun*.

imagined himself the chosen servant of the prophet Mahomet, predestined, in the eternal book of fate, to root out the Nazarenes from India, and cast them into the bottomless pits of Gehenna. His cruelties to the poor nairs and Hindoo people of the Malabar coast, who had favoured the English, had been terrible. Nearly at the same time that Tippoo sent a numerous embassy to die of the plague at Constantinople, or on the road, he despatched a secret messenger to Paris to invite the French government to send six thousand of their best troops to the Carnatic, with which assistance he engaged to drive the English out of every part of Hindoostan. The Indian diplomatist, apparently a born Frenchman, arrived safely in France, and there met with a very favourable reception from all who wished the ruin of England—a wide category, which may be said to have included nearly every man, woman, and child in that kingdom or republic. Even some of the king's ministers were enchanted with the project, for Tippoo Sultaun offered to pay for transport, clothing, and maintenance of the troops, and to secure the French in the enjoyment of greater advantages than the English had ever possessed in India. Moreover, the terrible insurrection of the blacks in St. Domingo, who had been too suddenly in-

doctrinated in the *Rights of Man* and the gospel of liberty and equality, rendered necessary the sending a considerable force thither; and, under cover of this armament, it was calculated that an expedition might be sent to the Malabar or Coromandel coast, without exciting the suspicions of the English government. But these ministers and their encouraging representations could not overcome the scruples and the repugnance of Louis XVI. "*This resembles,*" said he, "*the affair of America, which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we are suffering for it now. The lesson is too severe to be forgotten!*"¹

Without waiting the result of this embassy, Tippoo made an attack upon the Rajah of Travancore, the close ally of the English ever since Colonel Fullarton's brilliant expedition, and before the end of the year 1789 he had overrun and occupied the greater part of that rajah's dominions. A detachment of the Company's army, under Lieutenant-colonel Floyd, found itself suddenly engaged with the main body of the Mysore army under Tippoo; many of our sepoys were cut down. Floyd, riding along the line, expressed his regret to the native officers, and cheered them with the hope of a speedy retaliation; these brave and faithful fellows replied, "We have eaten the Company's salt; our lives are at their disposal; and God forbid that we should mind a few casualties." The sepoys closed up their thinned ranks, and retreated in good order before an immensely superior force, and through an exceedingly difficult country.² But Tippoo's progress was soon stopped. Having formed a close alliance with the Mahrattas, the Nizam of the Deccan, and other native powers, the Bengal government raised two armies, one in the Carnatic of 15,000 men, which was placed under the command of General Medows, who had distinguished himself in the American war, and another of about 7500 men in the presidency of Bombay, under the command of the excellent General Abercromby. Tippoo, after some insidious attempts at negotiation, evacuated the Travancore country, and, before a shot could reach him, retreated to Seringapatam, his strong capital. In the month of June (1790) Medows, with the Carnatic army, marched from Trichinopoly, and, following nearly the same line of march which had first been opened by Colonel Fullarton, he took several important fortresses. But he was soon obliged to retrace his steps by intelligence that Tippoo, with a mighty army, was again bursting into the Carnatic, had passed the defiles of the ghauts, and was attempting once

more to carry fire and sword to the walls of Madras. Medows' countermarch soon drove the Mysorean back again beyond the mountains. In the meantime General Abercromby, with the Bombay army, landed at Tellicherry, and reduced nearly all the places which the enemy held on the Malabar coast, restoring the nairs and the other petty Hindoo rajahs, who all co-operated with the English in expelling their tyrants and oppressors. Our ally, the Rajah of Travancore, was completely re-established in his dominions, but no further progress was made against Tippoo Sultaun this year, and the war seemed likely to drag on.³

A newly-elected British parliament met on the 26th of November. The speech from the throne expressed great satisfaction at the amicable termination of the late differences with Spain about Nootka Sound. A cautious silence was observed on the affairs of France; but the pacification between Austria and the Porte, the separate peace between Russia and Sweden, and the endeavours then carrying on in order to put an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands, were briefly mentioned. Fox, disclaiming any intention to oppose the address, criticized various observations made by Carew in seconding it. After a few words about the Spanish convention, he adverted to what had been said on the subject of the Austrian Netherlands. It had been stated by Carew that it was good policy to promote the return of the Netherlands to the dominion of the house of Austria, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of another power, likely to prove dangerous or inimical to this country. Fox conceived the power alluded to must be France; but, as if blind to the proselytizing going on, and to the inevitable tendency of a war-loving democracy—as if putting confidence in the rapid declarations of the philosophes of the national assembly, that a state of war was unworthy of a free, a just, and an enlightened people, who only wished other nations to be as free and happy as themselves—he asked how France had so suddenly become a greater object of terror to us now than at any other period? In his opinion the interference of France in the affairs of other nations was, at the present conjuncture, very little to be dreaded. With regard to the affairs of Europe in general, the interests of different powers had taken so new and singular a turn, that it was the undoubted duty of ministers not to overlook the change, but to turn it to the good of England. Not long ago it had been difficult for England to find any allies in Europe; but now she had only to pick and choose; she had nothing to do but to ascertain what number of allies it was necessary she should have. The address was carried without opposition.

¹ Bertrand de Molleville, minister of state at that time, *Mémoires*.

² Colonel Wilkes, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*.

³ Colonel Wilkes, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*.

On the 15th of December, Pitt gave in, in a separate account, the expenses of the late armament, intimating that some of those expenses, which arose out of the engaging an additional number of seamen, must be continued through the following year, inasmuch as it was impossible to disarm all at once. He added, however, that he did not mean to say that the proposed maintenance of the existing number of seamen was solely owing to that cause; he would make no scruple to declare that there were circumstances in the present situation of Europe which made his majesty's ministers think it highly necessary

to keep up a naval armament for a time to more than the ordinary extent; but he trusted that a few months would bring that necessity to a period. All the expenses incurred by the late armament, and the funds necessary to keep up the additional number of seamen, amounted to £3,133,000; and Pitt thought that he might defray the whole of this without entailing any permanent charge upon the revenue. The method he adopted was to impose some temporary taxes, and to obtain from the Bank of England the loan of £500,000, without interest, by which all current difficulties would be obviated.

CHAPTER XXVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1791.

GEORGE III.

Sheridan's speech in parliament on our foreign policy—Bill passed for the relief of protesting Catholic dissenters—Bill for the better regulation of Canada—Debate between Fox and Burke on the French revolution—The debate continued—It deepens into an angry controversy—The new government of Canada introduced into the discussion—Attempts to drown the voice of Burke while condemning the French revolution—Fox's severe animadversions on Burke—He charges Burke with political inconsistency and apostacy—Burke's reply—The debate ends in a final rupture between Burke and Fox—Finance report—Sheridan's proposals of amendment in finance—Parliament prorogued—Burke's extreme views on the French revolution—Provocations given by his assailants—Favourable views of the revolution published by Sir James Mackintosh—He recants them—Thomas Paine's attacks on Burke—His extravagant laudations of the revolution—Undue commendations of the English republicans on Paine's *Rights of Man*—Dr. Priestley's political writings—His theological controversies—His defence of the French revolution—His unpopularity in Birmingham—His friends resolve to celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille by a dinner—Offensive proclamation to that effect circulated through Birmingham—The dinner and its proceedings—The meeting assailed by the townspeople—Counter dinner of the magistrates—Riot in Birmingham—Destruction of houses and property—Recompense of Priestley for his losses in the riot—Trial of the Birmingham rioters.



SHORTLY after the Christmas recess Mr. Philip Francis took the field to make war upon the war in India, and to eulogize that excellent and ill-used prince, Tippoo Sultan. For this purpose he moved thirteen resolutions in the House of Commons, which, however, he was obliged to drop without coming to a division.

In the course of a protracted and very warm debate on our foreign policy, Sheridan, in a long speech, ran over the political map of all Europe, and came, in conclusion, to France and her revolution, the grand centre of all political counsels and measures. He declared that nothing which had since happened had at all tended to alter the sentiments which he had expressed in the house the year before on this great subject. He thought, indeed, that there was more cause for congratulating France and mankind now than then. In a strain which might have become Abbé Fauchet and his social circle at Paris, he harangued on the wondrous improvements of

recent times, and the progress of modern philosophy, which had wiped away the antiquated prejudices that had been obstacles to the happiness of mankind. Taking too much upon himself, he affirmed that the great majority of Englishmen admired this revolution as much as the immense majority of Frenchmen admired it; that this revolution, so dear to the best heads and best hearts in both countries, would assuredly put an end to all jealousies, discords, and contentions; and that, instead of waging bloody war, Frenchmen and Englishmen would henceforward live together like friends and brothers, as in the golden age!

The solicitor-general moved in February for a committee of the whole house to enable him to bring in a bill to relieve from the penalties to which they were legally liable, those English Catholics who were termed protesting Catholic dissenters, on account of their protestation against certain dangerous opinions attributed to the Papists. The motion being agreed to, he brought in a bill to that effect, which passed the house

without opposition, the only objection made being, that it did not carry the principle of toleration far enough. In its passage through the House of Lords, it was observed by Bishop Horsley that the terms of the oath of allegiance enjoined by the bill might offend the feelings of some of those whom the bill was intended to relieve; and it was in consequence expunged, and another substituted. The bill was cordially supported by the episcopal bench, and passed unanimously.

The fate of a petition, presented by Sir Gilbert Elliot, from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, for a repeal of the test acts, as far as concerned Scotland, was very different; the motion for taking the petition into consideration being negatived by 149 to 62.

On March 4, Mr. Pitt produced a bill for the better regulation of Canada. By its tenor, Canada was divided into two distinct governments—those of the Lower and of the Upper Province—and for each of these a legislative council and assembly were established, after the model of the British constitution. Particularly, the council was formed on an imitation of the House of Lords, by lodging a power in the governor to summon members to it; and in his majesty, that of annexing to hereditary titles of honour a right to a seat in the council. In the ecclesiastical establishment, to the former provision for the Protestant clergy, was added an allotment for their support out of the crown lands, and the appropriation of one-seventh in all future grants of land to that purpose. Future grants of land in Upper Canada were to be held in common socage as in England, and also in Lower Canada, when desired. The debates on this bill were made memorable by the final rupture between Burke and Fox.

There had been several preludes to this irreconcilable quarrel.

In a debate on the affairs of Russia and Turkey, Fox, even as Sheridan had done, struck away from the river Bog to get into that worse bog, the French revolution. He was more explicit than Sheridan as to the particular points of it that formed the objects of his approval and enthusiastic admiration. He praised the new government of France, both as it respected the politics of Europe and the happiness of the French people; in its internal relations he thought it superlatively good, because it aimed to make those who were subject to it happy. He knew that different opinions upon what had taken place in that country were entertained by different men; but he, for one, admired the new constitution of France, considering it, altogether, "*as the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation*

of human integrity in any time or country."¹ As soon as Fox sat down, Burke, who in the preceding month of November had published his celebrated *Reflections on the Revolution of France*, excessively agitated, rose to give vent to feelings which almost seemed to suffocate him. But it was already three hours after midnight, the house was anxious to adjourn, and the cry of "Question, question," becoming general, Burke unwillingly gave way to the division which took place immediately afterwards. Fox afterwards regretted that Burke had not been suffered to answer him then and there. The contention, he said, might have been fiercer and hotter, but the remembrance of it would not have settled so deep, nor rankled so long in the heart. Burke, who had never forgiven Sheridan for his flippancy on this awful subject during the last parliament, who had already plainly declared that he would separate from the dearest friends he possessed, if they gave countenance to French revolutionary doctrines, and who said that this must be a contest fought and decided hand to hand, and foot to foot, was not likely to be reconciled to men who, after all, were only a part of the party to which he belonged; and the part, on the whole, inferior in number, rank, wealth, and consideration to the other portion of the Whigs, who thought no better of the new French democracy than he himself did.

On the very next morning, the 16th of April, a very general alarm, or rather a certainty, of discord and final disseverance was spread through the Whig ranks; several conciliatory explanations were offered to Burke, together with some apologies, while many of the opposition who agreed with Fox condemned him for hastily and imprudently expressing opinions which were not called for, and had not been provoked by Burke, who had agreed with the party to avoid the topic in the House of Commons, unless it were absolutely forced upon him. It is said, however, that these gentlemen had urged Fox into the imprudence of which they now accused him, and that two or three of the number had taunted him with being deficient in firmness—for not doing earlier what he had done on the night of the 15th. But even the leaders of the Whig division who shared Burke's sentiments as to the revolution, and who regarded the enthusiastic and eloquent book he had written as a text-book of political wisdom, were most anxious to avoid

¹ *Burke's Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*—In the *Public Advertiser* of the 18th of April, Fox's concluding words are given thus: "With regard to the change of system that had taken place in the French constitution, Mr. Fox said there were different opinions entertained by different men. He for one admired the new constitution, considered altogether, as the most glorious fabric ever raised by human integrity since the creation of man."

a quarrel that must break up and keep the Whig party for many a year in the background, and without a hope of coming into power.¹ The Duke of Portland, the nominal head of all the Whigs, and most of Burke's personal friends and connections, advised him to pass over the challenges of Sheridan and Fox, and to continue to be silent in the house as to their offensive declarations of opinion. If Burke had taken this advice, and attempted to follow this silent course, he would assuredly have failed, and have been accused of a breach of agreement by many of his party; for the impetuosity of his feelings, which age had not cooled, nor experience or long trials put under control, would have carried him away, and thunder and lightning, wind and rain, must inevitably have followed any pertness of Sheridan, any imprudence of Fox, or any notes of exultation about the revolution from the mocking-birds of those two orators. But Burke would not engage to give any such promise or to pursue any such course. He declared that these were times that admitted of no such blinking of principles; that the opinions of a man like Fox might have great weight in the country, and that therefore they ought not to be permitted to go abroad unrefuted and uncontradicted. He said that he stood pledged to the house and to the country upon this subject more than any other member in it; that it would look like political cowardice to shrink from the contest; that he had risen to speak, and had been interrupted, more by the friends of Mr. Fox than by any other part of the house; but that he would speak yet, and discharge what he considered his solemn duty to the public. He had been already told that the adherents of Mr. Fox were determined to interrupt him whenever he should attempt to offer any remarks on French affairs; but this vulgar and unjustifiable resolution of theirs only made Burke the more resolute. He continued to speak kindly and honouringly of Fox, but the asperities of his temper showed themselves whenever he had occasion to mention his inferior adherents.

Those inferior spirits too became very rash and noisy. The very next night one of them, and the most busy and talkative of them all,

Michael Angelo Taylor, in the course of a speech in the house in a debate on the Quebec government bill, complained that gentlemen were now constantly introducing extraneous matter into debate; wandering from the subjects under discussion to introduce general principles of government, and to talk about the constitutions of other countries with which we had nothing to do; and he declared therefore, if he found the minister, or any other right honourable gentleman, wandering hereafter from the strict discussion of the matter before the house, he would call him to order and take the sense of the house upon it. Burke, and all present, knew that little Michael Angelo, by the "any other right honourable gentleman," meant himself, but he took no notice of his bluster. The thing, however, was irritating; and, when Fox rose to speak, his tone and manner were little calculated to allay Burke's irritability, or to soothe the apprehensions and fears which had been gathering for months round his heart's core—apprehensions that England might be driven into an imitation of the French revolution. Fox said that he had himself, perhaps, been guilty of digressions from the matters before the house, and of recurring too often to the general principles of all governments; that, perhaps, during the present session he had alluded too often to the French revolution; that he had also spoken much about the republican government of the United States of America, because those states were in the vicinity of Canada, for which the house was now legislating. He acknowledged that he had uttered one silly levity, not worth recollecting—he meant an allusion to the happy extinction of nobility in France, and its forced revival by us in Canada. [This silly levity, as he called it, was contained in the expression he had used in a previous debate on the Quebec bill, "that nobility stunk in the nostrils of the people of America."] But he would avow that he was not in the habit of concealing his opinions; that he retracted nothing which he had hitherto advanced; and that, though, from the high respect he entertained for some of his friends, he should be sorry to differ with them, he would nevertheless continue to deliver his opinions fearlessly. Old Mr. Powys hinted that Fox would do a great deal better if he followed the example of Mr. Burke, and wrote a book about the French revolution, instead of being eternally speaking about it in that house. This hint could scarcely have been palatable to the gentleman to whom it was addressed; for the accomplished Charles James, though so fluent and quick with his tongue, was slow at the pen, and, notwithstanding his high merits, his genius as an orator, he never wrote anything beyond a few state papers, that ascends much higher than

¹ It has been stated, however, that at this moment some prospect had opened of a Whig restoration. "Only a few days before, Fox himself had told Burke that there was a hope of the Whigs coming into office; for that the king had said at the levee, that if the government could not be properly conducted by Mr. W. Pitt, it might be done by others, as he was not wedded to Mr. W. Pitt."—Prior, *Life of Burke*. This seems to us very slight ground for believing that George III. really intended changing his ministers; and we think it scarcely necessary to Burke's honour and fame to insist upon a doubtful fact, though we thoroughly believe that Burke would have acted just as he did if he had been sure of being himself Whig prime minister on the morrow.

mediocrity. Burke then rose, and in a very affecting manner assured the house that nothing depressed him more—nothing had ever more affected him in body and mind—than the thought of meeting his friend as an adversary and antagonist. After a cool and sneering allusion to Michael Angelo Taylor and his threat, he observed that, in framing a new constitution for Quebec, it was not unnecessary to refer to general principles of government and examples of other constitutions, made or making, inasmuch as a material part of every political question was to see to what extent certain principles had been adopted, and how they had succeeded in other countries. He presumed that his opinions on government were not unknown, as gentlemen had lately become fond of quoting him in that house. He would, however, now say that, the more he considered the French constitution, the more sorry he was to see it viewed with any degree of favour. Once in the preceding session he had thought himself under the necessity of speaking out; but since that time he had never mentioned it in the house either directly or indirectly; no man therefore could charge him with having provoked the conversation that had passed. He acquitted his right honourable friend (Fox) of any personal offence to himself in the interruption he had lately received in attempting to answer his panegyric on France. Should he and his friend differ, he desired it to be remembered that, however dear he considered his friendship, there was something still dearer in his mind—the love of his country. This was surely far more moderation than might have been expected, if we consider Burke's natural impetuosity of temper, the life-and-soul earnestness with which he pressed every important measure that he touched, and the repeated provocations he had received from a set of men who had at last come to the desperate resolution of attempting to drown his voice whenever he should express opinions contrary to their own on the French revolution. This last resolution, by the way, was quite worthy of that great object of these gentlemen's idolatry—the national assembly itself. There the same kind of thing had been a most constant and successful practice; but in England there was no hope for it. The Foxite journals, however, continued to recommend the practice, continued to heap abuse upon Burke and upon his book. It was impossible that the quarrel should remain where it was—that the schism should not be completed. If Burke could have been capable of despising the bitter attacks on himself and his writings, he could never have tolerated the continued plaudits bestowed upon the revolution.

There was an adjournment for the Easter holidays. III.

days. When the house re-assembled, on the 6th of May, Burke immediately rose, resolute to declare his opinions concerning the revolution in France and the doctrines maintained by the advocates of that revolution here. He stigmatized those doctrines, and held up as a warning the horrible consequences which had resulted, and which would yet result from them in France. As the house was about to appoint a legislature for a distant people, it ought to establish its competency to the assumption of such a right. A body of rights, he said, commonly called the "rights of man," had been lately imported, and held up by certain persons in this kingdom as paramount to all other rights. A principal article in this new code was, "that all men are born free, equal in respect of rights, and continue so in society." If such a doctrine were to be admitted, the power of the house could extend no farther than to call together the inhabitants of Canada, and recommend to them the free choice of a government for themselves. But he rather chose to argue from another code, on which mankind had hitherto acted—the law of nations. As for the Americans, he really believed that they had formed a constitution for themselves well adapted to their peculiar circumstances. They had, in some degree, received a republican education, as their old state governments partly partook of republicanism. The formation of their present constitution was preceded by a long war, in the course of which they had learned order, submission to command, and a regard for great men. They trained themselves to government by war, not by plots, murders, and assassinations. There was another circumstance of considerable weight: the Americans had never among them even the materials of monarchy and old aristocracy. Yet were they too wise to set up so absurd an idea as that the nation should govern the nation. On the contrary, they formed a constitution as monarchical and aristocratical as their situation would permit—they formed one upon the admirable model of the British constitution. But were the French Canadians to receive from us a copy of this new constitution of France?—a constitution founded upon principles diametrically opposite to our own, as different from it as folly from wisdom, as vice from virtue; a constitution founded on what were called the rights of man! The authors of it told us, and their partizans, the political societies in England, had told us, that it was a great monument erected for the instruction of mankind. This was certainly done with a view to our imitating it. But before we gave it to our colonies we should do well to consider what would be the practical consequences of such a step; to consider what had already been the effects of Parisian politics on the French West

India colonies. The mode of reasoning from effects to causes was the old-fashioned way. Continuing his speech, Burke described the deplorable condition of France itself. The national assembly had made loud boasts, and their boasts had been echoed in this country by the Unitarians and by the clubs, by the Revolution Society, the Constitutional Society, and a newer club called the Club of the 14th of July. Yet what had the national assembly really done? They had been nearly two years in possession of the absolute authority which they usurped; yet they did not appear to have advanced a single step in settling anything like a government, contenting themselves with enjoying the democratic satisfaction of heaping every disgrace on fallen royalty. They had a king such as they wished, a king who was no king, over whom the Marquis de la Fayette, chief jailer of Paris, mounted guard. Lately the royal prisoner, having wished to taste the freshness of the country air, had obtained a day-rule to take a journey of about five miles from Paris. But scarcely had he left the city before his suspicious governors, recollecting that a temporary release from confinement might afford him the means of escape, sent a tumultuous rabble after him, who, surrounding his carriage, commanded him to stop, while one of the grenadiers of his faithful and loyal body-guard presented a bayonet to the breast of the fore-horse, and— . . . Here Burke was called to order by that very determined Foxite, Mr. Baker. Great confusion ensued, and not a little time was wasted in violent and fruitless altercation. Fox himself rose and said that he conceived his right honourable friend (Burke) could hardly be said to be out of order. It seemed to him that this was a day of privilege, upon which any gentleman might abuse any government he chose, whether it had any reference or not to the question under debate. Nobody had said a word about the French revolution; and yet his right honourable friend had risen up and abused that event. He might have treated the government of the Great Mogul, or that of China or Turkey, or the laws of Confucius, precisely in the same manner, and with equal appositeness to the question before the house. Every gentleman had that day a right to abuse the government of every country as much as he pleased, and in as gross terms as he thought proper—to abuse any government, either ancient or modern, with his right honourable friend. Burke attempted to explain why he thought that he was in order, and that Baker had been guilty of indecorum and parliamentary disorder in interrupting him as he had done; but there was so loud a roar of voices from the opposition side of the house that he could not make himself heard, and, after several at-

tempts, he sat down. Then Lord Sheffield, the friend of Gibbon, but who did not yet share the historian's horror of democracy and Jacobinism, rose and moved, "That dissertations on the French constitution, and to read a narrative of transactions in France, are not regular or orderly on the question before the house." Fox himself instantly seconded the motion. Pitt then rose and said that he should be glad of anything that would reduce the debate to something like order; that the question of order and the question of discretion were two different things; and that, not conceiving that the right honourable gentleman (Burke) had been disorderly, he should certainly give his negative to the motion.

Fox then rose again, saying that he was sincerely sorry to feel that he must support the motion, as his right honourable friend, in his opinion, had been most irregular and disorderly. Instead of debating the principle of the Quebec bill, his friend had only come down to strengthen misrepresentations of what he (Fox) had said in a previous debate. The course which his right honourable friend had chosen to take was that which seemed to confirm the insinuation urged in a former debate, that he (Fox) maintained republican principles as applicable to the British constitution. No such argument had ever been urged by him, nor any from which such an inference was fairly deducible. On the French revolution he did, indeed, differ from his right honourable friend. Their opinions, he had no scruple to say, were wide as the poles asunder! But what had a difference of opinion on that, which to the house was only matter of theoretical contemplation, to do with the discussion of a practical point on which no such difference existed? On the French revolution he adhered to his opinion, and never would retract one syllable of what he had said. He repeated that he thought it, on the whole, one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind; but he meant to praise the revolution only, and not the present French constitution, which required to be improved by experience and accommodated to circumstances. At all events, the arbitrary system of government was done away, and the new system had the good of the people for its object, and this was the point on which he rested. He had no concealment in any of his opinions, but he did not choose to be catechised respecting his political creed, and respecting opinions on which the house was neither going to act, nor was called upon to act at all. He then drew an odious and stinging comparison or parallel between Dundas and Burke, as if he believed that Burke had made a regular bargain with Pitt, and was about joining him, as Dundas had done in 1783. He had once, he said, been thus catechised by a

right honourable gentleman (Dundas); yet the catechiser on that occasion had soon after joined another ministry to support the very measures he then deprecated. Nothing could be more bitter than this, and there was no misunderstanding the allusion or the inference. Returning to the great cause of difference, he said, were he to differ from his right honourable friend on points of history, on the constitution of Athens or of Rome, was it necessary that the difference should be discussed in that house? Were he to praise the conduct of the elder Brutus, and to say that the expulsion of the Tarquins was a noble and patriotic act, would it thence be fair to argue that he meditated the establishment of a consular government in this country? Were he to repeat the eulogium of Cicero on the taking off of Cæsar, would it thence be deducible that he went with a knife about him for the purpose of killing some great man or orator? Let those who said that to admire was to imitate, show that there was some similarity of circumstances. It lay on his right honourable friend to show that this country was in the precise situation of France at the time when the revolution began, before he had a right to meet his argument; and then, with all the obloquy that might be heaped on such a declaration, he would be ready to say that the French revolution was an object of imitation for this country. He then spoke contemptuously of Burke's book on the subject, which, though so recently published, was already circulated to an unprecedented extent, and producing daily more conversions than Burke could have expected, or than the enthusiastic admirers of the revolution could brook. He said, as plainly as words could say it, that Burke, who had taken infinite pains to inform himself of every particular, had written in haste and in ignorance of the great subject. He had hinted something of the same sort in the house before now; and his newspaper champions, his pamphleteers and essayists—with one or two exceptions, a most ignorant, ill-informed, incompetent crew—had been repeating this piece of criticism, and accusing the admirably informed Burke of gross ignorance. The words Fox now used were—"He had been warned by high and most respectable authority, that minute discussion of great events, *without information*, did no honour to the pen that wrote or the tongue that spoke the words." And this was followed by an insolent sneer. If, he said, the committee should decide that his right honourable friend should be permitted to pursue his arguments on the French constitution, he would quit the house; and, if some friend would send him word when the real clauses of the Quebec bill were to be discussed, he would then return and debate them. After all these insults, there seemed a hollowness and

insincerity when he returned, perhaps for the mere sake of consistency, to the tone of compliment and laudation. He said, when the proper period arrived for discussing French subjects, feeble as his powers were, compared with those of his right honourable friend, whom he must call his master, for he had taught him everything he knew in politics—as he had declared on a former occasion, and he meant no compliment when he said it—yet, feeble as his powers comparatively were, he should be ready to maintain the principles he had asserted, even against his right honourable friend's superior eloquence. He would be ready to maintain that the rights of man, which his right honourable friend had ridiculed as chimerical and visionary, were, in fact, the basis and foundation of every rational constitution. He next proceeded to compare the French revolution with the American, and to contrast Burke's conduct on this and on that occasion. Here, perhaps, the party that had most reason to complain was George Washington, for being put on a level with La Fayette and men like him. Fox said, during the American war he and his friend had rejoiced together at the successes of a Washington, and sympathized almost in tears for the fate of a Montgomery. From his right honourable friend he had learned that the revolt of a whole people must have been provoked. Such had at that time been the doctrine of his friend, who had said that he could not draw a bill of indictment against a whole people. But now he was sorry to find that his right honourable friend had learned to draw such a bill of indictment, and to crowd it with all the technical epithets which disgraced our statute-book; such as false, malicious, wicked, by the instigation of the devil, not having the fear of God before your eyes, and so forth. He concluded by saying that he had said more than he had intended, possibly much more than was either wise or proper; but if his sentiments could serve the ministerial side of the house, which had encouraged the discussion, apparently, in order to get at them, they had acted unnecessarily, for they might know him and his sentiments on every subject, without forcing on anything like a difference between him and his right honourable friend; and that now, having heard them, they might act upon them as they thought proper.

Here Burke rose, and commenced his reply in a grave and governed tone, observing that, although he himself had been repeatedly called to order and interrupted, he had nevertheless heard his right honourable friend with perfect composure, and without attempting the least interruption. Yet that speech, to which he was to reply, was perhaps one of the most disorderly ever

delivered in that house. His public conduct, words, and writings had not only been misrepresented and arraigned in the severest terms, but confidential conversations had been unfairly brought forward for the purpose of proving his political inconsistency. Such were the instances of kindness he had just received from one whom he always considered as his warmest friend, but who, after an intimacy of more than two and twenty years, had at last thought proper to commence a personal attack upon him. He could not conceive that the manner in which he had been accused of having written and spoken without information, and without the support of facts, manifested any great degree of tenderness towards him. On the subject, however, of the French revolution, uninformed as he might be supposed to be, he had not the least objection to meet that right honourable gentleman hand to hand, and foot to foot, in a fair and temperate discussion. But this, it seemed, was not the principal ground of quarrel; he was accused of attempting to bring forward a discussion of French principles, in order to fix a stigma upon certain republican opinions, which the right honourable gentleman was said to have advanced in a former debate. This charge he denied in the most positive terms. He added the startling fact that Fox himself was no stranger to his intention of introducing the subject of the French revolution in this night's debate. He said he had, previously to the last conversation in the house on the Quebec bill, opened to the right honourable gentleman very fully and particularly the plan of the speech in which he had that evening been interrupted; he had explained how far he had intended to go, what limits he meant to impose upon himself. This he had done at his own house, from whence they had walked down together to that house, conversing upon the subject the whole way. The right honourable gentleman had then indeed disagreed with him in opinion, but had entered into no quarrel with him; on the contrary, he had rather treated him with confidence, mentioning some private circumstances of a political complexion to which, notwithstanding what had since happened, he felt no inclination to allude. After these private explanations Burke said he felt it to be an imperative duty to speak upon French affairs, and to point out the danger of extolling upon all occasions that preposterous edifice the French constitution. The right honourable gentleman had himself termed it "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country." There was a secondary motive, of a more personal nature, which had indeed some little influence over him. He had been accused both of writing and speak-

ing of the late proceedings in France rashly, unadvisedly, ignorantly, wantonly. He was certainly anxious to refute this charge; but at the very moment when he was about to produce facts in corroboration of his assertions, blended with private information and respectable authorities, he had been stopped in that house in the most unfair and disorderly manner. If they had permitted him to have continued his speech, he would have shown that the issue of all that had been done and was doing in France could never serve the cause of liberty, but would inevitably tend to promote tyranny, oppression, injustice, and anarchy. But what principally weighed with him, and determined him in his present conduct, was the danger that threatened our own government from practices already notorious to all the world. Were there not political clubs in every quarter, meeting and voting resolutions of an alarming tendency? Did they not correspond, not only with each other in every part of the kingdom, but with foreign countries? Were there not Socinian, Unitarian, and other dissenting preachers, preaching from their pulpits doctrines which were dangerous, and celebrating at their anniversary meetings proceedings incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution? Did they not everywhere circulate, at a great expense, the most infamous libels on that constitution? He apprehended no immediate danger; at present we had a king in full power, possessed of all his functions, ministers responsible for their conduct, a country blessed with an opposition of great strength, a common people that seemed to be united with the gentlemen; yet, nevertheless, there was cause for circumspection, for in France there were 300,000 men up in arms, who, at a favourable opportunity, might be happy to intermeddle; and besides, some season of scarcity and tumult might arrive, when the greatest danger was to be dreaded from a class of people who might now be termed low intriguers and contemptible clubbists. He again adverted to the unkindness with which he had been treated by an old associate, who had ripped up the whole course and tenor of his public and private life. The right honourable gentleman, after fatiguing him with skirmishes of order, which were wonderfully managed by the light infantry of his party, then brought down upon him the whole strength and heavy artillery of his own judgment, eloquence, and abilities. In carrying on the attack against him, the right honourable gentleman had been supported by a corps of well-disciplined troops, expert in their manœuvres, and obedient to the word of their commander! Here Mr. Grey called him to order, saying that it was disorderly to mention gentlemen in that way, and to ascribe improper motives for what

they chose to do in the house. It has been believed that a little incident which had occurred a few minutes before led to Burke's remarks on the docility of a part of the Whig camp, and thence to Mr. Grey's call to order. Fox, it will be remembered, had declared he would leave the house if Burke were permitted to continue his discourse on French affairs. While Burke was speaking, Fox quitted his seat and went towards the lobby. He was only going to get some refreshment to strengthen his inward man; but his party thought he was going to carry his threat into execution, and quit the house altogether; and from twenty to thirty of his more immediate friends rose, following their portly leader, and vanished with him. After Grey's interruption, Burke, much agitated, proceeded to remark, that this was not the first time that there had been a difference of opinion between Fox and himself; that he had, indeed, frequently differed with that gentleman, particularly on the subjects of parliamentary reform, of the dissenters' bill, and of the royal marriage act; but that no one difference of opinion had ever before, for a single moment, interrupted their friendship. He alluded to his long services and his gray hairs, and said, it certainly was indiscreet at his time of life to provoke enemies, or give his friends occasion to desert him; yet, if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a dilemma, he would risk all, and, as public duty required, with his last breath exclaim, "FLEE FROM THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION!" Here Fox, who had returned from the coffee-room to his seat, whispered that there was, that there could be no loss of friendship between them. But Burke replied, Yes, there was! He knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty at the price of his friend—their friendship was at an end!

On the 8th of April a finance committee was appointed to consider and report the amount of the public income and expenditure, during the last five years, or since 1786, when a select committee had reported on the subject. The present committee gave in the annual income at £16,030,285, and the expenditure, including the £1,000,000 for liquidating the national debt, at £15,969,178, which left an excess of the income over the expenditure of £61,107. On the 18th of May the chancellor of the exchequer, in his account of the state of the finances, referred to this report. Sheridan triumphantly remarked that the report showed the fallacy of the estimate of future expenses which had been made by the committee of 1786. Pitt replied, that the increase of the expenditure had arisen chiefly from incidental charges, and circumstances which it was impossible the committee of 1786 should

have foreseen. Nevertheless, Sheridan, on the 3d of June, moved no fewer than *forty* resolutions, calculated to discredit the management of the finances, and to show how much better care he (Sheridan) could have taken of the public money. Of this tedious series the greater number were rejected altogether, and others were amended according to data laid down by the minister and his friends, and more particularly by Mr. George Rose, now one of Pitt's closest friends. Not satisfied with rejecting or amending all Sheridan's handiwork, the ministerialists brought forward sixteen resolutions of their own, which all went to prove that the finances had never been so well managed before, and that there was every prospect of keeping the expenditure far within the limits of the income, and of reducing the national debt at the same time. A wild dream this, indeed, to be entertained on the very brink of the French revolutionary war! In the House of Lords a committee for inquiring into the state of the finances had been moved for by Lord Rawdon, on the 30th of March; it had been opposed by Lord Grenville as altogether unnecessary, since a committee was to be appointed in the House of Commons; and the motion had been negatived by fifty-five against twenty-three. On the 24th of May, Dundas laid a very flattering account of the state of the finances in India before the commons, making it appear that the revenues there, amounting in all to £7,000,000 sterling, after defraying all expenses, left a clear surplus of nearly £1,500,000 per annum. On the 10th of June parliament was prorogued by the king in person. His majesty's speech contained nothing noticeable except the avowal that he was not as yet enabled to inform them of the result of the steps which had been taken with a view to the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte.

With all his wisdom and rightness of attention, Burke, as we have already hinted, had put a good deal of his excessive enthusiasm and heat in his book upon the French revolution, and had carried out some of his conservative principles to a length which justified some cavil from the friends of liberty, and even from such of them as might think as ill of the phenomenon, and deprecate as much any imitation of it, as he did himself. His heat and violence might have excited violence and heat in his opponents, although it may be doubted whether any such provocation were required by a most excitable and excited class of politicians, who, from the beginning, had fallen down upon their knees to worship the revolution, and who seemed determined never to get up again so as to look it in the face or examine its real complexion. We have alluded to the fierce war carried on by the newspapers

against the *Reflections*; but, in addition to these light troops, heavier troops took the field under the form of volumes of all sizes and pamphlets of the most truculent description. Nearly every one of these combatants declared that Burke's book was a flimsy piece of rhetoric and fine writing, which the simplest logician might tear to pieces; but the tumultuous numbers in which they took the field, and the fierceness with which they all gathered round this single isolated foe, seemed to tell a very different story. The most noted of the combatants were the late Sir James Mackintosh, Thomas Paine, and Dr. Priestley.

Mackintosh was at that time a very young and inexperienced man—with a profession and fortune all to seek—with a strong turn for political inquiries and speculations, with a good deal of enthusiasm, such as most young men worth anything possess, for abstract notions of liberty and the perfectibility of man through improved governments and institutions. His *Vindicia Gallica*, or defence of the French revolution, was published in the month of April, while parliament was sitting, and was distinguished amidst a rabble-roust by the beauty of its language, the happiness of its illustrations, and its gentlemanly tone. It immediately made its amiable author famous; he was applauded and courted by all the Whigs that shared the sentiments of Fox; and his essay was quoted by them in parliament and at public meetings. Burke himself was struck with some beauties in the work, and probably discovered that a little time and a little more study and experience (for Mackintosh was deficient in both these) would correct what was wrong in principle, and soften what was extravagant in expression: he had no insult to complain of; for Mackintosh, instead of treating him as Thomas Paine, Priestley, and so many others did, as an apostate, a renegade, and scoundrel, spoke of his character and motives with respect, and of his genius and elegance with a most fervent admiration. What Burke seems to have foreseen and to have calculated upon, from the right-heartedness that was in this young writer, speedily came to pass; the massacres of September, and the other atrocities that so crowded upon one another in Paris, soon disenchanted Mackintosh of the French and their bloody experiment. He began, in various essays (which chiefly appeared in the *Monthly Review*), to retract some of the boldest assertions he had made in the *Vindicia Gallica*; and at the close of that great man's life, he entered into a correspondence with Burke, which would have ripened into a friendship, if Burke's heart had not been broken, and his hours numbered.¹ In a short time longer Mackintosh's recantation became

much broader, increasing exactly in proportion with his experience and calm study; and he was ready to declare "democracy the most monstrous of all governments, because it is impossible at once to act and to control; and consequently, the sovereign power in such a constitution must be left without any check whatsoever." If he had been cooler, or better informed of what was really passing, the progress of the French revolution, which was utterly hopeless in April, 1791, ought to have carried this conviction to his mind before he wrote the *Vindicia Gallica*; but, like so many other men of far maturer years, he had indulged the hope that the revolution would correct its own vices. At the short peace of Amiens, in 1803, when Mackintosh paid a visit to Paris, he found that his book was better known than he then wished it to be, and that his recantation was not known at all. To some Frenchmen who complimented him on his *Vindicia Gallica*, as the best defence of their revolution, he replied—"Gentlemen, you have so completely refuted my arguments!—*Messieurs, vous m'avez si bien réfuté!*"

A very different assailant was that incurable democrat Thomas Paine, whose coarseness and violence had been materially increased by his residence in Paris, by his frequenting the galleries of the assembly, and the hall of the Jacobins, and by the French citizenship which had been conferred, or was about to be conferred upon him. The man had become almost as rabid as Marat. He exhausted his knowledge of the English language in finding terms of opprobrium and reproach to heap upon Burke, although, in the course of his peripatetic, discontented, comfortless existence, he had tasted largely of the elegant hospitality of Beaconsfield, and had received many favours which a better man would never have forgotten, even in the rage of controversy and the madness of liberty and equality. Starting with the proposition that the cause of the French people was that of all Europe, or rather that of the whole world, and that nothing was wanted to make a heaven upon earth but an immediate and universal imitation of the French revolution, Paine accused Burke of high treason against human nature for attempting to check its progress and repudiate its principles. The motives, he said, were as base as the design was atrocious; for Burke had received, or was to receive a pension from the liberty-hating court of England for his book, and for his equally abominable speeches in parliament. Because Burke had taken the most liberal side on the question of the American revolution, which resembled the French one scarcely more than water resembles blood, Paine held that he was bound to support every revolution or insurrection against kings

¹ See letter written in December, 1796, as given in the *Life of Sir James Mackintosh*, by his son.

and priests and nobles that any people might choose to make, and that his not supporting the French revolution proved him to be the meanest of turncoats, the blackest of apostates. He also held that Burke, the man most filled with knowledge of any of his time, was labouring to stop the progress of knowledge, to restore the darkness and barbarity of the feudal ages, to reduce the people of England to the condition of serfs, to the state of beasts, "to eat straw, as in Hanover or in Brunswick." He compared Burke most disadvantageously with La Fayette. "How dry, barren, and obscure," said he, "is the source from which Mr. Burke labours! And how ineffectual, though gay with flowers, are all his declamation and his argument, compared with the clear, concise, and soul-animating sentiments of the Marquis de la Fayette!" Like the vast majority of the great man's assailants, this half-educated, vulgar-minded writer accused Burke of ignorance and incompetence, of a total want of the higher reasoning faculties, and, in short, of being capable of nothing but an inflated, over-ornamented rhetoric. He was quite sure that Burke had no idea of principles in contemplating governments. In describing with an undying eloquence, and in words that are engraven on every heart, the fate of the fair Marie Antoinette, Burke had deplored that the age of chivalry was gone. Paine taxed this as being very ridiculous, saying—"When we see a man dramatically lamenting, in a publication intended to be believed, that the *age of chivalry is gone!* that the *glory of Europe is extinguished for ever!* that the *unbought grace of life*, if any one knows what it is, the *cheap defence of nations*, the *nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise*, is gone! and all this because the Quixote age of chivalry nonsense is gone—what opinion can we form of his judgment, or what regard can we pay to his facts? In the rhapsody of his imagination, he has discovered a world of windmills; and his sorrows are, that there are no Quixotes to attack them. But if the age of aristocracy, like that of chivalry, should fall—and they had originally some connection—Mr. Burke, the trumpeter of the order, may continue his parody to the end, and finish with exclaiming, 'Othello's occupation's gone!'"

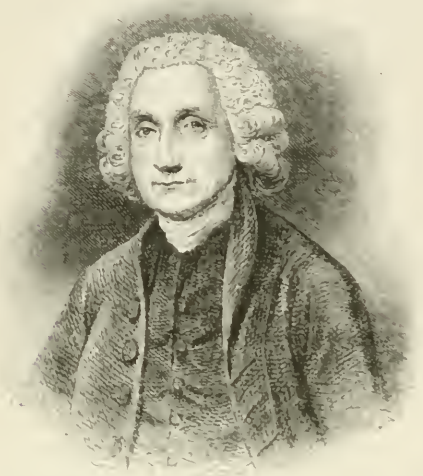
The republican party in England—if we can call by that, or by any other fixed name, a confusion of theorists, disaffected sectarians, disappointed Whigs, and discontented murmurers—considered this rude and crude piece of reasoning as a master-piece of human intelligence and genius, and as a complete refutation of the sophistry and all other parts of the *Reflections*; and such of them as could meet at public dinners were accustomed to drink the toast—"Thanks to Mr. Burke for the discussion he has produced!"

Fox himself, it is said, was loud in his applause of Thomas Paine and his *Rights of Man*. Other individuals, who would have had still more to lose than Fox and the noble family to which he belonged by any practical illustrations of Paine's French theories, not only perused the book with ecstasies of delight, but contributed to get up cheap editions of it, and to scatter it over the country, as if to teach the people of England the way they ought to go—as if to invite them to cut the throats of their patriotic instructors, and make an equal division of the land and of all that was upon it. But the book itself, without any such high patronage, and without the recommendation of societies and clubs that boasted of lords for their presidents and members of parliament for their vice-presidents, seemed well fitted to make its own way among the uninformed and less fortunate classes of society. It appealed directly to their passions and their supposed interests; it was, in good part, written with very considerable power; its arguments seemed as clear and simple as the first rule in arithmetic, and its coarseness was but a recommendation the more to coarse and vulgar minds. The wonder is that it did not produce more impression than it did; and particularly as some of the correctives adopted by government were injudicious in the extreme, and calculated—as all petty persecutions are—to promote rather than check the evil. Mackintosh's *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* had not been half so well suited to the vulgar taste, and, though it ran through several editions, its circulation was far inferior to that of the *Rights of Man*. But the *Reflections* carried along with them the vast majority of the better educated classes, and they certainly contained a pabulum more suited to English natures in general, at that time, than the foreign nutriment. The real disciples of Paine, either among the poorer orders or the middle classes, were at no time very numerous.¹

Joseph Priestley, who, like Dr. Price and some other preachers of that class, waged the controversy not merely through the press but also from the pulpit, was a Socinian or Unitarian minister settled in the manufacturing town of Birmingham. His best fame depended then, and will ever depend, on his devotedness to natural philosophy,

¹ Burke himself has given what we consider a true and correct character of Paine and his book:—"He is utterly incapable of comprehending his subject. He has not even a moderate portion of learning of any kind. He has learned the *instrumental* part of literature—a *style* and a method of disposing of his ideas—without having ever made a previous preparation of study, or thinking, for the use of it. *Junius*, and other sharply penned libels of our time, have furnished a stock to the adventurer in composition, which gives what they write an air (and but an air) of art and skill; but as to the rest, Paine possesses nothing more than what a man whose audacity makes him careless of logical consequences, and his total want of honour makes indifferent to political consequences, can very easily write."—*Letter to Sir William Smith*.

and on the experiments and discoveries he made in it. When the world shall have forgotten the bold sectarian, who was far from being disposed to grant that toleration to others which he claimed for himself and for his infinitesimal sect, and the rash and somewhat unscrupulous politician, they



DR. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.—From a print by Holloway, after Artaud.

will remember with respect and admiration the experimentalist—the chemist that unlocked some of the secrets of nature, and opened the way to great and important discoveries. In treating of a season that was fiery hot, and when all classes, or nearly all classes of politicians and writers seemed to lose the best of our national attributes, calmness and moderation, we would, with all our heart, endeavour to preserve the balance of the strictest impartiality, and we trust it is alien to our nature to carp at, or lightly to disparage a man of science and genius. But, after a perusal of some of his writings, polemical and political (few ever look into them now or know the spirit that is in them), we are forced to the conclusion that Priestley, even before this violent and exciting season, had proved himself a dogmatic controversialist, an intemperate disputant, and a man that would risk the peace of society for a dogma of his own, or for the insane purpose of enforcing the speculative opinions of his almost invisible minority upon the majority. Horace Walpole said of him that he wanted a Papal power; and the wit is scarcely too severe. In his controversy with Gibbon, the historian, who, whatever he was besides, was a good-natured person and a gentleman, Priestley conducted himself in a manner to disprove his claim to be either one or the other. In his polemical discussions, even with his friend Dr. Price, he was neither gentle nor charitable;

and no Pope of Rome could have spoken more contemptuously of other churches or faiths than he wrote and habitually spoke of the Church of England, and of all sects or modifications of sects that differed from his own, which was in good part a sect of his own making, and of which he was, in very truth, the pontifex maximus. His disciples describe him as “the grand restorer of the ancient Unitarian system, maintained at the era of the Reformation by Socinus and other learned men of the Polish or Cracovian school,” and as the vindicator of “the genuine, unadulterated doctrine of primitive Christianity.” He regarded all civil establishments of Christianity, and all connections between church and state, as crying abuses and barriers to the propagation of truth—by which truth, to apply Horne Tooke’s analysis of the word, he meant simply what he, Dr. Joseph Priestley, trowed. But at various periods of his life he had trowed or believed in very different manners, reversing the ordinary process, and believing less and less as he grew in years; and the great and rapid transitions in his own creed ought to have moderated his zeal in enforcing his present belief or conviction upon others. He had lately held a long and terrible controversy with Dr. Horsley, who had been provoked by one of his many publications, and had taken the field as a champion of the Established church, and with far more heat than was decorous, although assuredly Priestley had no right to reproach him on that account. In the month of January of the present year, 1791, Priestley declared to his friend Dr. Price, who, he says reproachfully, had meddled but little with the Established church, that he “had long since drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, and was very easy about the consequences.”¹

This surely was not language becoming the apostle of primitive Christianity: this sentiment was even adverse to toleration, and the first principle and foundation of the gospel of Christ, teaching love unto all men, and even unto foes. It were magnanimous, it were wiser and better, for men to act otherwise; but in these matters, when a preacher and teacher of doctrines odious to the vast majority hoists the black flag and cries no quarter, he must expect at the very least some hard knocks. Priestley must have foreseen the consequences, though perhaps not their full extent, when he boasted that he was so easy about them. He had contrived before this, by expressing doubts concerning the immateriality of the sentient principle in man, to obtain the reputation of an unbeliever in revelation.² Like Price,

¹ Letter from Birmingham, dated January 27, 1791.

² This was by and through his “Introductory Dissertation” to Hartley’s *Observations on Man*, published in 1775. Matters were not much mended by his later publications. In 1782 Le

he took the earliest opportunity of exulting in the French revolution, and he did not abate a jot of his admiration with the progress of the phenomenon. At a moment when the excitement was at the highest, he published his "Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, in refutation of several Charges advanced against the Dissenters and Unitarians by the Rev. Mr. Madan," in which his ironical style gave great offence even to the populace, who were very loyal and very orthodox.¹ The personal popularity of George III. had kept on the increase throughout the kingdom; and, taking the great body of the people, there probably never was a time when England was in so high a royalist humour as at the beginning of the French revolution. Events and circumstances, not unassisted by exertions purposely made, gave somewhat of fanaticism to this feeling; but, after all, the feeling was as pure and quite as rational as the contemporary fanaticism of liberty and equality. Long before the excitement of politics was superadded to the excitement of religious controversy, Priestley had become exceedingly obnoxious to the Birmingham people. The French Academy of Sciences had paid a very proper compliment to the scientific merits of Priestley in electing him an honorary member of their body; and he maintained a correspondence with several of those men of science and literature who had put themselves foremost in the revolution, and who were labouring to bring about a republic without that titular king which as yet they retained. Other incentives, besides his own strong political sympathies, were not wanting to set the ready pen of Priestley agoing against the *Reflections*. Besides some strong things said in parliament against Price, Kippis, Towers, and other dissenting ministers, including Priestley himself, who had made such use of "the pulpit, drum ecclesiastic," Burke had fallen upon old Price in his book, and had given him a terrible mauling—such a mauling, indeed, that Price, happening to die soon after the appearance of the *Reflections*, was said to have been killed by it, although his fourscore years seemed to make death a very possible accident, without attributing it to mere pen and ink. Before the murderous book had been long in existence, Priestley put forth his "Letters to the Right Honourable Mr. Burke, on his Reflections on the Revolution in France." Though professing a re-

gard for the English constitution, Priestley applauded all that was doing in France as supereminently just and wise, and, with very little periphrasis, recommended an imitation of those performances. Mankind, he said, were everywhere opening their eyes to the nature and uses of government, and consequently the whole of the Gothic feudal system, embracing matters both civil and ecclesiastical, was beginning to shake to its foundation, producing a tremor and a convulsion that must be felt in every state in Europe. He attempted to repay with interest the sarcasms of Burke, but his periods had little of Burke's pungency. Many other things in the book would have inflamed the Birmingham mind, which was getting as hot as a furnace, against a man or writer not otherwise obnoxious; but, as coming from Priestley, who had incurred so long a score of grudges and spites, it roused all the angriest passions. He was told in anonymous letters to look to himself, as such an enemy to church and state, as such a deist or atheist would not long be tolerated in a town into which he had introduced nothing but dissension and discord.

In this state of feeling in Birmingham, a certain number of Priestley's friends resolved to celebrate with a dinner and toasts, speeches and songs, the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. A few days before this appointed feast a printed hand-bill was circulated through the town, to act like a challenge and defiance to the hot church-and-king citizens and in-dwellers. It bore no signature, and was addressed to the people at large. It was as follows:—"My countrymen, the second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism would give his sanction to the majestic common cause by a public celebration of the anniversary. Remember that on the 14th of July, the Bastille, that 'high altar and castle of despotism,' fell! Remember the enthusiasm peculiar to the cause of liberty with which it was attacked! Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to save the lives of oppressors! Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected and sent as a free-will offering to the national assembly. But is it possible to forget that your own parliament is venal? your ministers hypocritical? your clergy legal oppressors? the reigning family extravagant? the crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it?—too weighty for the people who gave it? your taxes partial and excessive? your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of

had produced his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, in which he had treated all churches as congeries of selfishness and iniquity. The Dutch took the book so much to heart, that in the city of Dort they caused it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

¹ In these *Familiar Letters*, Priestley, assuming the prophetic tone, announced the speedy triumph and establishment of Unitarianism which the inhabitants of Birmingham considered as something almost synonymous with atheism.

property, religion, and freedom? But on the 14th of this month prove to the political sycophants of the day that you reverence the Olive Branch; that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity till the majority shall exclaim, *The peace of slavery is worse than the war of freedom!* Of that moment let tyrants beware." The people of Birmingham believed that this paper proceeded from the dissenters and republicans that had appointed to feast at the tavern on the 14th; but Priestley and these individuals affirmed that it had been written, printed, and distributed by some bigot or bigots of the church-and-state party in order to make mischief and interrupt their celebration.

On the appointed day, about eighty persons assembled at Dadley's Tavern, to commemorate the French revolution; and the magistrates and a number of the church-and-state inhabitants at the Swan Tavern, to drink long life to the English constitution. Priestley did not attend. The landlord or the company had procured, to be set upon the table, three figures: one a medallion of the king encircled with glory, another an emblematical figure of British liberty, and the third an emblematical figure of Gallic slavery breaking its chains. Either through ignorance or design (or it might be through some defect of the Birmingham artist) a spy of the loyal mob, who got admittance into the room, reported out in the street that the revolutionists had cut off the king's head and placed it on the table! The toasts which are said to have been really drunk began with the "King and Constitution," and were by no means exceptionable, or even ridiculous, except the second on the list, "The National Assembly and patriots of France, whose virtue and wisdom have raised 26,000,000 from the meanest condition of despotism to the dignity and happiness of freemen." But out of doors it was rumoured, and believed by the people, that their first toast was "Destruction to the present government, and the king's head upon a charger." And, in the language of a newspaper reporter, "no sooner had this treasonable toast been made known to the people, than loyalty, *swift as lightning, shot through their minds, and a kind of electrical patriotism animated them to instant vengeance.* They rushed into this conventicle of treason, and, before the second course was well laid upon the table, broke the windows and glasses, pelted and insulted these modern reformers, and obliged them to seek for safety in immediate flight."¹ But according to less rhetorical and more reliable authority, the "electrical patriotism" was not quite so sudden in its action, the orthodoxy of Dadley, the keeper of the tavern, acting as a non-conductor. Some persons of

better condition cried out to the dirty little boys that were piping "Church and King!" and beginning to throw stones, "Don't break Dadley's windows: he is a churchman." And it appears that it was not during the dinner, but some hours after, when most of the company had separated, that some of the mob broke into the tavern in search of Dr. Priestley, who had not dined there.² "They wanted," they said, "to knock the powder out of Dr. Priestley's wig!" A well-conditioned townsman, zealous for church and state, smiled his assent to the proposition; and it is said that the ultra-loyal magistrates, who had been dining at the "Swan" (it ought to have been at the Goose) close at hand, huzzaed "Church and King!" and waved their hats in the air, "which inspired fresh vigour into the mob, so that they verily thought, and often declared, they acted with the *approbation* at least of the higher powers, and that what they did was right." There appears to be little doubt but that the worshipful magistrates and their friends had over-heated their excessive loyalty by too much drink at the "Swan;" and that the recollection of old grudges urged them to pat the mob on the back, neither foreseeing nor wishing for the very serious consequences that followed to the good town of Birmingham. No doubt they wished to see the powder knocked out of Priestley's wig, and a meeting-house or two, in which, according to their conceptions, treason had been preached, knocked down or otherwise destroyed; but there, no doubt, they wished the rioting to cease. The result, however, was a long, destructive, and very disgraceful riot. On that night the new building where Priestley preached on Sundays was demolished and burned, as was also the old meeting-house.

When the old meeting-house was burning fast to the ground, the mob marched away, about a mile and a half, to Priestley's dwelling-house, at Fair Hill. The doctor and his family had fled; but his house, the whole of his valuable library, and more valuable collection of apparatus for philosophical experiments, together with some manuscript works and notes, on which he placed a high value, and all the furniture, were plundered, burned, or destroyed. This finished the work of the night of the 14th of July. But on the following morning, the rabble of the town—being joined by the worst rabble of a very indifferent neighbourhood, by miners and founders, by workers in iron and in brass, by the Amazon nail-makers of Walsall and all that district, where the fair sex still work at the anvil, and by strong-armed women from other parts—renewed their destructions and depredations to the

¹ The Times of Tuesday, July 19, 1791.

² Life of William Hutton, stationer, of Birmingham, written by himself.

tune of church and king! They were armed with bludgeons and carried terror wherever they appeared, for there was no military force in the town, and the stupid magistrates knew not what to do. About the hour of noon a body of men, women, and children mixed, and about 1000 strong, attacked the house of Mr. John Ryland at Easy Hill. "Every room," says Hutton, "was entered with eagerness; but the wine-cellar, in which were wines to the amount of £300, with ferocity. Here they regaled till the roof fell in with the flames, and six or seven of them lost their lives." Mr. Ryland had not been at the anniversary dinner; but he was a dissenter, and a friend of Priestley, and probably the odour of his well-filled wine-cellar contributed as much as anything else to bring upon him the visitation of these drunken royalists. In fact, the love of drink and the maddening effects of liquor were at the bottom of nearly all this mischief, from first to last. But even in the madness of intoxication this rude rabblement, furnished by some of the worst districts in the country, gave proof that they were of English breed; for though they had for many hours the whole town and neighbourhood at their mercy, and talked about knocking on the head the enemies to church and state, they shed not a drop of blood, nor ever appear to have really thought of shedding any. A French mob, in the like circumstances, would not have got so drunken, but they would have butchered at least some of the victims of their fury. The tumult, after raging four days, was suppressed without bloodshed by the arrival of five troops of light dragoons.

These Birmingham riots were sad and disgraceful enough, but it requires great ignorance or a stupendous impudence to assert, as is done by one of Priestley's disciples in politics and in religion, that they were "far worse, indeed, than any disorders which had as yet occurred in the progress of the French revolution."¹ The liberality of the doctor's friends and admirers more than made up for his pecuniary losses: his brother-in-law gave him an annuity of £200 a year, and made over to him the sum of £10,000; but as the money was invested in the French funds, it may be doubted, notwithstanding the deep sympathy which Frenchmen professed for him, whether he ever got much of it. He also recovered by law compensation for damages to the amount of £3098. Nor was Priestley without other consolations. He published pamphlet after pamphlet to exhibit his wrongs and to attribute them all to the infernal malice and preconceived designs of a bigoted, intolerant clergy, and a set of selfish slaves, who were ready to barter for gold or distinctions, or the smiles of a court, the

birthright of all Englishmen.² He occupied, at least in the eyes of his own party, the enviable and honourable position of a martyr; and, besides numerous other testimonials, condolences, and most flattering compliments, he received from his French brethren of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, who called him their "most illustrious associate," a letter brimful of compliments and generous sympathy. This letter was written by no less a man than Condorcet, who was at this time secretary to the academy, and who was soon after one of the leading republicans in the national convention. In a very short time Priestley published the letter to the world, together with addresses from the committee of dissenters at Birmingham, from the members of the new meeting-house, from the young people belonging to his congregation at Birmingham, from the congregation of Mill Hill, Leeds, where he had once officiated, and from the Protestant dissenters in Great Yarmouth, from the Philosophical Society at Derby, &c., &c. Condorcet, as might have been expected, expressed himself very strongly. "You are not the first friend of liberty," wrote this scientific secretary, "against whom tyrants have armed the very people whom they have deprived of their rights. . . . At this present moment a league is formed throughout Europe against the general liberty of mankind; but for some time past another league has existed, occupied with propagating and with defending this liberty, without any other arms than those furnished by reason; and these will finally triumph! It is in the necessary order of things that error should be momentary and truth eternal. Men of genius, supported by their virtuous disciples, when placed in the balance against the vulgar mob of corrupt intriguers—the instruments or the accomplices of tyrants—must at length prevail against them. The glorious day of universal liberty will shine upon our descendants, but we shall at least enjoy the aurora." [We shall presently see the sort of aurora it was that Condorcet enjoyed.] This letter from a zealot of the revolution, with the other matter which Priestley printed so rapidly, was not likely to allay the storm which had been raised. He seized every opportunity of contrasting the bigotry and misery of England, and the enlightened toleration and happiness of France. In the preface to the first of his appeals he said:—"How different are the spectacles that are now exhibited in France and in England! Here bigotry has been fostered, and has acquired new strength. There it is almost extinct. Here the friends of

² In the second of his appeals to the public, which was published early in the following year (1792), he pretty directly accused Burke of being one of the promoters or originators of the persecution he had endured.

¹ Belsham.

the Establishment are burning the meeting-houses of the dissenters, with all the rage of crusaders; while in Paris one of the churches has been procured by the Protestants." To keep up and increase the irritation of these blisters, fresh addresses and condolences poured in from France upon Priestley, who published a proud list of them all, while he or his friends published many of the peppery documents at full length. A few days after Condorcet's letter, the Jacobins of Lyons wrote him an address, and this was followed, in rapid succession, by other addresses from the Jacobins of Nantes, from the Jacobins of Marmande on the Garonne, from the Jacobins of Clermont, in Auvergne, from the Jacobins of Toulouse, and from the Société-Mère—the great genetrix and nursing-mother of them all—in the Rue St. Honoré, at Paris. As a climax, the national convention, almost as soon as it met, nominated Priestley a citizen of the French republic.

The public mind was in a most excited state when the trials of some of the Birmingham rioters who had been apprehended came on. As the circuit was at hand, the prisoners had not long to wait. Of five of them who were tried at the assizes for Worcestershire, on the 22d of August, for offences committed *near* Birmingham, only one was convicted. But of those tried at the Warwick assizes on the 25th, four received sentence of death. Those who had suffered in their property, and all those who sympathized so deeply with Priestley, maintained that there ought to have been a good many more convictions; that the trial was unfair, or at least that the jury was all chosen from among the high-church party. But if they had taken some of the sturdy partisans of the other side, we really believe—so inflamed were both parties—that they would have fought in the jury-box, and would never have

agreed in any one verdict; and if they had taken them all from that opposite party, who, great philanthropists as they were, had no notion of secondary punishments, but, in their vengeance, a most decided taste for gibbets and halters, there would have been such a black list of convictions as had not been seen in Warwick for many a day. But, besides the advantage of the one-sidedness of the jury, the rioters had in their favour nearly the whole strength of public opinion in those parts, and many witnesses who, believing that the original motive of their conduct was a good and loyal one, were probably not over-scrupulous as to what they swore, in order to screen them and get them off. It could also be proved, upon better evidence, that several of these rioters had previously been inoffensive, well-conducted men, and that they had only been excited by their own inward belief that Priestley and his friends were sworn enemies to the king and church. Besides all this, there was the favourable confusion of great numbers, the contradictory evidence of the illiterate witnesses for the prosecution, and the common flaws in indictments, when drawn up, as these had been, in a hurry, and upon loose testimony. And, after all, it is a difficult and odious and agonizing task to select out of so great a number a few men for examples. Previously to, and even during the trial, when a reaction of sympathy might have been expected, the sufferers from the riots and their witnesses were publicly abused and threatened in the streets of Birmingham and Warwick, where—as in many other places—the favourite toast of the church-and-king party was—"May every revolutionary dinner be followed by a hot supper!" Although, including the man convicted at Worcester, five rioters were sentenced to death, only three were hanged, the other two receiving his majesty's free pardon.



CHAPTER XXVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1791.

GEORGE III.

Progress of the French revolution—The *serment civique*—The attacks on the church threaten to produce a civil war—Covenant of the Jacobins for the suppression of their enemies—Establishment of the Société Fraternelle—Violence of the Jacobins against the priests—Decree issued by the national assembly against the clergy—They are compelled to emigrate—Contests between the church and the popular infidelity—Marat and his ferocious journalism—Riot at Vincennes—It is quelled by La Fayette—Treatment of the royalists who repaired to the Tuileries—La Fayette again interposes—His account of the proceeding—Marat's counter-statement—The event called the "Day of Poignards"—Cause of the title—Character of Mirabeau—His indecisive attempts to restore the monarchy—His last illness and death—His unfitness to arrest the career of revolution—The king denounced for harbouring priests in the Tuileries—He resolves to keep Easter at St. Cloud—A riot at his departure—He is compelled by the mob to remain in the Tuileries—Contradictory accounts of the event—Louis XVI. complains to the national assembly of the insult—Unsatisfactory answer of the president—La Fayette persuaded to resume the command of the national guard—Attacks against him by the Cordeliers and Marat—Proposal of Prudhomme for the abolition of royalty—Changes in the names of the streets of Paris—Growing influence of the Cordeliers—The Jacobins establish their *Journal des Débats*—The king and his family resolve on flight—His hopes of a restoration by a coalition of European sovereigns—The King of Sweden sends Count Fersen to aid the escape of Louis—The Emperor of Austria's preparations to reinstate the fugitives—Escape of Louis XVI. and his family—The proclamation he leaves behind him at his departure—His list of the injuries he had endured—Proceedings in the Parisian clubs at the king's flight—La Fayette denounced in the Jacobin club as a traitor to the people—The king arrested at Varennes and brought back to Paris—His rough reception at his return—Effects of anguish upon the queen—The Marquis de Bouillé's threatening letter to the national assembly.



EVERTING once more to the leading subject, we turn to the startling events in France—or to the aurora of French liberty. It was soon seen that the courage of the majority of the clergy had not been over-rated by Maury, and that the forcible exacting of the *serment civique* would lead to a civil war, at least in a part of France. Before matters had come to this extremity with the clergy, Louis XVI., as a really scrupulous Catholic, had written to Rome for the opinion and advice of Pius VI. The pope's opinion was opposed to the plans and determinations of the assembly, and therefore the liberal Archbishop of Vienne, minister for ecclesiastical affairs, and the equally liberal Archbishop of Bordeaux, keeper of the seals, into whose hands it fell, had kept it for a long time from the knowledge of the king. But neither the strong opinion of the pontiff of the Catholic world, nor the sentiments of the French hierarchy, among whom were many individuals that he revered, could be permanently kept from the knowledge of Louis; and his own firm conviction gave him courage to withhold for some time the royal assent to the civil constitution of the clergy, and to the forced *serment civique*, which was a part of it. At one time he is even said to have declared that he would rather die than be a party to the destruction of the established church; and, as he studied very attentively

the history of our Charles I., he may have thought of acting with the Church of France, as that prince had done in his last days by the Anglican church. But Louis had none of the boldness of Charles I.; and even on this point, where his feelings and principles were perhaps stronger than upon any other, he was incapable of any steadiness of purpose. He was not born to be a voluntary martyr. Day after day the majority of the assembly were thrown into transports of rage by the reception of protests against the civil constitution of the clergy, and by the positive refusal of some prelates, curés, and other priests to take the *serment civique*. This hardihood was attributed to the obstinacy of the king. To extort compliance through terror, the Paris patriots made an *émeute*, and a terrible uproar, under the windows of the apartment of the poor weak prisoner of the Tuileries, who then gave his assent.

On the 24th of January, the Jacobins of Paris had bound themselves by an oath to defend with their fortunes and their blood every citizen who should have the courage to devote himself to the denunciation of traitors to the country, by which they understood all men that entertained different opinions from their own. The decree to this effect—for the Jacobins made decrees like the assembly—was unanimously adopted, as was also the resolution that copies of it should be sent to the affiliated societies in all parts of France, in order that they might bind themselves

by the same oath—an oath which would have suited the original assassins of the Old Man of the Mountain. The president, on the night when all this was decreed in the *Rue St. Honoré*, was Victor Broglie, ex-count, and father of the late Duke de Broglie; and one of the secretaries was Alexandre Beaubarnais, ex-viscount, the first husband of Napoleon Bonaparte's first wife, Josephine, Empress of the French.¹ The immediate effect produced by the infernal vow and covenant was a red-hot persecution against all unsworn priests. Mirabeau had proclaimed in the assembly that those priests who would not take the oath, and that gave up their livings, places, and appointments, were not to be treated or considered as *culpable*; but the Jacobins and the unbelieving mobs, and the dastardly majority of the assembly itself, determined to consider them as *suspect*. [This terrible word was already in use, and equivalent to a sentence of proscription; but the champions of the rights of man and the zealots of liberty and equality went on improving, until *soupçonné d'être suspect*—suspected of being suspected—had the same force, and was a common term.] At this time also another democratic club started into existence, in aid of the Jacobins, to which it was to serve as a sort of seminary or preparatory school. This club of the people, called "*Société Fraternelle*," held its meetings in the section of *Enfans Rouges*, or Red Boys, and had for its first president M. Tallien, a leading member of the Jacobins, lately a compositor in a printing-office, but now the editor of a journal, and destined to be, for a time, a sort of dictator in France, and one of the first patrons of young Napoleon Bonaparte. This *Société Fraternelle* especially undertook to explain, in an easy and familiar manner, to the populace of Paris, the decrees and other proceedings of the national assembly; and they admitted to their discussions, free of expense, all citizens and citizenesses, with all their children that had attained the age of *twelve years*. "Such establishments," says an approving journalist, "which cannot be too much encouraged, are the best arms to oppose to the fanaticism of the priests and the insidious practices of pretended devotees."

The French historians most in vogue at the present day can see nothing to condemn in these methods of constitutionalizing the church, and very little to regret in the atrocities that ensued in consequence. Thiers, indeed, can find nothing to blame, except "the violence" of Abbé Maury, and that too, "with the ordinary intolerance of these gentlemen," he hints was all feigned, or a noisy pretence to excite the people against the assembly and liberty. His account of the transaction is glaringly unfair—unfair in omission

and unfair in commission:—either he has not read the reports of the debates, and the decrees themselves, or he has intentionally falsified their meaning and import. Thiers starts with the principle that he will not be excited in narrating what took place, and that he will be angry with no man or men, or parties; and he so far adheres to the latter part of his principle as not to lose his temper at any atrocity or rascality whatsoever, provided only it be committed by or for the revolution. He hands his Jacobin scoundrels across the stage one after the other with all the politesse of a courtier or master of the ceremonies of the old régime; and he dismisses nearly every one of them with the assurance that he has done his best according to the light of his own reason and conscience, and that, if he have in some respects done amiss, his evil doings have, in the end, and the great result, been productive of good. In these matters he is an optimist, a very Pangloss, for in revolutionism all is for the best. But when a priest is struggling for his church, a noble for his order, a king for his crown, Thiers' suavity is by no means so perfect; and here his affected moderation, his under-toned, half-whispered malice and spite, his innuendoes and cavils are, by several degrees, more revolting than the openly blurted, loud-thundering malice of others.²

A good many country curés who had conformed and taken the oath soon repented and retracted, declaring they had been misled. These repentants were seized by the municipalities or other branches of the civil power, and thrown into prison. Their martyrdom or their sufferings have probably been exaggerated; but there is little reason to doubt that, wherever the Jacobins were in force, and religious feeling very low—and this was the case in by far the greater part of France—these poor priests were treated with great barbarity. As Mirabeau had proclaimed that every priest that took the oath, and then abjured it, would be highly criminal, the assembly presently issued its decree against all such retractions, ordering that all such priests should be immediately deprived of their appointments, arrested, and punished as rebels to the law and traitors to the nation. This terrible decree gave a fresh impulse to emigration; shoals of priests crossed the Alps, the Rhine, or the ocean, and there was soon not a country in Europe but had its quota of French bishops, abbés, and curés, all penniless, and all desperate. England had her full share, or more than her share; and be it remembered to her honour, that in spite of the difference in faith, and the still lingering dread of Popery, she gave a kinder and a more generous

¹ *Ilist. Parlement.*

² See almost any chapter or page of M. Thiers' *History of the Revolution*.

reception to these expatriated priests than they met with in any other countries, including the most Catholic of all. But in La Vendée, which was now getting into a blaze from end to end, in some parts of the south, and in several remote cantons in other quarters of the kingdom, where the people still believed what their fathers and their priests had taught them, and retained a strong attachment to the pastors who had been born among them and had lived among them all the days of their lives, it was not so easy to carry the decrees of the assembly into execution: here many of the extruded clergy remained undisturbed for a long time, and in preaching about the persecution of the church they revived or gave fresh strength to the people's old attachment to their kings. Nor did they fail to represent the new constitutional clergy, who never said mass without wearing the tri-colour sash over their albs, as heretical intruders, who would be damned in the next world for their brief triumph in this. On the other side, the *sermentés* treated the *insermentés* as rebels and traitors that ought to be hanged. Both parties, like every other faction or power, or would-be power, in France, appealed to the people, to the masses, who were indeed courted on every side, as the sovereigns of the day. The unsworn clergy tried to make fanatics of them, and the revolutionists to make atheists of them, which the philosophes had in good part done before the revolution began. As the latter party monopolized all the powers of the state, and all the liberty of the press, as they had a wonderfully complete machinery in their clubs, as they had disciples and propagandists quite as fanatic for the rights of man as any priest could be for the dogmas of his church, as newspapers, novels, tales, obscene anecdotes, and smutty songs, which contained the cream—nay, the sum and substance—of the philosophy, moral and political, they wished to inculcate, were lighter reading, and pleasanter to the national taste, than sermons or pastoral letters, bishops' mandamuses and parish priests' appeals—which, moreover, could not be printed or circulated without great difficulty and danger—it could scarcely be doubtful which side would make the most progress. The papers which the extruded clergy addressed to the faithful were chiefly printed abroad, smuggled across the frontiers and distributed in secret by a few zealots and a few unsworn priests, who remained disguised and concealed near their old homes, to say mass and perform the other offices of religion to such portions of their flock as were too scrupulous to attend the intruding priests in the parish churches. In the capital the scrupulous and devout hired the church of the Theatin monks, who had been suppressed like all the other monastic

orders, and they engaged priests who had not taken the oath, to officiate for them in a manner satisfactory to their consciences. They claimed that liberty of conscience which had been promised even to Jews and Mahometans, and, as their priests were free from any engagement, and exercised no public functions paid by the state, the laws or decrees of the assembly had no hold on them. The assembly assented to the reasonableness of these propositions, and granted the Theatin Church a guard from the city militia to protect those within in their hours of worship; but the assembly's master, the Paris mob, would not brook this monstrous toleration; they broke into the church in spite of the guard, or—which is just as probable—with the consent and encouragement of the guard; they insulted and threatened with the *lanterne* the devout old ladies and gentlemen that more regularly attended that place of worship, and they made it as dangerous to go to the Theatins as it had been to go to the Monarchic Club. That club, by the way, in consequence of Barnave's denunciation in the assembly, was forcibly suppressed a month or two later by Mayor Bailly and his municipals, who said that it was a nuisance, and the cause of exciting the people to daily riots. Even so went this Gallic liberty, and thus far and much farther had it gone when Priestley and others were worshipping it in England.

One of the oracles of the French people was now the notorious Marat, a diseased wretch, who conducted a journal, in which insurrection and assassination were constantly recommended as the only sure means of establishing freedom and the rights of man. From the beginning of the revolution the people had been excessively prone to suspicion; and now Marat was maddening them into cruelty, by exciting their fears. He was every day telling them, in language more or less plain, that if they did not butcher the aristocrats and the priests, they, and their wives, and their children would be butchered by them. While in this temper the slightest incident was enough to drive the Parisian mob into a fury. Such authority as La Fayette and Mayor Bailly had ever possessed over them, was now completely lost. Marat had pointed out both the general and the mayor as fitting subjects for the *lanterne*.

On the 28th of February, a day or two after Marat had given some dark hints respecting repairs begun at Vincennes, a report was suddenly spread in the Faubourg St. Antoine that the court—the miserable court who were prisoners themselves—were going to shut up the Duke of Orleans and all his family, together with all the true patriots of the assembly, in the donjon. Forthwith all that faubourg, whose glory it was

to have been the demolishers of the Bastille, poured forth on the road to Vincennes to demolish the donjon likewise. They had been in in-



JEAN PAUL MARAT.—From a portrait by Duplessi Bertaux.

surrection a day or two before, for the purpose of burning the gates and barriers of Paris, where the *octroi* or duty on provisions was exacted, so that they had their pikes and clubs all ready for action. A part of the national guards of the district, under that burly small-beer brewer Santerre, marched after them, but it was to assist, not to hinder them in their work of demolition. The municipality of Vincennes and a few officers on the spot represented that the reason why the fortress was undergoing a slight repair was, that it might serve to relieve some of their inmates the prisons of Paris, which were so crammed as to give serious apprehensions that pestilential disorders might break out among them and spread through the city. They also added that the repairs had been ordered by the national assembly itself, in a decree sanctioned by the king. But all was of no use: the St. Antoine men drove away the masons and other workmen, seized their sledge-hammers, crowbars, and other implements, broke into the fortress, and threw out of the windows, or broke to pieces, everything they found therein. They then proceeded to demolish the building itself, beginning with a parapet, for the walls of the

tower, though old, were discouragingly strong. The terrible noise that these faubourg men had made in taking their departure from Paris had been heard all over that city, and had created an universal alarm, for very few knew the object they had in view. La Fayette was summoned to the Hôtel de Ville, and instructed by the municipality to march after the insurgents as fast as he could, with the more respectable part of his national guard. The hero of two worlds was presently on his white charger, and before long, in front of the donjon of Vincennes, with several thousands of his militia, both horse and foot, and not without some light artillery capable of grape-shot, at his back. Close by the old tower he found Santerre, with his faubourg militiamen, looking complacently on the havoc the mob were making. He rode up to him and ordered him to fire upon those rascals. "Mr. General," said the broad-faced brewer, "those are the men that took the Bastille!" La Fayette then applied to the magistrates of Vincennes to issue some necessary orders, and to assist him in arresting some of the rioters; but these worshipful personages refused to co-operate in any way whatsoever. The general, therefore, took the whole duty upon himself; and, after some hard blows given and received, but miraculously without any recourse to firearms, the respectabilities of the national guard succeeded in clearing the donjon, and in taking about sixty of the demolishers prisoners. Retracing his steps to Paris with these captives in his train, he found the gates of the Faubourg



THE DONJON OF VINCENNES.—From a print after Moreau, 1783.

St. Antoine shut and barred in his face. He threatened to blow them open with cannon-ball and gunpowder; and thus obtained an entrance. Several shots were fired at him and the officers of his staff; and as he rode through the faubourg a very deadly attempt was made upon the legs of his white charger, in the view of bringing horse and rider to the ground together.

In the morning, as La Fayette was starting eastward for Vincennes, a good many devoted royalists went westward to the Tuileries to offer their very useless services to the king, believing, as they said, and as appears really to have been the case, that the insurrection was to become general, and that the life of the sovereign was to be attempted. These royalists, gentlemen all, and apparently all crazed, began to arrive at the palace about noon, or shortly after; but, if we guess rightly in a confusion of contradictory accounts, it was not till towards evening that their numbers excited any notice or suspicion. It is said that they had been admitted into the interior of the palace by different doors, having tickets of admission from the Duke de Villequier and other gentlemen of the household; but many of them must have had what were called in court language *les petites entrées*, which would render unnecessary any such tickets or smuggling in. The national guards doing duty that day at the Tuileries were the salaried Centre Grenadiers, the terrible ex-Gardes Françaises. It is said that reports reached these desperate fellows that La Fayette had not only been fired at but had been killed on his return from Vincennes, and that they were just going to rush into the palace to bring the king to account for this foul deed, when one of their corps seized a gentleman as he was going into the palace, and found that he had a long dagger in his coat pocket.¹ This quickened their suspicions and their movements; a rush was made up the great staircase; and in the ante-chambers, galleries, and saloons were found collected from 400 to 500 very suspicious aristocrat-looking persons, with powdered heads and black coats. A search much ruder than that of the rudest custom-house officers was immediately commenced by these ex-Gardes Françaises; and then it was found that many of these gentlemen carried small sword-canes, or had daggers in their pockets or under their waistcoats—nay, that two or three of them had pocket-pistols. As these things were brought to light the guardsmen hurled or kicked them down the stone stairs, at first singly, then by twos and threes, and at last by dozens and by scores at a time, until the terrace and the upper part of the garden of the Tuileries were littered with powdered heads and black coats. Ex-dukes, ex-marquises, ex-counts, ex-chevaliers of the order of

St. Louis, ex-parlementers, and among them the hottest of all parlementers, and once the chief of all patriots, D'Espréménil, were direfully constrained to make this sort of exit. Well had it been for these unlucky zealots if their punishment had ended here. When the Gardes Françaises had done with them, they fell into the hands of the mob that had collected in the garden and outside the iron railing, and they were hustled and tossed, beaten and bruised, and sent running home at last all tattered and torn. Marat, who took the earliest opportunity of describing this opprobrium of gentility and chivalry, was elated and rhapsodized into his grandest style in thinking of the kicks behind, the twitches by the nose, the spittle in the face, that the aristocrats received from the plebeians.

La Fayette arrived safe and sound at the Tuileries soon after the Gardes Françaises had cleared the apartments of these royalists. We have his own account for what followed—"He treated several of the courtiers very sharply, and read a particular lecture to the Duke de Villequier, first gentleman of the chamber, of whom he thought he had the most reason to complain. He saw the king, who expressed his regret at this piece of folly, which, it seemed, had been begun without his privity. The king told him that the false zeal and wild extravagance of the people who called themselves his friends would end in ruining him. On his return to the great hall the general-in-chief learned from public rumour that a whole pile of arms had been secreted in the closets of the apartments, a thing not to be endured by those who were charged with the protection and safety of the king: consequently the general requested that an order should be given for the surrender of these arms. They were brought out in a hand-basket, and it was visible to everybody present *that there were daggers amongst them*. They were given up to the national guards, and were broken to pieces in the court of the Tuileries, with an exhibition of gaiety little respectful perhaps to the palace of the sovereign, but especially offensive to the chevaliers, who from this time bore the name of "the Chevaliers of the Poignard." Some were not less shocked on the morrow, by an order of the day, in which the general-in-chief spoke in severe terms of the chiefs of the domesticity, meaning the courtiers and the gentlemen of the household.² But the very strangest part of this unseemly.

¹ According to La Fayette's account, it was not a dagger but a pocket-pistol that led to the discovery. "The first alarm," he says, "was given by a hot-headed royalist, the Chevalier de St. Elme, who, setting ajar the doors of the apartment, exhibited a pistol to the national guards. This discovery produced a great sensation. The king was frightened, and begged the chivalrous company to disband and lay down their arms."—*Narrative of Events from the Federation to the Departure and Arrest of the King, in Mémoires, Correspondence, and Manuscripts, published by his Family.*

² *Narrative of Events from the Federation to the Departure and Arrest of the King, written by himself, in Mémoires, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of La Fayette, published by his Family.* La Fayette, rather from a desire to make up a good case for his national guards, than from any anxiety about the humiliation of the order to which by birth he belonged, or from any regard to the feelings of gentlemen that were royalists, says that there was not much beating or kicking—that "the chevaliers escaped with a few insults and blows as they went out."

ridiculous business, and that which throws most light on the temper of the times and the state of the factions, is the variety of ways in which the plot was accounted for; though, as we verily believe, there had been no plot at all, but a rash, hot-headed impulse, such as all classes of Frenchmen were liable to, especially in these maddening times. La Fayette himself was quite sure that the whole thing was preconcerted by the fanatic royalists and the courtiers; but he does not say for what object, nor attempt to explain how four or five hundred gentlemen, many of them far gone in years and in infirm health, with their sword-sticks, daggers, and pocket-pistols, were to effect a counter-revolution in the midst of a hundred thousand armed men, and in a great capital where the population were quite as frantic for their new liberty as these *preux chevaliers* were for their old royalty; nor does he, indeed, so much as hint that the object was to carry off the king, an object impossible to be executed in this open manner. He says—and his authority is certainly worth no more than that of those who deny the facts—that many of the crowd of royalists found in the Tuileries had been expressly invited from the provinces; and that from daybreak an attempt had been made to ply the national guards on duty at the palace with drink, under pretence of treating them with breakfast; that the aristocrats got up the insurrection in the faubourg in order to decoy him out of the capital to Vincennes, and to get him murdered there; and that but for the bayonet of one of his national guards he would have been murdered on his return. On the other hand Marat, in a terrible article headed “New Conspiracy discovered by M. la Fayette,” swore that La Fayette himself, aided by Bailly, the police, and the more opulent of the citizens, had not only incited the Faubourg St. Antoine to march upon Vincennes, but was also in league with the royalists who meant to carry off the king. He dwelt upon the subject many days, in order to show that a narrow escape the common people, the only patriots, had had on the “Day of the Poignards.” He pretended to describe with the utmost minuteness and accuracy the labours and machinations of “the hero of two worlds and his head valet Bailly,” declaring, among numerous other particulars, that they had brought furtively into Paris gangs of brigands and assassins; that they had corrupted the staff of the citizen army of the capital, composed of scoundrels that were wallowing in luxury, and that ought never to have been trusted; that they had bought with money a part of the soldiers, and had enchaind another part by cajoleries and promises, or by threats.

Some little circumstances contributed to give, with the multitude, additional weight and effect

to this newspaper article. A few days before the “Day of Poignards,” Marat had announced to the people that 5000 poignards, to butcher patriots, were a-making in Paris; an extra-judicial search had been made by the people, who had found in a certain shop *thirty-six* poignards. It was true that this number was very small, and that the armourer gave proof that they were made to the order of some persons engaged in the African slave trade, who found such implements very useful; but to the popular credulity the circumstance was quite enough to confirm their own suspicions, and Marat’s reputation for vigilance and veracity. On the other hand, the royalists maintained that the *émeute* in the faubourg and the march upon Vincennes had been planned by the ultra-revolutionists and the *Duke of Orleans*, and that the assembling of the gentlemen in the palace was wholly unpremeditated and arose out of the impression of the moment, that violence was intended to the royal family. Other parties again, who were less anxious to fix the *émeute* upon any particular persons, thought that the riot had arisen, like so many others, out of a determination to control the national assembly, and terrify them into the passing of a most severe law against the emigrants, which was under discussion on this very day; and to these parties it appeared not very unlikely that a number of enthusiastic royalists should gather in the Tuileries to offer up their lives a sacrifice to the royal family. If there was a previous plot, one surely might have expected some better preparation. There is not perhaps a more striking specimen of the bathos, than La Fayette’s *pile of arms*, brought forth in a *hand-basket*, in which it was visibly beheld by all present that there were *some daggers*. As to the daggers, sword-canes, and pocket-pistols carried by the royalists, there was nothing in them to establish a proof of any preconcerted plan or bloody design whatever; for, as one of them said, when examined by Mayor Bailly and his municipals, these were days when nearly every gentleman constantly carried arms about his person for his own protection from the rabble. It was long before this that Abbé Maury had taken to wearing pistols: and Mirabeau himself had adopted the practice long before Maury—never going down to the assembly, or anywhere else, without putting his pistols in his pocket, and looking well to their priming. We admit, however, that there is no possibility of calculating the extent of popular rashness and folly under such exciting circumstances, and that the fanaticism of some of these ultra-aristocrats and royalists was capable of almost any madness, and of almost any sanguinary excess, if they had succeeded in making, at any time, a successful counter-revolution.

For many months the queen and a part of the court had been relying with a desperate hope upon the promises and services of Mirabeau, the most eloquent speaker, and probably the most unprincipled, profligate man in the national assembly. This orator, who had lived some time (though in no very honourable manner) in England, had certainly some knowledge of our institutions; among his private friends he seems to have invariably expressed a preference for an hereditary constitutional monarchy; but when he saw how unpopular this notion was becoming, and what a complete ascendancy the republican and democratic principle was obtaining, he timidly shrank from any public avowal of his preference. He was a loud magnificent talker; but his courage, whether moral or physical, was very doubtful. He was a vainglorious, most excitable man; but though self-indulgent and dissolute, he had occasional visitations of high, generous, and noble thoughts. He had quitted the queen after a private interview on the heights of St. Cloud, in the month of May, 1790, by solemnly assuring her majesty that from that moment the French monarchy was saved!¹

By fits and starts Mirabeau was really of opinion that he could save the monarchy; but he was most assuredly deficient in moral courage, deficient in principle, altogether wanting, from first to last, in character and fixity of purpose. If he had really proposed to himself to be this saviour, he ought to have begun the work of salvation with courage and steadiness long before this—he ought to have checked the glowing wheels of the revolutionary car before they were about reaching their maximum velocity on that steeply inclined plane that ended in a gulf too fearful for the eye to look at—he ought to have made a life-and-death struggle at the time of the confusion of the three orders of the state into one anomalous chamber or house—at the time when the declaration of the rights of man was under discussion—at the time when the veto question was debated—at the time when the plots were forming to drag the court to Paris at the feet of the multitude;—but on all these times and occasions, as on others equally critical and equally potential upon future events, the heart of the loud-tongued man had failed him, and, instead of seeking the salvation of the state, he had sought his own personal safety by conforming with the tyrannous will of the majority of the assembly and of the populace, by explaining away his own words and sentiments, and by sneaking out of the principles he had professed. His chiefest care had been to keep free of the black lists of proscription. We repeat it, he had not such courage, nor nearly so much courage, as that

despised priest, the Abbé Maury, whom historians and annalists still rejoice in depicting as a mere casuist and deception. Rarely has self-seeking been made more unscrupulous than by Mirabeau, who, in the midst of all these convulsions



MIRABEAU.—After a French print of the period.

and constantly increasing dangers, was unable to resist the propensity of indulging all his vicious habits and tastes for expenditure and prodigality.

When the royal coffers were almost empty—when every louis-d'or was wanted—he took his money and spent it in luxury and profligacy. A tribune of the people thus leading the life of a Lucullus, could not escape suspicion; and suspicion was every day becoming equivalent to a sentence of proscription or of death. Although he continued to take the wages of the court, he did absolutely nothing for it, his fears preventing him from persevering in a plan to form a party in the assembly. To those who hinted that the court was leading him into great danger, and might betray him, he replied, in words too gross to be literally translated, that, if they did, or attempted it, he would drive them into a republic. He declared in private that the Jacobins and the Parisian mob would destroy alike the whole monarchy and the new reformers—would swallow up the king and the assembly—would plunge the country into a frightful and long-lasting anarchy; yet he continued to frequent the Jacobin Club, and to pander to the worst passions of the people. But by this time he had utterly ruined his robust constitution by his excesses, and a mortal disease had him in its grip. He made one more apparition in the hall of the Jacobins, to do away, by force of declamation, some evil reports which had been raised against him for his behaviour on the emigrant-law question, and to declare that he would remain among the

¹ Madame Campan, *Mémoires*.

Jacobins even to the time of ostracism;—and then he returned home to suffer agonies and die. He was at the Jacobins on the night of the 28th of March, and on the 29th he took to his bed, suffering excruciating agony. Some of his greatest admirers among the people instantly set up the cry that he had been poisoned by the court; and the respectables of the national guards had hard work to prevent another *émeute*. Those who better knew the man and his debauched habits could easily account for his malady in a simpler manner; and it was no secret to them that his health had long been declining. Three months before this, he said to Dumont, "If I believed in slow poisons, I should not doubt but that I have been poisoned. I feel myself wasting away; I feel as if I were consuming by a slow fire!" Dumont observed to him that the kind of life he led must have killed any man less robust than he long ago. He suffered and died in public, his chamber being continually crowded, and he making speeches and saying smart things to the last. Even the Jacobin Club thought proper to send a deputation to wait upon the illustrious sufferer. It was headed by Barnave, but several of the most conspicuous of the Jacobins refused to attend. On learning this last circumstance, Mirabeau said, with a contemptuous smile, "I knew very well that they were scoundrels and cowards, but I did not think they were such fools!" He deplored the sad state in which he must leave the country, a prey to all kinds of factions and intrigues. "I carry with me," said he, "the mourning of the monarchy; the factions will divide among them its rags!" Talleyrand, who was very constantly with him during these last four days of his life, said of him afterwards, in one of the happiest of his many happy sayings, "*He dramatized his death*;" and from all that is told of him he must have died acting—like an actor on a stage, conscious that the eyes of the world were upon him, and that everything he did or said would be repeated. He died on the 2d of April.

If Mirabeau dramatized his death, others have dramatized his life, exaggerating the good, and perhaps even the evil, so as to make a fine *chiaroscuro*. Madame de Staël, partly out of magnanimity, as he had been the bitter enemy of her father, and partly from her habitual half-romantic and half-metaphysical manner of seeing things, began this picturesque process; and she has been followed by others of abilities equal, and in one instance superior to her own. She saw in Mirabeau's death the failure of the only hope of saving France from a frightful anarchy, and her fanciful vision has been continued, being precisely of that kind that may last for ever: for, as he died, there was no possibility of proof as to what he

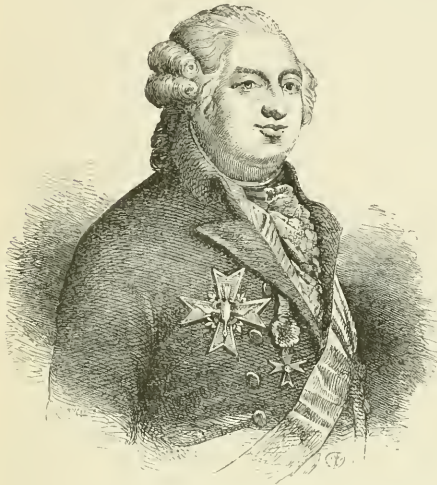
might have done if he had lived. We have ventured to express our own opinion that it would have been beyond his power, or that of any other merely mortal man, to have stopped the headlong course of this revolution after the fusion of the three orders, and the other monstrous errors committed in the beginning; but what is more than this, we doubt whether Mirabeau ever honestly or steadfastly set to work to make the attempt. Certainly, from the time he took the pay of the court, and particularly between the period when he saw the queen in the garden of St. Cloud and the period of his death, the revolution had been allowed to run its course without one important check or impediment; the Jacobins had been allowed to gain strength daily; he himself had considered it expedient or absolutely necessary to put himself at the head of some of their movements, and advocate some of their extreme measures; and whenever he had tried their temper in the way of opposition, he had done it in a timid, undetermined, ambiguous manner, and had, in nearly every one instance, drawn in his hand as soon as they set up their porcupine quills. After his death the revolutionary wheel revolved neither faster nor slower than it had been doing since the month of May, 1789.

There was no exaggeration in Burke's description of the king's intended journey to St. Cloud.

The journalists and the clubs began to denounce the king for harbouring within the Tuileries, and in other places, unsworn, unconstitutional priests. This led to a terrible riot at the church of the Theatins, and to great disorders in other parts of Paris. On the same day, Sunday, the 17th of April, the Cordelier Club, directed by Danton, the true Mirabeau of the lower classes, placarded the streets of Paris with a bolder decree than any that had yet appeared. "The Society of Cordeliers," said the paper, "upon denunciation made to them that the first public functionary of the nation suffers and permits refractory priests to retire into his house, and there openly exercise, to the scandal of Frenchmen and of the law, the functions from which the law has excluded them—that he has, even this very day, taken the sacrament and heard mass from one of these refractory priests—have determined that, the truth of the fact being proved and established, they will denounce to the representatives of the nation this first public functionary, this first subject of the law, as being refractory to the constitutional laws which he has sworn to maintain; thus authorizing disobedience and revolt, and preparing to set against the French nation those factions which the enemies of the rights of man are trying to excite against the constitution." All this might have been expected and clearly foreseen when Mirabeau was driving for

the civil constitution of the clergy, and that *serment civique* which no conscientious or respectable Roman Catholic clergyman could possibly take. The Cordeliers' denunciation, in order to produce more effect, was placarded on Sunday. The very next day the court was to go to St. Cloud, to pass the holy week and keep Easter. The return of spring made the country desirable, and the king was ill in health, and had avowedly

scruples of conscience as to performing the religious duties of that solemn season with irregular priests, that were interdicted, or as good as excommunicated, by the supreme pontiff. People of another faith may despise these scruples, but they are precisely such as any devout Roman Catholic must have felt; and nobody, as yet, has attempted to doubt the sincerity of Louis XVI.'s devotion. He had previously consulted



LOUIS XVI. OF FRANCE, AND HIS QUEEN, MARIE ANTOINETTE.—From French prints of the period.

or asked permission of Mayor Bailly and his chief jailer La Fayette, and these illustrious men had given their consent; and, in order that he might be well guarded, the commandant-general had given his orders for a whole host of the national guards to march and be ready to keep watch and ward at that pleasant summer palace, and in the country all round about, as they had done the year before. A detachment of these national guards had even marched to their destination at an early hour on Monday morning. The domestics of the royal household had gone, the palace of St. Cloud was prepared, the guard that were to escort were mounted, the horses were put to the carriages, their majesties came out of the Tuileries and entered their coach, and, with La Fayette at the side of it, they were just going to start, when there arose shouts and shrieks of "Down with that carriage! Down with it! No St. Cloud! The king must stay where he is!"—and a dense mass of men, women, and children, chiefly from the faubourgs, threw themselves before the horses, threatening to murder the postilions if they moved. Mayor Bailly, who was at hand, came up and harangued the mob from his gilded coach, and La Fayette harangued them from his white horse, representing how proper

it was that their king should enjoy personal liberty; but it was all of no use, for the mob kept crying that the king intended to escape, to bring the aristocrats, emigrants, and the armies of the emperor upon them. The general then turned to the national guards; but instead of showing any alacrity in reducing the people to order, or in forcing a way through them, they declared that they were for the people, and that the king should not quit Paris; and while they were disputing with La Fayette, who again ran some risk of being shot or bayoneted by his civic heroes, Danton—the herculean, the terrible Danton—arrived on the spot at the head of the battalion of his district, pretending a laudable anxiety to check the riot, but really intending, as La Fayette well knew, to join the rioters. According to La Fayette's own account, two battalions of the national guards, composed of men from more respectable districts, were steady to their duty or obedient to his command, and offered to secure the king's departure; and upon this he requested the king to remain in the carriage while he went himself to open a passage. But, as it was clear that this passage was not to be opened without bloodshed, and without a combat in which two battalions would have to en-

counter all the rest of the national guards and all the mob; as musket-balls must soon be flying about; as the king had his wife, sister, and children with him; and as he was far from being a hero, it is not surprising that he should have acted contrary to La Fayette's advice, and hastened back to the palace with his family, instead of remaining in a coach which had come to such a dead-lock. Yet, for this, the hero of two worlds bitterly condemns him, and says, that all Louis and the court wanted was, to prove that they were forcibly detained in Paris. But other accounts say that La Fayette himself, seeing the hopelessness of the case, and fearing, from the horrible imprecations uttered by the mob against the queen, that murder might ensue, was the first to suggest that the king ought to abandon all thoughts of the journey, and get under cover in the Tuileries as quickly as possible. Though assailed by the most opprobrious epithets, Marie Antoinette walked nobly erect and with a firm and majestic step, so long as she was in sight of that ill-tongued, sanguinary rabble; but once in the privacy of her own apartment, she shuddered and wept. Humiliated to the dust La Fayette hastened to the Hôtel de Ville, and threw up his command of the national guards. The municipality and departmental authorities drew up an address to the king, not to condole with him upon what had happened, not to promise him a pleasanter journey for another day, but to tell him that they saw with grief that he was favouring the refractory priests, that he was making use of the services of none but enemies to the constitution, and that it was to be feared that such preferences only showed the true feelings of his heart. On the morrow Louis went over to the assembly to complain of the terrible insult he had sustained, and to declare that he considered it essential to his dignity and liberty to go to St. Cloud, and that he persisted in his intention of going. The president, on whose right hand the king was seated, told him that the assembly was filled with sweet emotions on seeing him in the midst of them; that inquiet agitation was inseparable from the progress of liberty; that in spite of the care of virtuous citizens, anxious to calm the people, other men still delighted in spreading rumours and alarms; that the circumstances of the times were menacing, and proper to excite some suspicions; that the cowardly enemies of the constitution and liberty were also the king's enemies; that a faction, but too well known, were endeavouring to place themselves between the king and the nation; and that this visit of his majesty to the assembly ought to produce a very good effect, as it would show the friendship and confidence which existed between them. As for the king's journey, he

said not a syllable about it; for, as the sovereign people had determined it should not be allowed, there was small chance of the assembly being able to manage it, even if they had sincerely and earnestly wished the king to go. After Louis had quitted the hall, and it had been voted that his speech and the president's speech should be printed and sent to all the departments of the kingdom, M. Blacon, who had never spoken before in the house, ventured to express his astonishment that no notice should have been taken of his majesty's desire. "The king," said he, "has given you a mark of his confidence: he has told you that this journey to St. Cloud is necessary for the maintenance of law and the constitution—necessary to give him the appearance of being free"— . . . Here he was interrupted by a loud uproar from the *côté gauche*, who demanded that he should be sent to the Abbaye Prison for the words he had spoken. The *côté droit* applauded the member that made so unfortunate a maiden speech; but the majority carried the order of the day, and no more was said about the unlucky St. Cloud journey.

In the meantime La Fayette was flattered by the public efforts made to induce him to assume once more the command of the national guards. For three days his house was constantly crowded by deputations. Some of the liberty and equality men even fell on their knees to implore him; but this unseemly sight was "ennobled by the beautiful idea of one of them, who said, 'General, fear nothing, we are still in the attitude of free men, for it is before the image of Liberty that we kneel!'" The whole municipality, with Mayor Bailly at the head of it, stayed one night arguing and praying till past midnight, and still the general played the inflexible. But after resisting temptation during three whole days, La Fayette yielded upon conditions. All the sixty battalions of the Paris national guard were to swear on their words and honours to be, in future, orderly and obedient to the laws; those who refused this oath were to be excluded, and some individuals that had behaved with most indecency towards the royal family were to be punished. It is worth while noting how these conditions were executed. In the battalions appertaining to the more popular or mobbish of the districts, many of the men stayed away at swearing time, and many of the rest laughed while they swore; the redoubtable Centre Grenadiers refused the oath, and were disbanded; but, with the exception of some fourteen, they were all instantly incorporated in other battalions; and as for punishment, there was none, and there could be none, because the mob were stronger than La Fayette and his respectabilities. A grenadier had distinguished himself by an atrocious discourse he delivered at the door of

the king's carriage when the horses were stopped by the mob. That evening he gave a report of his speech in the Cordelier Club, who crowned him with a civic crown. The company to which he belonged expelled him; the club took him under their protection; and who was there in France that durst defy Danton and his Cordeliers! La Fayette, however, continued in his pride of place, and the laws fared much as heretofore. Marat devoted three entire papers to what he called the "Curious, True, and Remarkable History of the Life of Marie-Paul-Joseph-Roch-Yves-Gilbert-Mottié, Marquis de la Fayette; Deputy of the Noblesse, Founder of the Club of Monarchists, Institutur of Spies, President of the Austrian Committee, Generalissimo of the Counter-revolutionists, Conspirator-in-chief of the Kingdom of France, and General of the Parisian Army." He took for a motto, "All is not gold that glitters"—(*Tout ce qui reluit n'est pas d'or*)—and he spared not his malice and his lies, to which he had the art of giving the appearance of verisimilitude. "Oh, stupid Parisians," exclaimed Marat in finishing, "and you can throw yourselves at the foot of a man like this, who will try to put you in chains again, after inundating France with blood!"

Nothing could be more reasonable, after all these proceedings, than that the printer Prudhomme should propose in his newspaper, early in the month of May, the immediate abolition of royalty. "To abolish royalty," said this friend of the Abbé Fauchet, "is to abolish the greatest curse and plague that ever desolated mankind. Yes! the illustrious citizen of Geneva was right when he said that monarchy was a government against nature! . . . The grand basis of every free constitution is that principle of eternal truth declared by the national assembly itself, that men are born free and equal, and remain equal in their rights. Yes! all men are born free and equal, and remain so; and yet you decree a royal dynasty in which future generations of individuals are to come into the world with rights that other men have not and can never have! And you decree that they shall have these rights in hereditary succession, whatever be their ignorance, their ineptitude, their baseness, or their vices!" The municipality, receiving their impulse from the mob, who had changed the name of the Chaussée d'Antin into that of "Street of Mirabeau the Patriot," took it upon themselves to change the names of all the streets and squares of Paris, being particularly careful to paint or plaster over every royal designation. The quay which had been called Des Théatins, after that order of monks, was renamed Quai Voltaire; and the Rue Plâtrière got the name of Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau.

In the course of the month of May, Danton and his Cordeliers, becoming bolder every day, denounced La Fayette and Mayor Bailly for having ordered the national guards to fire upon the people when they were opposing the king's departure for St. Cloud. They also changed the name of their club into that of "Society of the Rights of Man." As the building in which they held their meetings was national property, Bailly thought he might take his revenge by putting the seals of the municipality upon the doors, and by ordering it to be immediately sold. The Cordeliers thereupon repaired to a tennis court, for Paris had its Jeux-de-Paume as well as Versailles; and there, like the *tiers état*, they swore that they would never separate. In a day or two they hired a hall that was private property; and at the same time the *Central Committee of all the clubs and fraternal societies of Paris* hired the great ball-room of the Sieur Cirier, citizen and dancing-master. They said they would some day bring Mayor Bailly to account; and they kept their word. The Jacobin Club announced for the 1st of June a newspaper, which was to give a full account of their debates, and which was to be published every Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The editors hoped that this newspaper would be at the very least as interesting and as valuable as any that reported the debates of the national assembly. From the moment that this journal was set on foot Robespierre seems to have attended more frequently, and to have taken more pains about the discourses he delivered in the mother society. The *Journal des Débats des Jacobins* soon became exceedingly popular, as, besides reporting all the violent harangues that were delivered in the hall, it published, in occasional supplementary numbers, other speeches which had been written, but which had not been delivered for want of time or opportunity.

There was now an incessant cry in all these clubs for proscription and blood, and the cry was directed not against the royalists, but against the men who had begun the revolution, and who wanted it to stop where it now was. Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, the idols of the mob, united their terrible powers against the La Fayetteists.

There no longer remained any hope for the royal family except in flight. The king had a warm love for his country, and a dislike or detestation of foreign interference. So long as there seemed a shadow of a chance that the revolution would settle down into a quiet and safe order of things, leaving a constitutional throne, an established religion, and a national church, he had certainly turned a deaf ear to those who advised him to flee from France, put himself at the head of the emigrants, and call for the co-operation of

the other crowned heads of Europe. But when murder had paraded in his own palace; when he had been dragged a prisoner from Versailles to Paris; when every possible insult had been heaped upon him and his family in the Tuileries; when the church had been revolutionized, and in fact destroyed; when he had seen that the clubs and the mob—the real masters of France—were driving for an anarchy under the name of a democratic republic; when he had felt, day after day, that his life and the lives of his wife and children were not safe in Paris, he had addressed himself to his brother kings.

As early as the 3d of December, 1790, Louis had addressed himself to his brother-in-law the emperor, to the Empress of Russia, and the Kings of Spain, Prussia, and Sweden. Vague applications had been made to some of these courts before, but at this date Louis proposed the immediate assembling of a congress, to be supported by an armed coalition.¹ In short, the project appears to have been broadly put, and the throne of the Bourbon was to be re-established by foreign invasion, aided by civil war. It is doubtful whether any other form of government was thought of except the restoration of the old absolute monarchy: no other constitution could be approved of by the absolute sovereigns to whom application was made for help; nor could those hare-brained fanatics, the emigrants, bear to hear of any other. Except in a few cases, these ruined aristocrats had learned no useful lessons from their misfortunes, had acquired no moderation from watching the immoderate fury of their democratic enemies. They thought it less dishonourable to owe their restoration to foreign armies, and to devastation and carnage, than to enter into any compromise with their plebeian foes, who, on their part, were resolved to reject every compromise whatsoever, and refuse the slightest concessions. The noblesse were to be satisfied with nothing less than the restoration, not merely of their titles and property, but also of all their old rights, privileges, and exemptions, of many of which they ought to have been deprived centuries before this revolution began. The Czarina Catherine had not yet arranged her peace with the Turks, and was much occupied in watching events in Poland; the King of Prussia was busy in watching her; and both these sovereigns appear to have already contemplated the final partition of Poland. The King of Spain, the imbecile Charles IV., was willing enough to assist the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, but knew not how to set about it, his finances being deranged and his army disorganized. The King of Sweden, the eccentric Gus-

tavus III., though united by no ties of blood either to the King or Queen of France, was by far the most enthusiastic of all the sovereigns; but he was also the poorest of them all, and it was most difficult for him to bring an army of brave Swedes into France without the assistance of the other powers. In the old forms of chivalry Gustavus had sworn himself the knight of the fair and unfortunate Marie Antoinette; and, if a bravery as romantic as ever existed even in a Swedish king and a race of heroes—if an ecstatic devotion to the cause could have sufficed—he would have performed wonders, and saved that queen from the dungeon and the block. Even as it was he did something, nay a great deal, towards liberating her from captivity, and speeding her on her present journey, for he had sent her the gallant and intelligent young Count Fersen; and, if all parties engaged in that evasion had only done their duty as well as that noble Swede, Marie Antoinette and her husband and children had been saved. The Emperor Leopold, the queen's own brother, was certainly not insensible to her sufferings and danger, and he had a very royal and imperial antipathy to revolts and revolutions; but he was averse to war, much fonder of pacific congresses than of the most brilliant campaigns; he had a good deal of the Austrian slowness and indecision; and the very easy way in which he had put down revolution in his own Belgic states seems to have duped him into a belief that it would not be much more difficult, at any given time, to arrest and undo the revolution of France. He had been told by the noble French emigrants that the revolution, after all, was but a temporary insurrection; that they and the court had still a most powerful party in the heart of the kingdom; and that the common people, and the national guards, without discipline, without officers of experience and name, would be routed at the first onset. At the same time the emperor was perplexed by differences of opinion and plan, and by intrigues and jealousies, that existed among these emigrants, and apparently among the royal princes themselves. At last, however, Leopold was convinced that it was time to do something. After some interviews at Mantua with the king's brother, the Count d'Artois, he despatched to Paris Count Alphonse de Durfort, to ascertain accurately the sentiments and intentions of the king and queen. De Durfort returned to Mantua in the month of April with all the information the emperor wanted from the Tuileries, and then Leopold engaged to send 35,000 men into Flanders, and 15,000 men into Alsace, to hang upon the French frontiers. The emperor further announced to the court of the Tuileries, by means of secret emissaries, that an army of Swiss would advance in the direction of Lyons, that an army

¹ *Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat*, attributed to Hardenberg, the Prussian minister.

of Piedmontese and Savoyards would invade Dauphiny, that the King of Spain would have 20,000 men ready to pour through the last defiles of the Pyrenees, that the King of Prussia had promised to co-operate, and that England had engaged to remain strictly neutral. All the princes of the house of Bourbon, the King of Spain, the King of Naples, the Duke of Parma, and the expatriated princes of the French branch, were to sign a solemn protest and manifesto, and to co-operate in the great work according to their respective faculties.¹ Overtures of reconciliation and accommodation were even made to the Duke of Orleans, but they came to nothing, and his friend and negotiator, the Duke de Biron, declared to Bouillé that Orleans had been carried by artful and wicked men farther than he intended to go, but thought he could not, with honour, desert his party; that his royal highness was weak, but that, although his want of resolution had placed him at the disposal of dangerous men, who had sadly misled him, Bouillé might be certain of one thing—that it was the Duke of Orleans and his party who would save both the king and kingdom.²

Louis, who had kept up a pretty frequent correspondence with De Bouillé, wrote to that officer early in May, that he was fully resolved to flee from Paris, and retire to Montmedy, where De Bouillé had made a fortified camp, and whence, in case of necessity, it would be easy to retreat into the emperor's territory of Luxemburg, where Austrian troops were to be stationed to support him. His majesty further acquainted De Bouillé that he had reason to believe the Austrian troops would be in Luxemburg before the middle of June, and that he proposed leaving Paris on the 15th of June. It was not, however, until the 21st of June, that the royal family were enabled to effect their escape from the Tuileries. A paper was left behind, headed, "Proclamation of the king to all the French on his quitting Paris." It was a long list of the insupportable grievances Louis had undergone, and of the disorders and outrages which had been committed in every part of France. It declared that he had been a prisoner ever since the month of October, 1789, when they brought him from Versailles to Paris: and that, though he could have borne his own misfortunes, he could no longer bear to see that the operations of the national assembly had ended in the destruction of royalty itself, in the violation of property and personal security, in a complete anarchy in all parts of the empire. It complained, perhaps with too much emphasis, of the bad lodging and unsuitable accommodation he and his family had found in the Tuileries. It

spoke of the bitter sacrifice he had been compelled to make in dismissing the *gardes du corps*, whose fidelity to him had been so long proved. It spoke of the massacre of two of them, and of the wounds and ill-treatment they had received under his own eyes. It spoke of the savage outcry which had been kept up all along against the queen, "a faithful wife, whose conduct had been so heroic;" and it declared that it was evident all the machinations were directed against the king himself. "It was to the soldiers of the *ex Gardes Françaises* and the Parisian national guard that the custody of the king was intrusted, under the orders of the municipality of Paris, from whom the commandant-general derived his appointment. The king therefore saw himself a prisoner in his own states—for what else can one be called who sees himself forcibly surrounded by persons he suspects?" It recapitulated the first acts of the reform, where the king had willingly and readily concurred with the assembly, and the acts which immediately followed, and which had continued ever since, in which his assent had been extorted from him by violence and threats. "The assembly has put the king out of the constitution, in refusing him the right of sanctioning the constitutional acts, and classing as constitutional acts whatever other acts they think proper, and in curtailing and limiting his veto. They have allowed him 25,000,000 livres, about £1,200,000, which are entirely absorbed by the expenses of his household. They have left him the usufruct of some domains, with embarrassing forms, and have deprived him of the patrimony of his ancestors. Let the different points of administration be examined, and it will be seen that the king is set aside in all of them. He has no share in the making of laws; he can only beg the assembly to occupy themselves about such or such a matter. As for the administration of justice and the appointment of judges, he has no share in them. There remained a last prerogative, the most beautiful of all, that of pardoning and commuting punishments: you have taken that too from the king!" It asserted, with a truth that no one will dispute, that the Society of Jacobins had made themselves the chief power in the state, and had reduced all other authorities to a state of nullity. It said the king had been declared supreme chief of the army, and yet the army had been directed, without his participation, by committees of the national assembly: and he had never been able to exercise any authority or to appoint to any places, *because his choice displeased the clubs*, and his authority was envied him by the assembly. The king had been declared supreme chief of the administration of the kingdom; but the assembly had taken that administration into their own hands, and the agents of

¹ Bertrand de Molleville, *Mémoires*.

² Marquis de Bouillé, *Mémoires*.

the king had been left without any power or influence. "Above all, the form of government is become vicious through two causes; the assembly exceeds the limits of its powers, and it exercises by means of its committee of research the most barbarous of all despotisms. It has established associations, known under the name of Jacobins, or Friends of the Constitution, who compose corporations infinitely more dangerous than the ancient ones: these associations or clubs deliberate on all the parts of government, and exercise a power so preponderating, that all public bodies, not even excepting the national assembly itself, can do nothing but by their orders. The king does not think that it can be possible to preserve such a government as this; the nearer the assembly draws to the conclusion of its labours, the more do sensible people despair of it. Their new regulations, instead of throwing balm upon wounds, embitter discontents; the thousand journals and calumnious pamphlets, which are but the echoes of the clubs, perpetuate the disorder, and never has the assembly dared to apply any remedy. *What it tends to is a metaphysical government, impossible in its execution.*" The paper then mentioned that a motion had been made in the assembly, and loudly applauded, that the king should be carried off from Versailles, and the queen put in a convent. It described the massacre of an innocent man, almost under the king's own eyes, in the garden of the Tuileries; and it dwelt with a natural feeling on the affronts studiously put upon the king and the royal family at the federation festival. It affirmed that all those men who had spoken against religion and the throne had received the honours of a triumph. It complained of the harsh insulting treatment which the king's annts, who were leaving France on account of religion, had met with on their journey. It alluded to the "Day of Poignards," saying, that, when the factions had excited the *émeute* at Vincennes, those gentlemen had gathered round him out of pure love to their sovereign, and yet they had been shamefully ill-treated; and men had carried their audacity to such a pitch as to break their arms before the king's face. After mentioning the interrupted journey to St. Cloud, and the forced attendance at mass in the parish church, and the circular letter to the foreign ambassadors, which, it said, had been forced from the king, the proclamation concluded with these words:—"After all these sufferings, and seeing the impossibility of hindering the evil, it is natural that the king should endeavour to put himself in safety. Frenchmen, and you whom he was wont to call inhabitants of the good city of Paris, place no confidence in the suggestions of the factious: return to your king; he will ever be your friend, when your

holy religion shall be respected, when government shall be placed on a proper footing, and liberty established on a solid basis.—P.S. The king prohibits his ministers from signing any order in his name, and enjoins the keeper of the seals to send him the great seal as soon as he shall be required so to do." This paper was, possibly, not the very best or most political of compositions; but it was still farther from being the mean contemptible thing that Thiers represents it; nor can any man in his senses, that will honestly look at the mountain of evidence which exists, attempt to deny that it contained a true picture of the state of France, and of the sufferings and humiliations which Louis had undergone.¹

As soon as the flight was known there was a fearful storm in the national assembly and fresh riots in the streets of Paris. General officers were sworn to serve the nation without any reference to the king; and votes were rapidly passed that all the national guards of the kingdom should be called out, that more arms should be distributed among the people, that the national guardsmen should name their own officers, and should receive regular pay like the troops of the line. But the proceedings in the clubs were in reality far more important than those in the assembly.

The Jacobins, who were for ever swearing, now swore to be true to the people; and then denounced nearly every member of the assembly and nearly every officer and public functionary as a traitor in league with the fugitive king, the aristocratic emigrants and priests, and the crowned tyrants of Europe. As Robespierre was finishing a tremendous speech, La Fayette and a few members of the assembly appeared in the club, and caught the quick eye of Danton. That formidable man rose, and instantly said, "I solemnly engage to carry my head to the scaffold, or prove that the heads of those men ought to fall at the feet of the people they have betrayed. In the first place I call upon M. la Fayette!" And terrible was the call; for he accused the commandant-general of all the deadly crimes imputed to him by Marat, and asked him how he dared present himself in that society of patriots. La Fayette made but a very timid reply, consisting of a compliment to the Jacobins, and a miserable commonplace sentiment. As an orator, and

¹ All that this historian says about the paper is—"The king complained of his losses of power without sufficient dignity, and showed himself as much wounded at being reduced to 30,000,000 of civil list as at having lost all his prerogatives. The assembly listened to the complaints of the monarch, pitied his weakness, and passed on to other matters."—*Hist. de la Rev. Française*. In absolutely nothing will this writer be correct. The civil list, as we have seen, was 25,000,000. This may be considered as a trifle, although 5,000,000, even of livres, make rather an important sum; but Thiers is constantly working at this kind of arithmetic, adding here and subtracting there just as it suits his purpose.

in such an assembly, the hero of two worlds, as opposed to Danton, had no more force than a mouse in the claws of a cat. "I have been asked," said he, "why I come to re-unite myself to this society: I come because it is here that all good citizens ought to repair in times of crisis and alarm. It is more than ever necessary to fight for liberty, and I was the first to say that when a people desired to be free they became so; and I have never been so sure of liberty as I am now, after enjoying the spectacle which this capital has offered us on this day." And having thus said, La Fayette, who had courage, but no orator courage, slunk out of the hall of the Jacobins, wherein, we believe, he never appeared again.

In the faubourgs and in the Palais Royal it was proclaimed that the king had vacated his throne, and that a republic which would realize all the rights of man was going to begin. In the Place de Grève they broke to pieces the bust of Louis XVI., which was lighted up at nights by the celebrated *lanterne*, that dread of the enemies of the revolution. In every street the words *king, queen, royal, Bourbon, court, &c.*, were effaced from the signs of shops and warehouses; and while this was doing Marat called upon the people to cut off the heads of La Fayette, Bailly, and all the traitors of the assembly, to summon to Paris all the armed people of the departments, and to name a dictator or a military tribune.

After many misadventures, and not a few signal follies on the part of the king, the royal family reached Varennes; but there they were stopped and put under arrest. On the 25th, at half-past seven in the evening, it was announced to the national assembly that the king had arrived at Paris, and was surrounded by the mob, who were threatening to hang three gardes du corps that were fastened on the coach-box.

Suffocated with grief and shame, with dust and heat—for that June month was excessively hot—the royal family had arrived at the barriers a little before seven o'clock, escorted by La Fayette, who had gone out beyond Pantin to meet them, and by at least 10,000 national guards, mixed with a multitude ten times more numerous. The assembly and the municipality had carefully prepared the reception which they were to meet: a placard had been stuck up beforehand in all parts of Paris with these laconic words upon it—"WHOSOEVER APPLAUDS THE KING SHALL BE BEATEN: WHOSEVER INSULTS HIM SHALL BE HANGED." One part of the order, though the infraction of it was only punishable with a beating, was much more strictly attended to than the other where the penalty was hanging. The Paris citizens stared at the captives with hat on head, and one poor fellow, who, out of royalist sentiments, or pity and respect, ventured to take his

hat off to the queen, was nearly torn to pieces; and the accursed berline was several times stopped by the blood-thirsty vociferous rabble, swearing that they must at least murder the gardes du corps; and, though these gentlemen were not massacred nor hanged, they were beaten while sitting on the coach-box. To avoid passing through the streets of Paris, where worse might have happened, the berline was dragged round the boulevards, through the Champs Elysées, and then into the garden of the Tuileries by the gate of the Pont-Tournant. But even there it was in an instant surrounded by a mob, and apprehensions were entertained for the personal safety of the royal family. The king and the Princess Elizabeth descended and walked precipitately towards the open door of the palace. The queen, who was the last to quit the berline, had scarcely touched the ground with her foot when the Dukes of Noailles and Aiguillon came up to her, and almost carried her in their arms across the garden; for, though hot and inconsiderate patriots, and in very bad odour at the court, these two noblemen could feel for her perilous and deplorable situation. To some one in the crowd who ventured to whisper a few words of comfort and encouragement, the queen gently said, "Monsieur, I am prepared for everything!" Every gate, door, wicket, and outlet whatsoever of the palace was now guarded, both from within and from without; and the national guards had orders never to lose sight of any of the family, or at least never to permit the king or the queen to go from one room to the other without watching them. Louis lost no flesh, but the effect of these humiliations on Marie Antoinette, and of the agitations she had undergone during the journey, was terrible. "The first time," says Madame Campan, "that I saw the queen after the sad catastrophe of the journey of Varennes, I found her rising from her bed; her features were not extremely altered, but, after her first words of kind greeting, she took off her cap and bade me observe the effect which grief had produced on her head of hair. In a single night her hair had become as white as that of a woman of seventy years! I will not describe the feelings which rent my heart. . . . Her majesty showed me a ring which she had prepared for the Princess of Lamballe: it contained a tress of her white hair, with the inscription, *Blanchis par le malheur*—(Made white by misfortune)."

The royalist general, the Marquis de Bouillé, who, through a combination of accidents, had arrived at Varennes a few hours too late to rescue the king, was obliged to flee for his life across the frontiers. From Luxemburg the marquis wrote a terrible letter to the assembly, telling them that the king had only endeavoured to break his

chains; that there was no longer any law or morality in France; that it was he that had prevailed upon the king to go towards the frontiers; that now those frontiers would soon be crossed by the disciplined armies of the princes related or allied with Louis; that their disorganized armies and armed rabble could never stand against those veteran troops; and that if they dared to touch a hair of the king's or of the queen's head, not one stone would be left on another in all Paris. Most of the deputies present, and all the mob that crowded their galleries, laughed very heartily at the old royalist's threats.

The assembly, with affected magnanimity, passed to the order of the day; but nevertheless, a price was set upon the head of the author of the letter soon after. Most of the great powers of Europe were, as we have said, occupied about other matters, foremost among which was the final partition of Poland; and De Bouillé him-

self says that he saw no dispositions among them for any invasion of France, and that he knew at the time it was impossible to put his threats into execution. For once we agree with Thiers, that but for the generous motive which dictated it, and which was to turn the torrent of popular fury from the king and queen upon himself, De Bouillé's letter was a mad one. Thiers is, however, wrong when he taxes the fugitive general with falsehood in representing the military forces of the country as being in a contemptible state. Those forces were in that condition when De Bouillé wrote, and it was only through the long time allowed them before the allied powers attempted to strike their blow, that the patriot armies were got into some order and consistence. If the armies of the allies had really been ready to march into France in the summer of 1791, it would have been no laughing matter for Frenchmen.

CHAPTER XXIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1791.

GEORGE III.

The French revolution—Suggestion in the Jacobin Club of the deposition and trial of Louis XVI.—Thomas Paine's attendance at these Jacobin meetings—His writings in Paris—He recommends a republican government for France—The suggestion favourably received—Petition for the abolition of royalty—Meeting for its signature appointed at the Champ de Mars—Causeless alarm of treason at the meeting—The commotion and its effects—La Fayette accused of having instigated it—The petition not brought forward—Another drawn up and signed on the spot—Its motley character and accompaniments—Proclamation of the municipality—Various accounts of the meeting of the Champ de Mars—The meeting fired upon by the military—Martial law established—Counter-war by the journalists—Charges against La Fayette—Proceedings of the national assembly—A constitution of government drawn up—It is proclaimed immutable—It is presented to the king for subscription—He assents to it—He comes to the assembly to ratify it—Debate about the mode of his reception—The clubs denounced—Robespierre's defence of them—The national assembly dissolved—New members elected—Character and rank of the new members—La Fayette and Bailly resign their offices—Petion chosen mayor of Paris.



HE national assembly was now drawing near the end of its days; and it had been for a long time so much less powerful than the Jacobin Club, that it is rather in the great hall of the Rue Saint Honoré and in the Jacobin journals, than in the Salle de Manège and assembly decrees, that we ought to look for the grand effects produced by the flight to Varennes. Girey-Dupré finished a tremendous speech to the Jacobins, by demanding that Louis de Bourbon should be provisionally despoiled of all the royal functions until he could be tried before a grand jury, which should meet at the latest on the 30th of August next, the terms of his motion hinting very plainly that the proper punishment for the king would be that which Charles I. met with in England. An unnamed Jacobin, who

spoke next, approved of everything that had been said except the mention of the block and the axe, and moved as an amendment that the phrase should be left out which referred to Charles I. of England. To this another unnamed facetiously responded, that he would readily second this amendment, provided only the club would also agree that all the histories, engravings, pamphlets, and accounts of the decollation of the English king which had been collected by the society should be publicly burned. There was a good deal of laughing at this jest—a jest which proves that the Jacobins had, at a very early period, contemplated and studied the bloody finale of Louis's history, without the faculty or the wish to discover any difference between the lives and characters of the two princes, Charles and Louis. Antoine, another potential Jacobin, thought there

could be no doubt that Louis had merited death by his treacherous and ignominious flight; but conceived it might be magnanimous and wise to spare at least his life. "All his plots and projects," said he, "oblige you to make sure of his person, as you can have no security in his oaths or faith. He is a prisoner, and a prisoner he must ever be; for you know that if he were free for a moment he would flee again. Now, I ask you, can a state prisoner be the chief of the executive power of a great nation?"

At these exciting moments one of the most constant attendants in the hall of the Jacobins was Thomas Paine, who did not content himself with playing the part of listener and applauder, but sometimes spoke, and more frequently wrote in journals and pamphlets. He passed for a great republican luminary; and his opinions, particularly when written, and put into decent French by native *littérateurs*, were always received with wonderful deference. "The famous Paine," says Dumont, who had just returned to Paris from Switzerland, "was very intimate in the house of Condorcet; he believed that he alone had made the American revolution, and that he was called to make a new revolution in France." The author of the *Rights of Man* was constantly recommending a republic, something like that of the United States, but a good deal more democratical; and he spoke the words of truth and common sense when he said that the French had made a republic already in everything but the name, and that the co-existence of a king and of such a constitution as they had framed was incompatible, anomalous, impossible. Even before the flight to Varennes, Paine had been busily engaged in writing arguments and manifestoes for a Gallican republic. His most zealous disciple was Achille Duchâtelet, who had served in America under La Fayette, and had there imbibed some crude republican sentiments, to which he added certain extravagant notions about the perfectibility of mankind by means of altering their governments, which he had since contracted through his close intimacy with Condorcet. . . . "When the king fled, Duchâtelet was acting alone; it was Paine and he—an Anglo-American and a thoughtless young man belonging to the French noblesse—that were putting themselves forward to change the face of France! . . . The idea of a republic had scarcely presented itself, directly and nakedly, to any of them, and this first signal carried consternation to all the *côté droit*, and to the more moderate portion even of the *côté gauche*." . . . When Duchâtelet sounded some of the chiefs, he met at first with but little encouragement. Sièyes refused his concurrence with marks of contempt, and a good many of them told him it was not yet time. "If

I was not deceived in my information," adds Dumont, "La Fayette, in particular, repulsed those who tried to speak to him about a republic, saying that it would take twenty years to ripen liberty and make republicans of the French people. But the seed thrown by the audacious hand of Paine began to germinate in a good many heads. Condorcet, at the moment of the king's flight, had become a decided republican. Clavière, Petion, Buzot, met together to discuss this question. They spoke about it at Biddermann the banker's, where I was residing; and I there saw formed the first filaments of that opinion which soon grew strong in the southern provinces. Here are some of the weightiest things that were said in these private committees:—The king has lost public confidence, and will never recover it. The nation can never forget that flight, after so many positive and even gratuitous oaths; the king himself can never forget that he was brought back by force, and that he reigns by an act of grace over a people that despise him. The elements of the monarchy are destroyed; the king can no longer appear in any other light than in that of a conspirator; and nothing can be so absurd as to intrust great powers in the constitution to the man who has declared himself its enemy. This reasoning was very strong against the king, but it was very weak against royalty. They did not draw this distinction, because a difficulty presented itself, which they could not overcome without placing on the throne a branch of the Bourbon family. This last scheme pleased none of the men I have named. The Duke of Orleans appeared to them too despicable a personage. They also said that for two years past the king had not governed, but the national assembly; that all the obstacles came from him, and all the resources and powers from the assembly; that all the resistance to government was owing to his partisans, and that all the obedience was rendered to the assembly. 'In short,' says Condorcet, 'if a republic is made by revolution, if the people rise against the court, the consequences will be terrible; but, if we make a republic now that the assembly enjoys its omnipotence, the transition will not be difficult; and it will be better to make it at present, when the king is powerless and has nothing to hold by, than when his constitutional power shall have been restored to him; for then his dethronement will require an effort.' As for royalty itself, it was now regarded as a scarecrow for children, and as a puppet for men. I never heard in these meetings any true arguments in favour of monarchy. The greatest mischief is to quit what we know for what we do not know. To ask for a republic is very easy, and signifies nothing; but what form of republic is it to be?"

How many kinds of republic are there, or have there been?" The assembly, however, pretended and decreed that the monarchy should be preserved—that France should continue to be a *constitutional monarchy*—though the constitution was altogether democratic, and though the king was a prisoner *gardé à vue*. But again the clubs waxed furious, and there was soon riot and blood about it.

On the night of the 15th of July, the Jacobins, in their club, decided that the sovereign people should be invited to sign a petition demanding the abolition of royalty. The petition was drawn up by Brissot;¹ but Robespierre, with his consti-



MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE.—From a portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

tutional timidity or caution, thought it yet too soon, and said he had a *presentiment* that it would be made the pretext for some sanguinary attack on the people. It was probably through the manœuvres of Robespierre that the club determined to keep out of the scrape, and leave the people or the mob to act for themselves. Another petition was drawn up (apparently in the Cordelier Club) on Saturday the 16th; and by the usual means of proclamation in the Palais Royal, and placards in the streets, the people were invited to sign it on the next day on the altar of the

country in the Champ de Mars—which wooden construction had been left standing right in front of the Hôtel des Invalides ever since the federation festival of the preceding year, when La Fayette had almost been kissed and hugged to death by the people. Betimes on the Sabbath morning Paris began to flock to the field of Mars. A great many of that republican party afterwards called the Gironde, with Madame Roland (who has as good a title as any of them to be considered as the leader of the party), went out to see, and also to sign. The petition was not yet there, but a place was prepared for it on the boards of the altar of the country—deal planks, easy to pierce with awl or gimlet. A number of persons ascended the deal fabric, and were walking about gratifying their curiosity, and expecting the arrival of the petition, when a patriot, or some say a patriotess, felt something prick the sole of his or her foot; and springing aside, and looking down, he or she discovered a brad-awl working through the deal boards. Hullabalù! Here was some deadly treason! No doubt some gunpowder plot to blow up the altar of the country, together with the petition and all the sovereign people upon it or round about it! In brief time the planks were torn up, and underneath were discovered, lying *perdus*, with victuals enough to last them for four-and-twenty hours, two comical-looking fellows, one being an invalid with a wooden leg, and the other a Parisian hairdresser out of work. When first unearthed, these two drolls pretended to have been asleep, or to have just awakened from a sound sleep; and when taxed with their awl-and-gimlet work, they said, with a titter, that they only meant to look at the women's legs. As lubricity was so common a propensity among the Parisians, this ought to have saved the wooden-legged soldier and the idle perruquier, more particularly as no barrel of gunpowder, as nothing but cold meat and a little wine, a brad-awl and a gimlet, could be found in the cavity, or in any other hollow part underneath the deal altar of the country. But the world had gone abroad that they were spies of the court; and so the patriots clutched the man of the wooden leg and the man of scissors, hanged them both at the nearest *lanterne*, then cut off their heads, stuck them upon pikes, and carried them through the most peopled parts of Paris to that great Gehenna, the Palais Royal. This was at an early hour of the morning, and not in the latter part of the day, as represented by Thiers and the other advocates of La Fayette, who tell the story as if the massacre of the people which followed was the immediate and almost instantaneous consequence of the murder of these two obscene rogues by the mob.² We can perfectly

¹ La Fayette says that the petition was drawn up by Lacroix, the author of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, and still secretary to the Duke of Orleans, and corrected by Brissot. According to Madame Roland and Brissot himself, Lacroix was associated in the task of drawing up the petition, but left it all to Brissot, after having failed to obtain the insertion of a paragraph favourable to the Duke of Orleans' pretensions to the vacant throne. One thing is quite clear, and that is, that the direct attack upon royalty intended in the petition was a measure which Madame Roland and the whole Gironde party had taken to their heart of hearts. After the bloody scene in the Champ de Mars, the Rolands scampered away from Paris, but they soon returned, and under auspiciously republican circumstances.

² The editors of the *Histoire Parlementaire*, who have carefully

believe that the motive assigned by the two men for their being where they were found was the true one; but the republican faction have not scrupled to accuse La Fayette and others of that party, of having paid the men to conceal themselves under the precious altar in order to excite suspicion and an *émeute*, which might give them an opportunity of employing their armed force, and suppressing the aspirations of the republicans by terror and blood.

Madame Roland, that *angelic* republican, as she is still fancifully represented by so many writers, in one place repeats this accusation as being *vraisemblable*, or very probably true; and in another place directly charges the treachery upon La Fayette by name, as an *instrument of the court*.¹ Another party accused Robespierre of being the cause of all the mischief; but, with a strict impartiality in judging between La Fayette and Robespierre, we cannot possibly conceive why either of them should have put the two men in the hole. It is quite true that La Fayette was prepared beforehand to attack and disperse the people; and that everything was ready for such an attack at a very early hour in the morning, before the invalid and the barber were discovered, and when scarcely a hundred people had collected in the Champ de Mars; but he had constitutional authority and license to attend at such a great meeting with his national guards at his back; he might calculate pretty confidently that some provocation or collision would take place between his respectabilities and the mob, and there were a hundred little means to bring about an occasion for reading the riot act, or proclaiming martial law, and firing upon the people, without having recourse to that round-about way of putting the invalid and the perruquier under the altar of the country, &c. At mid-day, or nearly five hours after the perruquier and the invalid had been murdered, La Fayette despatched a detachment of his national guards to the Champ de Mars, with several pieces of artillery; but, though there was an immense multitude assembled, there was no rioting, and the petition, it appears, had not yet arrived. And these national guards retired without doing anything. The mob remained expecting Danton and his Cordeliers, who had engaged to bring the petition; but Danton and his confrères, panic-stricken at the indecision of the Jacobin Club, at the parade

of military force which La Fayette had got up, and at confident reports that there was a design on foot to butcher or imprison the popular champions and journalists, had either fled out of Paris or concealed themselves in it.² Some time after the national guards had retired from the Champ de Mars a committee arrived at the altar of the country from the Jacobin Club, which, on the motion of Robespierre, sent them thither, not to inform the people that the club had withdrawn the petition which had been written by Brissot, but simply to see and report what was passing at that great meeting. Tired of waiting, and convinced at last that neither the Cordeliers nor the Jacobins would venture to bring a petition to be signed, some of the mob, who could turn sentences themselves, set to work and drew up, upon the altar of the country, a petition of their own, telling the national assembly that their political existence was drawing near its close; that an enormous crime had been committed by the king; that the empire was on the brink of ruin; and that the assembly ought to be guided by the will of the people. And presently such patriots as could write began to sign their names, and such as could not, to scrawl their crosses. As the people wrote on different loose sheets of paper, which were afterwards fastened together so as to make an enormous scroll, more than six thousand signatures and crosses were soon obtained. Some of the signers, not satisfied with writing their names, gave their reasons for signing, or accompanied their signatures by denunciations of royalty—in words ill spelt and in sentences that defied the arbitrary power of French grammar.³ Women and children signed as well as men. The mass of signatures proceeded from people who hardly knew how to write. There were marchandes-de-modes, soubrettes, and filles-de-joie in abundance; and these practical ladies, probably not without an eye to business, seem to have generally given their addresses as well as their names. Among the men who signed were several conspicuous members of the Jacobin Club—as Brewer-battalion-commandant Santerre, and Gateau; and a good many of the Cordelier Club, maugre the fright and the flight of their leader Danton. “The whole petition,” says a Frenchman who has examined it attentively, “is perhaps one of the most curious relics which have been found under the rubbish

collected and compared all the newspapers and other documents of the day, say that the account of it given by Toulangeon is nothing but a gross and clumsy sketch, full of false or inexact allegations; and that the same may be said of the account given by M. Thiers, who has followed Toulangeon almost word for word. None of the documents they give, and not one of the numerous memoirs of the time which we have read, will bear out Thiers' narrative. Dulaure's account is contradictory and incorrect from beginning to end.

¹ Madame Roland, *Mémoires*.

² Yet Dulaure says that Danton read the petition from the altar of the country with his stentorian voice, and was greatly applauded. The Stentor Danton was running away into the country at this moment as if for his life!

³ The editors of the *Histoire Parlementaire* give the following example, which they say they took at hazard from among a heap of other signatures just as bad:—“Je renonce au roy je ne le veux plus le conette pour le roy je suis sitoien fransay pour la patry du bataillon de Boulogne Louis Magloire l'ainé à Boulogne.”

of our revolution. It has a form, a physiognomy, which paints better than all the apologies of the time the character and the very nature of this grand petitioning meeting.¹

It was five o'clock in the evening, and still La Fayette and Bailly, and the municipality, though anxious to strike a blow, wavered and hesitated. The municipality had issued one of their proclamations and pasted it up in print on the Paris walls, apparently about the same time that La Fayette sent his detachment and artillery to the Champ de Mars—that is to say, between twelve and one o'clock, or five hours after the murders. This proclamation was as signal a piece of quackery as ever proceeded from that illustrious body. It was conceived in these terms, which ought to be well remembered:—"The municipal body, being informed that factious men and foreigners, paid to sow the seeds of disorder, and to preach rebellion, are proposing to hold great meetings, in the culpable hope of leading the people astray and carrying them to reprehensible excesses; and having heard the report of the second substitute of the procureur of the commune, declare that every crowded meeting whatever, with or without arms, in the public places, streets, or thoroughfares, is contrary to the law: prohibit all persons from flocking together or forming in groups in any public place: order all those who have thus formed groups to separate on the instant: enjoin all the commissaries of police to repair without delay to such places in their several districts as may seem likely to become places where public tranquillity may be menaced, and to employ, in order to maintain tranquillity, all the means which are given to them by the law: send to the commandant of the national guard to give the most precise orders for dispersing these meetings; and the municipal body reserve to themselves to take such other necessary measures as circumstances may call for." But nothing followed this proclamation and the visit of the detachment of national guards to the Champ de Mars for several hours, although, at about two o'clock, the municipals were informed that some of the national guards had been insulted in the streets. According to their own account, or *procès verbal*, Bailly and the municipals then, considering that the armed force could not alarm good citizens, resolved that martial law should be proclaimed; but it appears they did not come to this resolution till past five in the evening. Three municipal officers descended from the Hôtel de Ville and read the law, which corresponded in some respect with our riot act; and the blood-red flag was then hung out at one of the principal windows of that

townhouse. At half-past five, at the very moment, say they themselves, when the municipality were going to put themselves in march for the Field of Federation or of Mars, some commissaries arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, and announced that one of the murderers of the morning had been arrested, but had effected his escape the very next minute; that Commandant-general La Fayette had been fired upon; that the individual guilty of that crime had been arrested, but M. le Commandant-général had caused him to be set at liberty on the spot; that the two murders in the morning had been accompanied by very atrocious circumstances (the municipals might have known this, and we think must have known it, eight or nine hours earlier than half-past five in the evening); that the national guards had been insulted in the Palais Royal, and that one of their principal officers had narrowly escaped death; that they, the commissaries, had been at the altar of the country, and had found it covered by a multitude of citizens and citizenesses, who said that they had met quietly to sign a petition in a proper and legal manner; that, upon being commanded to disperse, they had insisted that a deputation of twelve persons should accompany them, the commissaries, to the Hôtel de Ville, to demand the liberation of some patriots who had been arrested without any offence; and, finally, that this said deputation of twelve was outside the door of the Hôtel de Ville. It was now six o'clock. The municipals say that they were preparing to hear this deputation, but found that they had run away, no doubt to inform their friends in the Champ de Mars that martial law was proclaimed. But Printer Prudhomme, who was one of the deputation, says that they did not run away at all—says, they executed their mission and spoke with Mayor Bailly, who told him he was only going to march in order to introduce peace—says, that it was now for the first time that that signal of massacre, the red flag, was displayed from the window, and that the national guards in the Place de Grève, collected from the aristocratic and unpatriotic districts, set up a shout of joy at sight of the red flag, raised their muskets towards heaven, then grounded arms and loaded them. "We saw," adds Prudhomme, "a municipal officer go from rank to rank and whisper in the ears of the national guard officers. Frozen with horror, we then returned to the altar of the country to warn our brethren of all that we had witnessed." This printer is not to be believed implicitly; but no more is Mayor Bailly, or whatever municipal it was that drew up the *procès verbal*. But, according to this official document itself, it was considerably past six o'clock ere the municipal body, preceded by a detachment of

¹ *Hist. Parlement.* The original petition is still preserved in the archives of the municipality of Paris.

cavalry, three cannons, and a blood-red flag, and followed by a very numerous detachment of national guards on foot, really began their march; and half-past seven ere they arrived at the Champ de Mars. They say that their intention was to march straight up to the altar of the country, but that they were scarcely at the entrance of the Champ de Mars when a number of people cried out furiously "Down with the red flag! down with those bayonets!" that they nevertheless continued their march across the field, and were approaching the altar when the mob began to throw stones, and one of them fired a gun or pistol, the ball of which, passing pretty close to Mayor Bailly, lodged in the thigh of one of the mounted national guards; that the national guards then fired in the air or over the people's heads, and that thereupon a good many of the mob dispersed; but that the more desperate part of the rioters soon re-united on the flank of the procession or march, renewing their terrible cries and their pelting with stones; and that then at last, the national guards, using the right vested in them by the laws and decrees of the assembly, and seeing that these acts of violence rendered it impossible for the municipal officers to summon the people to depart, fired in among them. Prudhomme and the rest of the republican journalists tell this part of the story also in a very different manner. They say that the people were perfectly quiet, and that the national guards entered the Champ de Mars from three different sides, as if to surround the altar of the country and massacre all around it; that no firearm had been discharged nor a stone thrown, when a volley of musketry was heard; that the patriots on the altar said, "Do not let us move! They are only firing blank cartridges! They must come up here and read the proclamation of martial law before they can do anything." That the troops advanced; that there was a second discharge of musketry; and that the people on the altar—15,000 at least—were as tranquil as before, and preserved just the same countenance. "Alas!" adds Prudhomme, "they paid dearly for their courage and their blind confidence in the law! Men, women, and children were massacred, massacred upon the very altar of their country!"

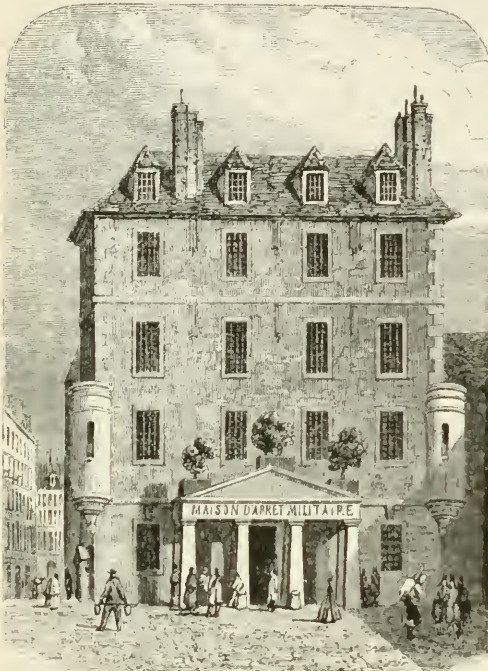
The moment chosen for entering the Champ de Mars and firing upon the people was certainly that in which the place was most crowded, and crowded too by persons indifferent to the petition; for it was the cool of the evening, and many thousands of persons were merely taking their evening walk, or were come to see what was a-doing; and—as it never yet failed to happen in these popular *mélées*—several of these inoffensive individuals were killed or wounded. The total

number of victims is differently reported by Mayor Bailly and La Fayette, who wished it to appear as small as possible, and by the republicans and their journalists, who were eager to exaggerate the number in order to augment the fury of the people. The municipal *procès verbal* only admits eleven or twelve killed, and ten or a dozen wounded; and three or four national guardsmen that were assassinated by the people with knives, besides a good many more that were wounded by stones: but, according to the other party, more than sixty men, women, and children were killed or wounded by the national guards, who fired nearly point blank more than once. A considerable number of the republicans were seized and committed to the prison of La Force, and by ten o'clock at night Bailly and La Fayette, who, by this day's work, had signed their own death-warrant or proscription for some no distant day, returned triumphant to the Hôtel de Ville. In the course of the night the rest of the journalists and a swarm of scoundrels who had been so long preaching liberty or death, and urging on the people to every bloody excess, fled into the country or hid themselves in the most recondite parts of the faubourgs, thus showing what mettle was in them; and by the following morning there was not a newspaper-man to be seen in all Paris, and the offices of the journals were all shut.

There had previously been five hundred occasions on which martial law might have been proclaimed and firearms used with a far greater appearance of justice than in this case. The people had not assembled to riot, but only to petition. And had not the declaration of the rights of man given the people a right to petition, or a right to demand whatsoever form of government they might think best? It is true they had murdered two common men; but how many gentlemen and priests had they lanterned or otherwise massacred without any attempt being made to stop their fury? But the hanging of those two men had nothing whatever to do with the proceedings. La Fayette had determined upon a *coup d'état*, or *coup de terreur*. For the moment his blow succeeded; but it was only for a moment. His guards were soon to be swamped by the influx of the lowest and fiercest rabble of the faubourgs; and then the sword must fall from his hand, and the people be left to interpret the rights of man in their own way.

After that black Sunday in the Champ de Mars, open war was declared between the assembly and the ultra-Jacobins; and it only remained to see which should prove the stronger in a contest which must be worse than a war to the knife. For a few days the assembly and the moderates seemed all triumphant: many arrests were made in the old arbitrary manner (*Et vive*

la Liberté personnelle!), and a great many of the journals (*Et vive la Liberté de la Presse!*) were summarily suppressed. According to Brissot, whose journal, *Le Patriote Français*, escaped the general doom, more than two hundred individuals were imprisoned *au secret* in the Abbaye.



LA PRISON DE L'ABBAIE, PARIS.
Drawn by T. Boys, from his sketch on the spot, 1824.

For five or six days the red flag was kept flying at the Hôtel de Ville, to inform the Parisians that the reign of martial law was not over. Some addresses were obtained from divers departments congratulating the assembly, and Bailly, and La Fayette, on the wisdom and energy they had displayed, and on the flight and confusion of the leading anarchists. Under the patronage of the assembly and the municipality a new journal was started, called "The Crowing of the Cock" (*Le Chant du Coq*). It was printed on broadsides, and pasted on all the walls of Paris, of which Bailly's bill-stickers now claimed the entire monopoly. It denounced every morning, by name, a certain number of plotters and republicans; and it described, with a broad, coarse pen, the personal history and appearance, the character and conversation of these individuals, who could not for the present answer for themselves, seeing that they were in prison, under hiding, or in flight, and that Bailly's police left them no press to print their responses, and his bill-stickers no space on the walls for their placards. The "Cock" crowed the most infamous details of the private

life of these revolutionists: it was a preface to the great biographical combat which soon ensued at the elections for the new assembly or convention. For several days no newspapers appeared except such as spoke the sentiments of the majority of the assembly; and continual arrests were seen going on in the streets and coffee-houses. It was a *little* Reign of Terror; but it could not last long. Marat, in a very few days, got type enough in his hiding-place to resume his journal; and there were plenty of people ready enough to hawk, and many more eager to read *L'Ami du Peuple*. From his Patmos he described his sufferings for liberty, and assured the people that he would not abandon them. Fréron's journal, *L'Orateur du Peuple*, was taken up and continued with spirit by Labenette, editor of the "Devil's Journal" (*Journal du Diable*). In some quarters of the town, and more particularly in the Faubourg St. Antoine, all the force and address of Bailly's policeman and bill-stickers was found insufficient to secure the monopoly of the walls for any length of time; republican placards began to re-appear, and the most exciting appeals were made by this means to the people. Camille Desmoulins, who had fled with the rest, put forth from his solitude a terrible paper, describing, in his half-mad, half-eloquent manner, the massacre of the citizens on the altar of the country, and all the plots and intrigues which had preceded and the prosecutions which followed that black Sunday. The paper began with La Fayette, "the liberator of two worlds, flower of janizary-aghas, phoenix of Alguazils, Don Quixote of the Capets and the two chambers, and constellation of the white horse;" and it held him up to the execration of the people as an ambitious conspirator, a tyrant insensible to blood. It related that Danton had accused La Fayette in the hall of the Jacobins of four or five capital crimes; and that, not being able to justify himself, the traitor had resolved to proscribe the patriot Danton, and get up a plot to massacre the people, who had every right to meet and sign a petition. He said he had been assured by eye-witnesses that the number of killed, instead of twelve, as represented by the municipality, was *four hundred*.

The assembly meanwhile occupied itself very successfully about the army, about the revision of the constitution not quite so successfully (for no revision could materially improve a thing that was a blunder throughout), and about the trial of some of the men that had been arrested on the petition-Sunday in the Champ de Mars. As a very important part of their proceedings, the assembly, or the constitution committee, thought proper to lay it down as an unalterable law that no changes or modifications should be

made in the present constitution by any national convention or legislature whatsoever previously to the year 1800! Malouet, who lived to see heaven knows how many constitutions made and unmade before that fixed term, harangued against this arrogant prohibition. "Remark, I pray you," said he, "in what a season and under what circumstances we are to be prohibited from altering our new laws. You only know the wishes and opinions of those classes of men whose interests and passions have been gratified and promoted. All contrary opinions are subjugated by terror or by force. France has hitherto been heard only through the organ of the clubs; and at present every public functionary that exists has either sprung from those societies or has become subjected to them. . . . Are we to remain till the year 1800 in the horrible state we now live in?" It was finally resolved that such an interval should not elapse, and the mode in which the necessary reforms were to be proposed and gone about was distinctly settled and specified.

It would be a mere waste of time to describe all the clauses of a constitution which was strangled in its birth. The number of representatives was fixed at 745; and these were to be elected every two years by means of primary and electoral assemblies, who were to be chosen by the active citizens, and who were then to choose the deputies or members. Although universal suffrage was rejected for the present, a very near approach was made to it; for to be an active or voting citizen nothing more was required than to be aged twenty-five years, to have a fixed domicile in some town, village, or canton, to pay a direct contribution equal to the value of three days' labour, not to be a footman or valet—or, as these constitution-mongers expressed it, "not to be in a state of domesticity, that is to say, a servant on wages;"—to be inscribed on the roll of the national guards, and to have taken the *serment civique*. The person of the king, who was still a close prisoner, and exposed every day to insult and even to violence, was declared to be inviolable.

On the 3d of September the national assembly, after hearing it all read over article by article, voted and declared that the constitution was *finished*, and that they themselves could no longer make any alterations in it. And, having made this declaration with proper solemnity and emphasis, they named a committee of sixty members to offer it that very day to the king for his pure and simple acceptance. The poor prisoner in the Tuileries was allowed a week to make up his mind, the assembly having the gratuitous impudence to assert that there was nothing to force his sanction from him, nothing to prevent that sanction having the character of a free and deliberate act. To give some colour of truth to these as-

sertions, they, on this said 3d of September, granted the king a little more personal liberty, or at least the appearance of it; the inner guard and bed-room sentinels were removed from the palace, and he was told that he might go to St. Cloud or wherever he liked in order to study the constitutional charter, and accept it freely. Even Thiers says—"But what could Louis XVI. do? To have refused the constitution would have been to abdicate in favour of the republic. The safest thing he could do, even according to his own system, was to accept, and to await from time the restitution of those powers which he believed to be his due." But there was more than this—there was more than a mere abdication attached to a refusal of this crude and inexecutable constitution;—there was a horrible captivity, and there was a certain death at the end of it—and this Thiers must have known, though he does not choose to say it. The only honourable path the king could pursue was assuredly that of abdication; but Louis could not but know that abdication would not give him the liberty of quitting France or of sending his wife and children out of it—that he would only step from the throne to the state prison and the block. The king, though a slow, was not a dull man; he had read much, he had attentively studied the spirit and forms of constitutions, and appears really to have possessed more information about them than all the fluent and precipitate men in the assembly put together. He said secretly to those in his confidence that the thing would never do, that this constitution could never march; but, yielding to circumstances and to the force of the people, and faintly hoping in the chances of the future, he gave, on the 13th of September, his acceptance pure and simple.

When the acceptance pure and simple was announced to the assembly, there was a hollow show of great jubilation. The letter containing the great fact was honoured with tremendous applause; but sharp eyes that looked along the *côté gauche* saw little but contemptuous smiles; and the "Vive le Roi" of the galleries sounded like a mockery. La Fayette, taking advantage of this seeming return of generous feelings, proposed a general amnesty for all political offences since the beginning of the revolution; and the cessation of the legal proceedings already instituted against those who had been concerned in the flight to Varennes; and the assembly immediately passed a decree to this effect. On the next day, the 14th of September, a discharge of cannon announced that the king was coming down in person to the Salle de Manège, to give his assent *vivâ voce*, and to swear; for more swearing was exacted from the hapless and already perjured man. Before Louis arrived, the assembly vehemently discussed the question whether they should receive the

king sitting or standing, and whether he should sit or stand while he pronounced his oath. A great number of voices cried out that of course they were all to be seated, and the king to stand with his hat off! Malouet observed that in all circumstances the assembly, in presence of the sovereign, ought to recognize him as their chief; that it would be insulting the nation as much as the monarch, not to treat the chief of the state with the respect which was due to him. And Malouet demanded that, as the king would pronounce his oath standing, the assembly ought to hear him in the same attitude. This seemed to make some impression on the house; but a rustic Breton deputy spoiled the effect by crying out in his sharp provincial voice—"I have an amendment to propose, which will suit all of us. Let us decree that it shall be permitted to M. Malouet, and to whomsoever else is anxious for it, to receive the king on their knees; but let us maintain our dignity!" The assembly thereupon decreed that they should be seated, and that the king should stand; because the king was only the chief functionary of the state, and because the deputies represented the state itself and the sovereignty of the people. Upon entering the hall the king was hailed with a few vivats, and was then conducted to a chair by the side of the president, and on the same line with it—for the assembly had legislated about these matters of chairs and stools. The queen was conducted to a private box, which had been prepared for her. Louis naturally rose from his seat to pronounce his discourse, but, perceiving that the president and all the deputies, except a very few, whose coat-tails were not safe, remained seated, he sat down also. In concluding, he said, with a desperate and most painful effort to look happy and in earnest:—"I thus solemnly consecrate the acceptance I have given to the constitutional act: and in consequence I swear to be faithful to the nation and the law, and to employ all the power which is delegated to me in maintaining the constitution and causing the laws to be executed." Then the president rose to deliver his obligatory harangue; but, seeing that the king did not rise, he sat down also, and spoke sitting. His rapid nonsense was applauded to the skies by the house and by the galleries; and in their admiration of it men cried "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!" with their loudest voice. Having signed and sworn, and having nothing more to do in that place, poor Louis was reconducted to the gate of the Tuileries by the whole assembly in a body, by military bands, by detachments of national guardsmen, and by crowds of the sovereign people. Once within that palace, he let his forced disguise drop from him, and revealed his real feeling as a man and as a king. He rushed after

the queen into her apartment; he was pale, and his countenance almost convulsed; he threw himself into a chair, and putting his handkerchief to his eyes, he muttered in an agony, "Ah! madame, why did you go to witness my humiliation? How! you came into France to see..." His words were stopped by his sobs and tears.

On the 29th of September, Chapelier, who was attempting to do now what ought to have been done a year and a half earlier, presented a report on political clubs and societies, and the perilous Jacobin system of affiliation. Robespierre, who now well knew his force and the weakness of his enemies, vigorously defended the clubs against this attack, which was chiefly directed by the Feuillants and the members of that club who had seceded from the Société Mère. He greatly embarrassed Chapelier and his friends by reminding them of the time when they too were among the hottest of the clubbists and Jacobins—when they too counted on the clubs as the best weapon to be employed in working out the revolution, and forming the public mind. He threw in their teeth the illimitable liberty accorded by their own laws and decrees; and he was at no loss to find good logical arguments for the support of the affiliating system. "High eulogiums have been passed in this house on the Jacobin clubs. Those societies have rendered the greatest services to liberty and the nation ever since the beginning of our revolution; and this consideration alone ought to have been sufficient to prevent your committee from hurrying to injure and hamper those societies. But it is said, *we have no longer any need of those clubs, for the revolution is finished, and it is time to break in pieces the instruments which have served us so well!* We shall see! For my part, *I do not believe that the revolution is finished yet!*"¹ In these speeches Robespierre was sowing the seeds of his own future greatness, and keeping alive that spirit which would render it impossible that the revolution should not go a great deal further. But he was beaten on a division, and a large majority carried a law against the clubs:—Considering, said the preamble, that no society, club, or association of citizens can have, under any form, a political existence, or exercise any influence or inspection over the acts of the constituted powers and legal authorities; that under no pretext, these societies or clubs can appear under a collective name to draw up petitions or appoint deputations, to assist at public ceremonies, or to carry any other object, the national assembly decrees, &c. The penalties were not very severe, and it was very soon evident that they could not be enforced.

On the 30th of September, Louis XVI. went to the assembly, which was that day to dissolve itself.

¹ Hist. Parlement.

The king made another hollow speech, in which he said that it might perhaps have been desirable that they should not have dissolved so soon, but have continued to sit a little longer in order to give stability to their work. He told them that he had announced to the foreign powers of Europe his acceptance of the constitution, and that he would constantly occupy himself in causing that constitution to be respected both abroad and at home. When the king had withdrawn, Thouret, its last president, solemnly declared that the constituent national assembly had fulfilled its mission, and that its session was at an end. A great many of the new deputies that were to succeed the members of this assembly were present and were radiant with joy and with hope at this dissolution. The elections had been finished before the dissolution, for the Jacobin clubs had attached great importance to this mode of proceeding; and the assembly, where the great majority seem to have considered it as a matter of no importance, had decreed in conformity with the wishes of the clubs. By a law which had been proposed by Robespierre none of the deputies or members of the present assembly could be re-elected.¹ The same great Incorruptible had, by another decree, excluded all members of the assembly from the ministry; and he tells us that he had once intended to extend the prohibition to the acceptance of any public office whatsoever, but was dissuaded from this last piece of rigour by the influence of his private and political friend Petion. But not only did Petion presently obtain Bailly's appointment of mayor of Paris, but Robespierre himself obtained a place of equal, or perhaps superior power, namely, the post of *public accuser*; and it is pretty certain that these appointments were foreseen and arranged some months before the dissolution of the assembly.² A great deal has been said about the motives of Robespierre in urging on the self-denying ordinances, and about the mischief produced by them. As for *his* motives, they were no doubt complex; but, as for the mischief wrought by his excluding decrees, we cannot attach so much importance to

it or to them as most writers have done. We trust we have shown what the national assembly was worth when opposed to the clubs and the mobs; we hope we have shown how little reliance could be placed on the political wisdom and political courage of the moderate party, who retained a majority to the last, but who could never be styled or esteemed moderate, except as being contrasted with the fanatics of the *côté gauche* of their own body, or with the madmen who succeeded them as members of the convention. We have entirely failed in one of our great objects if we have not demonstrated that this said moderate party had made a kind of revolution which could not possibly stop where it was. In the last hours of their political existence, these moderates, these pretended wise and great men, were humiliated and brow-beaten by Robespierre and Petion; and Barnave, the cleverest and most eloquent of all that party that had bound themselves to check the march of a rapid democracy, and to restore respect and some degree of power to the crown, had been unable to do anything—had been compelled to quail before Robespierre. We cannot believe that, if the entire *côté droit* of this assembly had been re-eligible, and had been re-elected, they could have done more good or prevented more mischief in 1792 and 1793, than they had been able to do or to prevent in 1790 and 1791.

But, as it has been well observed, there was not the remotest chance of these moderate men being re-elected if they had been re-eligible. If Robespierre had never made his excluding decrees, still none but men determined to carry the revolution further could possibly have been re-elected. "As it was, not one person who had belonged to the privileged orders was chosen, nor more than half a dozen *constitutionalists* of any note; the rest were selected from amongst those who, in the different districts, had exhibited the greatest revolutionary zeal—factious lawyers—infidel sophists—club orators—newspaper writers—and unprincipled adventurers of all disreputable classes and characters. In times of

¹ "The king hoped that the establishment of the constitution would remove the principal causes of discontent, and that the new representatives would be animated with sentiments less hostile to the regal authority. But these frail hopes were disappointed. The constituent assembly having, by a disinterested though absurd decree, declared themselves incapable of being re-elected in the legislative body, by this vote excluded those who were animated by moderate sentiments, and who, as framers of the constitution, were interested in its preservation, and enabled the Jacobins to obtain the preponderance. The new members therefore were principally drawn from the middling and lower classes of society, visionary projectors, men of ruined fortunes, the most furious declaimers in the political clubs, all animated by the boldest spirit of enterprise, and breathing the fury of revolutionary principles. They were headed and directed by a few chiefs, who, for the scourge of Europe, united superior talents with a courage exalted to fanaticism. The faction which

thus gained the ascendancy received the appellation of 'Girondists,' from the department for which the leaders were principally chosen; and 'Brissotines,' from the name of their chief. The object of these demagogues was to establish a republic on the ruins of the throne. They laboured to realize the plans of a Richelieu and of a Louvois by extending the limits of France to what they termed her natural boundaries, the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the ocean. From this centre they traced, in imagination, the limits of an empire as stupendous as that of ancient Rome; from a territory in which the bounty of nature or the ingenuity of man had comprised every requisite for defence and every advantage for attack, they purposed to extend their power, and to diffuse the contagion of their principles over the whole habitable globe."—*Coxe's House of Austria*, chapter cxxxiv.

² Article in *Quarterly Review*, on "Certain Forged Mémoires of Robespierre."

such popular excitement every new election must always make matters worse; moderate men either retire or are displaced—only the most violent of the former body are re-chosen—and the new men, eager for distinction, seek it in exaggeration. The non-election of the constituents was, therefore, in no degree the cause of the anarchy and horrors which ensued. All the men of rank, property, and experience would have equally been swept into oblivion, and replaced by the Brissots, Louvets, Rolands, Gorsas, Carras, Guadets, Garats, and hundreds of other names, till then wholly obscure—but soon to have such a momentary importance and such eternal infamy.”¹ As to the exclusion of the privileged orders from the next assembly, there were two or three exceptions, but such as scarcely merited to be called exceptions. Thus, Condorcet, who had been a marquis, was elected by the city of Paris; but he had declared himself the great champion of republicanism, and was ready to go any lengths with his party. The disproportionate multitude of journalists, pamphleteers, and writers of all kinds that were thrust into this new legislature, presented a very alarming symptom; for the worst of them were needy, desperate rogues, ready to look any enormity in the face; and the best of them were distraught with theories and vanities, and a fanaticism which might have stood up and measured stature and strength with the religious fanaticism of the old times, against which there was now such an incessant railing.

The terrible *convention*, which at first took the name of *legislative assembly*, met for the despatch of business on the 1st of October.

To act up to the spirit of the self-denying ordinances, and the articles of a decree of the assembly, passed in September, 1791, La Fayette, on the 5th of October, surrendered in the Hôtel de Ville, and to the general council of the commune, his charge and dignity as commandant-general of the Parisian army; addressing on the same day a very long letter to the national guards whom he had commanded. The hero of two worlds retired to his estates in Auvergne, and gave out that he was only anxious to enjoy the pleasures of retirement and the happiness of private life; but the truth is, he was very desirous of becoming mayor of Paris; for Bailly, hunted to death by the journalists and the mob, who accused him of being the cause of the badness and the dearth of bread, and who had never for a moment forgiven him for his conduct on the black Sunday, had made up his mind to resign the shining glory of the gilded coach, and all the honours and powers attached to the revolutionized Parisian mayoralty. Bailly, who pleaded the delicate state of his health, and his literary and scientific occupa-

tions, resigned in November. His retreat was followed by the same kind of music as that which had accompanied La Fayette: he was accused of the grossest speculation, of poisoning the people to make money by it, of intriguing and conspiring with the court and the emigrants—of being, in short, one of the greatest scoundrels and plunderers that ever put on the mask of patriotism. La Fayette's party and friends immediately named him as candidate for the vacant mayoralty; and they bitterly accused the queen and the court for having opposed his election, and promoted that of Petion, the Girondist candidate, who was



JEROME PETION, Mayor of Paris.—From a portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

backed by all the ultra-revolutionary and republican party. It appears to be quite true that the court really opposed the hero of two worlds in these civic honours; and that the queen said to Bertrand de Molleville, “Monsieur de la Fayette only wishes to be mayor of Paris in order to become mayor of the palace.” Petion is a Jacobin, a republican; but he is a silly fellow, incapable of ever becoming the chief of a party.” Poor Marie Antoinette was guilty of an error in judgment in believing that Petion's stupidity or mediocrity would prevent him from becoming dangerous: his mediocrity was a recommendation, and a potent means of action. But we cannot believe that either the queen or her friends had any great influence over this very popular election, or that they could, if they had been ever so much disposed, have either secured the election of La Fayette, or the rejection of Petion, who had in his favour 6708 votes out of 10,632, the whole number given.

² The tyranny of the old *maires du palais*, or mayors of the palace, is familiar to all who have read anything of French history. They were not only greater than the king, but the king was their state prisoner and tool.

Brissot sang hallelujahs for the election of Petion. "Honour to the patriot citizens of Paris!" cried Brissot, in his own newspaper, "Petion is mayor! He has had more than 6000 votes! M. la Fayette, who was next to him on the poll, had only 3000! . . . If it could have sufficed in order to be mayor of Paris to have an amenity of manners, to know how to speak to the people, and to flatter them in a moment of need, we believe that M. la Fayette might have had that place; but what we want is a man versed in the business of administration, a man accustomed to hard work, and we think that M. la Fayette is very far from possessing these qualities. Besides, he has against him his noble birth and his matrimonial alliance with the high aristocratic house of Noailles! The principles which it was thought M. la Fayette had learned in the school of Washington led the friends of equality to hope that he would be one of its ardent defenders; in short, they hoped that he would make use of the influence his position

gave him in hastening the success and completion of the revolution. But they were deceived in their expectations. They saw him constantly floating between all parties; wishing to manage them all, he has really served none; and thus he has only had a momentary triumph; nor would he have had so much as that, but for the light and inconstant character of the French people. M. la Fayette, being very little capable of an assiduous labour, has found himself under the necessity of employing a great many subalterns, and he is led by the nose by them. To this blind confidence are attributable many of the errors committed during his dictatorship. We are far from believing that he has the talents necessary to be mayor of Paris."¹

The violent republicans had secured a great victory; and yet, for a time, although La Vendée was in a blaze, and storms threatening the frontiers, Paris was more tranquil under the legislative assembly and Mayor Petion than it had been under the national assembly and Mayor Bailly.

CHAPTER XXX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1792.

GEORGE III.

Meeting of parliament in 1792—Pacific character of the royal speech—Its summary of affairs—Debate on it between Fox and Pitt—Whitbread's attacks on our Russian policy—He moves three resolutions on the subject—Speech of Fox on the same question—Pitt's defence of his Russian policy—His allusions to Fox's popularity with the Russian government—Fox's explanation and apology—Encouraging statement of the finances and the national prosperity—Disgraceful condition of the London police—Bill passed for its improvement—Bill of Mr. Fox for the repeal of penal statutes against the Unitarians—Pitt's opposition to the bill—Attack on rotten boroughs and demand for parliamentary reform—Society of the Friends of the People established in London—Its agitation for parliamentary reform—Debate on the subject between Fox, Pitt, and Burke—Disensions in the cabinet between Pitt and Chancellor Lord Thurlow—The king reduced to the question of parting either with Pitt or Thurlow—Pitt retained—Royal proclamation against seditious meetings and writings—Popular sentiments for and against the proclamation—Republican tendencies and proceedings of the English political societies—The Revolution Society in London—Its published volume of correspondence—Its republican spirit—Formation of counteracting clubs and associations—Publication of their resolutions and declarations—Sketch of the war in India—Character of Tippoo Saib—His power and resources—British invasions of his dominions—Seringapatam invested by Lord Cornwallis—Tippoo compelled to capitulate—Terms of his surrender—Affairs of Poland—Fruitless attempts of the Polish diet to form a third estate—Proposals of the diet for a political reform—Hasty proceedings of the Polish reformers—Their new constitution proposed and adopted by wholesale—Its chief conditions—The Poles solicit the co-operation of the King of Prussia—They refuse to cede to him Thorn and Dantzic—The British cabinet's indifference to the fate of Poland—The Empress Catherine concludes a peace with Turkey—She turns her arms against Poland—Brave resistance of Kosciuszko—The Poles defeated and their independence destroyed—Affairs of Sweden—The King of Sweden's sympathy for the Queen of France—Conspiracy against him in Stockholm—His assassination at a masked ball.



THE British parliament did not assemble until the 31st of January. The speech from the throne conveyed none of the anxieties and alarms which agitated the breasts of the king, of the ministers, and of all thinking Englishmen. The first topic men-

tioned was the marriage of his majesty's second son, the Duke of York, with the eldest daughter of his good brother and ally the King of Prussia.

¹ *Patriote Français*. Besides La Fayette and Petion, there were five other candidates for the mayoralty, and in this number was *Robespierre*. This is a curious fact, which we do not remember to have seen mentioned in any of the histories of the

The next thing mentioned was, that since the last session of parliament a definitive treaty had been concluded, under the mediation of his majesty, and that of his allies the King of Prussia and the States-general of the United Provinces, between the emperor and the Ottoman Porte, upon principles which appeared calculated to prevent disputes between these powers. His majesty's intervention had also been employed to promote a pacification between the Empress of Russia and the Porte. Conditions had been agreed upon between England and Russia, which his majesty undertook to recommend to the Porte, as the re-establishment of peace on such terms appeared, under existing circumstances, a desirable event for the several interests of Europe. The speech not merely mentioned, in the routine manner, the friendly assurances received from foreign powers, but affirmed, with a strange insincerity, that the general state of affairs in Europe appeared to promise to Great Britain the continuance of her present tranquillity. "Under these circumstances," said his majesty, "I am induced to think that some *immediate reduction* may safely be made in our naval and military establishments." He recommended to the House of Commons to consider of such measures as the flourishing state of the funds and of public credit, might render practicable and expedient for a reduction in the rate of interest of such of the annuities as were now redeemable; and he told them he entertained the pleasing hope of their being enabled to enter upon a gradual reduction of taxation, giving at the same time additional efficacy to the plan for the reduction of the national debt, on the success of which our future ease and security must essentially depend. Again France was not so much as mentioned.

The address proposed by ministers gave rise to a long and most animated debate, the attack upon it being led by Mr. Grey, who severely blamed the government for its interference in the war between Russia and Turkey, though that interference had rescued the Turkish empire in Europe from immediate destruction. Fox expressed his strongest disapprobation of the interference of ministers in support of Turkey, saying that it was very unnecessary and very dangerous to excite the resentment of a court like that of St. Petersburg. After dwelling for some time upon this subject he suddenly turned to France. He said that the frequent eulogiums on the constitution of Great Britain which had of late been introduced into parliament, had been introduced

in order to reproach him and his friends for their admiration of what had been done in France, and to suggest the suspicion that he and his friends were not so much attached to our own constitution as they ought to be. He thought that those who had overturned a constitution so radically bad as that of France had done what was perfectly right, and had properly run all hazards to do it; but the constitution of Great Britain was fundamentally good, and merited the efforts of all honest subjects to preserve it, although it was not absolutely free from defects and imperfections. It was therefore most unjust to insinuate that those who approved of the destruction of despotism in France would rejoice in the downfall of the British constitution. Fox then came nearer home, and took up the Birmingham riots and the sufferings of Dr. Priestley. Pitt, as usual, replied to Fox. He lamented the disorders at Birmingham; but thought these were matters which discretion ought to consign to oblivion, particularly as enough had been done for their atonement. And he told Fox very plainly that he was seeking to revive the subject for party purposes. He warmly defended the conduct of his cabinet and his diplomatists abroad, in the interference for the pacification of Russia and Turkey; and he told Fox, that but for him and his party, and their clamours in parliament, the British government could have succeeded much sooner in procuring that desired end. [But Fox, not satisfied with a legal opposition to ministers in the House of Commons, sent, as we shall soon have occasion to notice more particularly, a representative, a sort of minister of his own, with his cipher, to St. Petersburg, to thwart the treaty in progress, and frustrate the king's minister—a measure which, as Burke afterwards remarked, though not absolutely high treason, as we were not actually at war with Russia, was in law not very remote from that offence, and most undoubtedly a most unconstitutional act and treasonable misdemeanour.] Pitt added that his object was to prevent the ruin of the Turkish empire, and to maintain that balance of power in Europe which was important to this country, and the maintenance of which Fox himself had so often and so eloquently recommended. But soon quitting these topics, he launched into the pleasanter subject of financial improvement, laying before the house a circumstantial statement, by which it appeared that the last year's revenue had amounted to £16,790,000, which, after all the expenditure, and the annual million devoted to the reduction of the national debt, left a surplus of £900,000.

In subsequent debates the opposition returned to our Russian policy. On the 29th of February, Mr. Whitbread, who was becoming a consider-

time, or in any of the biographical sketches of Robespierre. We derive it from Brissot's newspaper, as quoted in *Histoire Parlementaire de la Revolution*. The other competitors were Camus, Fretau, Tronchet, and D'André. D'André, who represented the constitutional royalist interest, had only *seventy seven* votes. This, too, is significant.

able man on the Whig side of the house, moved the following resolutions:—1. "That no arrangement respecting Oczakoff and its district appears to have been capable of affecting the political or commercial interests of this country, so as to justify any hostile interference on the part of Great Britain between Russia and the Porte. 2. That the interference, for the purpose of preventing the cession of the said fortress and its district to the Empress of Russia, has been wholly unsuccessful. 3. That his majesty's ministers, in endeavouring, by means of an armed force, to compel the Empress of Russia to abandon her claim to Oczakoff, and in continuing an armament after the object for which it was proposed had been relinquished, have been guilty of gross misconduct, tending to incur unnecessary expenses, and to diminish the influence of the British nation in Europe." Whitbread exclaimed loudly against the temerity of ministers in lavishing the money of the people in unnecessary and unjustifiable armaments. He condemned what had been said by ministers to exasperate this country against Russia, and declared it to be a well-known fact, that in the armed neutrality set up to injure us during the American war, Russia had been only one among many; that the late King of Prussia, the celebrated Frederick, was the original contriver of that measure, so injurious to England, although the enmity of Prussia seemed now to be utterly forgotten. But Whitbread forgot that Frederick the Great, who had no fleet, could have done nothing in this armed neutrality without the Empress Catherine; and then again, Frederick the Great was sleeping quietly in the marble vault at Potsdam, and Prussia, under his nephew and successor, was following a policy altogether different from his; while Catherine was still living, reigning, and domineering. He re-asserted that the Turks had rushed into the war to recover possession of the Crimea, which the Russians had fairly conquered in previous campaigns, and which the sultan had ceded to them by a regular treaty. He praised the moderation of the empress, and undervalued the importance of Oczakoff, which had cost so much blood and occasioned so much diplomatic bustle and delay. Because England exported nothing to Oczakoff, and imported nothing from it, he concluded that Oczakoff was not worth any contention, and that ministers must have had another and a hidden motive. After all their bluster, ministers had agreed that Russia should keep Oczakoff. But this concession had been granted because our ally, Prussia, was coveting possession of Dantzic and Thorn, which were to be torn lastingly from Poland and given to his Prussian majesty for his consenting to the Russian possession of Oczakoff. Whitbread was se-

conded by Colonel Macleod, and supported by Grey, Windham, Sheridan, Fox, Francis, and others of the Whig phalanx. The first that rose to oppose his motion was Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool), who on this occasion delivered his maiden speech in the house with great applause and effect. He, too, declared that Russia was becoming dangerous to the balance of power and the tranquillity of Europe, and that her plans of conquest on the Turks were notorious. The Turks were accused of having begun the present contest; but were they not justified by the manner in which the Crimea was obtained by Russia, by the revolt promoted in Egypt by the shameful intrigues of Russia, by the haughty and unjust claims set forth by Russia to some of the fairest provinces of the Turkish empire? From her position, Prussia was best fitted to counteract these aggressions of Russia, and for the accomplishment of this, Prussia had been aided by a seasonable alliance on the part of the British government. Britain had also successfully interposed in behalf of Turkey by detaching the Emperor of Germany from his Russian alliance, and mediating between the Turks and Russians. But the present era, Mr. Jenkinson added, was not favourable to invasions and conquests; the prevailing spirit was against them, and Great Britain was constitutionally opposed to them. Dundas made a sharp, telling speech on the same side; and after several other members had spoken, at a late hour of the night, the debate closed by an adjournment of the question till the following day. On the 1st of March the debate was recommenced. Then Fox rose and delivered one of his longest and most eloquent speeches. He accused Pitt of being guilty of the meanest craft and duplicity, and of having acted in all his foreign negotiations against the honour and the real interests of his country. After taking a review of our foreign policy from the time of our joining Prussia in order to prevent Holland becoming the prey of France—a great object, which he applauded at the time, and which he could not censure now—he said that we were standing forward the principals of every quarrel, the Quixotes of every enterprise, the agitators in all the plots, intrigues, and disturbances that were every day arising in Europe. He hurled Oczakoff at the head of the minister with terrible effect. If Oczakoff was an unimportant place, they ought to be censured for having armed and protracted the war on this account; and if Oczakoff was an important place, the key to Constantinople, then they ought to be censured for disarming without having obtained re-possession of it for the Turks. But the reproach came with a bad air from Fox and his party; for their opposition to the armament, and

the strong feeling they excited in the country against any war with Russia, had forced ministers to disarm sooner than they wished. Fox drew a flattering picture of the greatness and the steadiness of purpose of the Empress of Russia; and declared that she would have granted better terms to the Turks if we had never armed or interfered at all. Nothing, he said, could be more rash than the minister's foreign policy, or more unconstitutional than his reserve and secrecy with parliament.

Pitt defended himself with as much spirit as Fox had employed in the attack. He again told his great adversary that it was chiefly through him that what had been done well had not been done still better. He asked whether any man conversant in politics could admit that the Turkish empire, if unable by its own intrinsic strength to resist the attacks of its two potent neighbours, Russia and Austria, should be abandoned by the other European powers, every one of which was so visibly interested in the preservation of its independence? But if other powers were indolent and apathetic, or hindered by untoward circumstances, could Great Britain remain inactive and leave Turkey to its fate? Could a British ministry look on with indifference or tranquillity while her commerce in the Levant was so manifestly threatened, and the maritime power of England, not only in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, but in every other sea, must receive a fatal blow from the immense increase of shipping that would accrue to Russia and Austria were they to become masters of European Turkey? Russia especially, already formidable at sea, must, through the possession of the Black Sea and the Archipelago, and the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, which unite those seas, derive such an accession as might in a short time render her the first maritime power in Europe. These were considerations which authorized a British minister to act with uncommon energy; for we must not lose the sovereignty of the sea, without which the immediate safety of Great Britain must necessarily become precarious. If the Turks had been the ostensible aggressors in the present war, they had received beforehand provocations from Russia which no people with any remnant of spirit could bear. Their subjects had been excited to rebellion by the secret agents of the empress; and the Turks knew—and all the world knew—the ambitious plans, the regular system, which the empress had concerted against the Turkish empire. Nothing, he said, was more obvious than the certainty, that if Great Britain had not assumed that hostile posture of which the opposition so unjustly complained, the original demands of the court of St. Petersburg would have been

insisted on to the last, and Turkey would have been forced to submit to a dismemberment. These demands had been made previously to a victorious campaign; and could it be believed that so rapacious a power as Russia would have relinquished such extensive and important provinces as Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, after conquering them, unless it had dreaded a contest with the first naval power in the world, which would probably have ended in the annihilation of the Russian navy? Pitt paid back the personalities of Fox, and not without interest, although he made no use at this time of the unjustifiable conduct of the leader of the opposition in sending an agent of his own to St. Petersburg to counteract what the king's minister was doing. He said that the party divisions in this country encouraged the temper of resistance to Russia; that unfortunately the enemy had been encouraged by an opposition, who now took merit to themselves for having rendered that useless, which, but for their efforts, would have been attended with full success. But he did not envy them their triumph. Theirs was not a triumph over the enemies of their country, but over the council of their king. And now, as he was on the subject of triumph and popularity, he must observe, that if he and his right honourable friend (Dundas) were to go to the capital of that empire which opposition had thus served, certain he was that they should not be found in any place of glory between two orators of antiquity! The cut was sharp, and the allusion which gave it its edge was known to all the world; for the Whig newspapers had blazoned the following facts as honourable and glorious both to the English orator and the Russian autocratess:—In the summer of 1791, shortly after the strenuous opposition of the Whig party to the Russian armament, Catherine had written with her own hand to her ambassador at London, to request Mr. Fox to sit to Nollekens for a bust in white marble, which she said she meant to place between the statues of Demosthenes and Cicero!

Pitt's reference to this bust brought red blood to the swart countenance of Charles Fox, who rose as soon as the minister sat down, and told him that he had said nothing to make him retract the censure which he thought his conduct had deserved. "With regard," said he, "to what the right honourable gentleman has chosen to introduce into his speech, respecting compliments and honours conferred on me by the Empress of Russia, I am ready now and at all times to declare, that if any foreign sovereign, in friendship with this country, shall pay me the compliment to think well of me, and testify it by those marks of distinction to which the right honourable gentleman has alluded, I shall feel myself highly gratified by such distinction." But this plaster

could not cover the gash which Fox had received: the great tergitant of the North, the Messalina-Semiramis of modern Europe, had never been distinguished by friendly feelings towards this country; she had attempted to inflict a mortal wound upon us during the American war—she had behaved uniformly with an arrogance and an insolence hurtful to our national spirit; and at the moment she chose to pay these well-calculated compliments and honours to the leader of the opposition in the British House of Commons, so far from being in friendship with this country, she and we were in a state of open enmity, and our narrow seas were covered with an armament which a little more obstinacy, and a little more insolence on her part, would have called to Cronstadt and St. Petersburg. Nor can we possibly conceive how, under any circumstances, an English statesman could be justified in accepting such honours, even from the most friendly of foreign powers, for his speeches and conduct in the British parliament upon questions like the present; and still less can we imagine how any friendly sovereign could decently offer these honours to the leader of a party opposed to the government of the day, which alone is recognizable by foreign powers. Assuredly, there was scarcely more indecency in Catherine's sending money and bribes to the poor and factious nobles of Sweden, in order to promote their opposition to their sovereign in their diets; or in her caressing and flattering the madly factious nobles of Poland, to keep up anarchy and her own influence in that wretched country. Fox might have made these reflections before sitting to old Nollekens for a bad bust; but he and his party, though professing such an extravagant love for democracy, and such a sympathy for French principles, had long since fallen into a state of admiration for the greatest despot in Europe, which is best expressed by the French word *engouement*; and, forgetting the moral of the old Scotch song, that it is well to be off with an old love before we take on with a new, these men persevered in their passion for the czarina even after they had taken to their hearts that new Delilah, the French revolution. But this bigamous and anomalous connection is not a single, isolated instance in liberal politics; for the same party and their successors, though enthusiastic for extreme liberty, fell prostrate before the star and the prestige of Napoleon Bonaparte, the greatest of liberticides.

In a committee of the House of Commons to consider the state of the finances, Mr. Pitt gave a most encouraging statement of the national prosperity. The revenue of the last year had so much exceeded the average of the last four years, that the permanent income would surpass the permanent expenditure, including the annual

million for extinguishing the national debt, by £400,000; whence, he said, government would be enabled to take off taxes which bore chiefly upon the poorer classes, to the amount of £200,000, and to apply the other £200,000 to the increase of the sinking fund. As future prosperity would greatly depend upon the continuance of peace, he did not hesitate to confirm the language of the king's speech by asserting that "unquestionably there never was a time when a durable peace might more reasonably be expected than at the present moment." In consequence of these financial statements the house agreed without a division to several reductions in taxation, trifling indeed in amount, but which bore hardest upon the lower orders, and had formed the grounds of popular complaint. On the same day it was resolved in the committee of supply to grant to his majesty the sum of £400,000 to be paid into the Bank of England for the reduction of the national debt. It was on the whole a small instalment; but it evinced the hopes of parliament and the nation at large, that the present peace would be lasting, and that a season of unexampled national prosperity was about to begin. Little did they foresee that the most costly and dangerous of all our wars was at hand, and that the national debt would accumulate to an amount that would defy all such attempts at liquidation.

The disgraceful state of the police of the metropolis, and especially of the largest portion of it not included in the verge and jurisdiction of the city of London, had long been a subject of complaint; and all men felt that the old unpaid (or *unsalaried*, for they got money and drove a trade in *fees*) justices of the peace were altogether inadequate to the discharge of the immense and almost daily increasing duties imposed upon them by a most rapidly increasing population. During the present session, at the beginning of March, a bill proposing to remedy the evil was introduced into the House of Commons with the countenance and approbation of government. The plan of the bill was to open five different police offices in the metropolis, for the prompt administration of those parts of justice that come within the cognizance of justices of the peace. Three justices were to sit in each of these new offices, with a salary of £300 a year to each of them. These justices were to be prohibited from the taking of fees individually; and the fee-money paid into all the offices was to be put into a common stock, and to be applied to the payment of their salaries and official expenses. A new power was also to be invested in constables and magistrates; for the first were to be enabled to apprehend people who did not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and the justices were empowered to commit them as vagabonds. Although

every one (the rogues and vagabonds excepted) felt that some change was necessary, strong objections were taken to this bill: it was urged that the vesting the appointment of these new magistrates in the crown would give an unconstitutional increase of strength to government, and that the summary arrest and commitment of any individual was an infringement on personal liberty, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution. Fox, Windham, and Sheridan spoke loudly against it; and Dundas, Wilberforce, and some others as loudly in its favour. The advocates of the bill represented that it was meant as an experiment, as was proved by the limited time proposed for its duration; that if it was found to work well it might remain, but that in the contrary case parliament might either amend it or annul it. Being carried through the commons, it was opposed in the lords by Loughborough and Rawdon; but it was supported by the chancellor and by Lords Grenville, Kenyon, and Sydney, and was passed by the usual strong ministerial majority.

An inquiry was moved by Mr. Sheridan, into the grievances complained of in petitions from the royal burghs of Scotland. These were, in substance, infringements of the rights and properties of the burghs, through the authority of self-elected magistrates, against whose usurpations the law had provided no remedy. The case was strongly made out, and the deficiency of a tribunal to judge of the proceedings of the magistrates was admitted by the Lord-advocate of Scotland; but a natural aversion to any reforming project of the popular kind subsisting at this period, the motion for referring the petitions to a committee was negatived. A similar fortune attended a motion from Mr. Fox for the repeal of certain penal statutes particularly levelled against the Unitarians. On the other hand, an extension of toleration to the Scotch Episcopals was carried in both houses without opposition. The Unitarians had placed themselves at the very head of those political clubs in England which were now alarming government and the great majority of the nation. In the debate, Pitt assured the house that, if there existed any laws against general toleration, he should be ready to vote for their repeal, provided it could take place consistently with the safety of the constitution; but he desired it to be understood that his system of toleration also would always be regulated by existing circumstances, and by the character of the times to which it was applied. No practical evil could happen from the statutes in question; but, now, danger might arise from their repeal. He could see no propriety in the house giving encouragement to a society professing principles subversive not only of every established religion,

but also of every established government. Burke, speaking on the same side, was much warmer than Pitt. Alluding to a new storm which had suddenly burst on the head of the King of France, he exclaimed—"Let not the king, let not the Prince of Wales, be surprised like the deposed Louis XVI.! Let not both Houses of Parliament be led in triumph along with the king, and have law dictated to them by the constitutional revolution and the Unitarian societies. These insect reptiles, whilst they go on only caballing and toasting, only fill us with disgust; if they get above their natural size, and increase the quantity, whilst they keep the quality of their venom, they become objects of the greatest terror. A spider in his natural size is only a spider, ugly and loathsome; and his flimsy net is only fit for catching flies. But, good God! suppose a spider as large as an ox, and that he spreads cables about us, all the wilds of Africa would not produce anything so dreadful:—

*Quale portentum neque militaris
Dauid in latis alit esculetis,
Nec Jubæ tellus generat leonum
Arida nutrix.*

Think of them who dare menace in the way they do in their present state, and of what they would do if they had but power commensurate to their malice. God forbid I ever should have a despotic master—but, if I must, my choice is made. I will have Louis XVI., rather than Monsieur Bailly, or Brissot, or Chabot; rather George III. or George IV. than Doctor Priestley or Doctor Kippis; for these kings would not load a tyrannous power by the poisoned taunts of a vulgar, low-bred insolence." He asked whether those who had the sway in France confined themselves to the regulation of their own internal affairs, or whether upon system, they nourished cabals in all other countries, to extend their power by producing revolutions similar to their own? and whether we had not cabals formed or forming within these kingdoms to co-operate with them for the destruction of our constitution? He drew a powerful and startling distinction between men of tender consciences and men who made sedition, conspiracy, and confusion a part of their conscience. "The principle of your petitioners," said he, "is no passive conscientious dissent on account of an over-scrupulous habit of mind: the dissent on their part is fundamental, goes to the very root; and it is at issue, not upon this rite or that ceremony, on this or that school opinion, but upon this one question of an establishment, as unchristian, unlawful, contrary to the gospel and to natural right, Popish and idolatrous. These are their principles, violently and fanatically held and pursued—taught to their children, who are sworn at the altar, like Hannibal. The war is

with the Establishment itself—no quarter, no compromise. As a party they are infinitely mischievous: see the declarations of Priestley and Price—declarations, you will say, of *hot* men. Likely enough: but who are the *cool* men who have disclaimed them? Not one—no, not one. Which of them has ever told you that they do not mean to *destroy the church*, if ever it should be in their power? Which of them has told you that this would not be the first and favourite use of any power they should get? Not one—no, not one. Declarations of hot men! The danger is thence, that they are under the *conduct* of hot men; *falsos in amore odia non fingere*."

Twelve days after the assault on the royal burghs of Scotland, an attack was made on the rotten boroughs of England, and the standard of an extensive parliamentary reform was hoisted. A loud stir had been made out of doors by the various and increasing political societies, who made up for the comparative smallness of the number of their converts by their enthusiasm and activity. In addition to the Revolution and Constitution Societies, who continued to talk in a very high strain, and to commend the French revolution, at least as much as they had done in 1790, two other societies now took the field—one, the Corresponding Society, which entered into a most friendly intercourse with the French Girondists and ultra-Jacobins, and which professed to aim at nothing less than annual parliaments and universal suffrage—the other, the Friends of the People (an unhappily chosen name), which simply proposed, in general terms, the reform of the representation. This latter association counted among its members many opulent merchants, many literary men, and from thirty to forty noblemen and members of the House of Commons. Grey, Sheridan, and Lord Lauderdale, who have been considered as the founders of this association, gave in their names at the first starting of the society, and frequently attended its meetings, and spoke at them in a very popular and very exciting style—at times in a style which might have been dangerous, if Englishmen had only been as readily ignited by oratory as Frenchmen. It was precisely because more men of character and eminence belonged to this Society of the Friends of the People than to any of the others, that it was most dreaded by that formidable majority of the nation opposed to change, whose fanaticism in loyalty or Toryism kept pace at least with the fanaticism of the other party, and who, being far too hot, and zealous, and angry to draw nice distinctions, confounded together the views and objects of all these political societies. These men set up the king against the people; the relative constitutional position of the two was entirely lost sight of by both parties,

and it was everywhere king *versus* people, and people *versus* king. The Society of the Friends of the People, with parliamentary reform for their motto and their theme, met rather frequently, and published their sentiments, and the resolutions they came to at their meetings, with great spirit and freedom, and to the manifest discomfort of the king and his loyal subjects, who could see in these demonstrations nothing less than a palpable imitation of the Jacobin Club in Paris. This was enough to call up a tremendous array in parliament against the question of parliamentary reform, which the society resolved to bring forward in the course of the present session, though, from the spirit prevailing in the majority, there was scarcely the hope of their being able to reform so much as a corrupt vestry or a parish poorhouse, and although any demand from a society and party in such bad odour was sure to strengthen the cause it opposed. Conformably to the plan of the society, Mr. Grey rose, on the 30th of April, to make a stirring speech on the subject; and to give notice that he intended, in the following session, to move regularly for a parliamentary reform. A vehement debate ensued forthwith, in which Fox, Pitt, and Burke took part. Burke said that England, at the present moment, abounded in factious men, who, deluded by visionary speculations, were longing to realize them at any cost, and would readily plunge the country into blood and confusion, for the sake of establishing the fanciful systems of government they were enamoured of. The disseverance in the Whig party now began to show itself strongly. Windham, one of the most eloquent and accomplished men of that party, and one whose high character for independence and perfect disinterestedness gave a triple weight to his eloquence and classic wit, warmly seconded Burke. Fox corrected Burke, who had spoken of him as having termed Paine's *Rights of Man* an infamous and seditious libel. He had not, he said, applied those epithets to it, although he had called it a libel against the constitution. He had read, he added, but one of Mr. Paine's pamphlets, and did not approve of it, and, from what he had heard of the other, he was inclined to think that he should not approve of that either; but he was not certain whether the pamphlets had not done good, by leading men to consider of the constitution. In like manner the book of his right honourable friend (Burke), which he disliked as much as either of them, had, he believed, done some good; because, in his opinion, whatever led to the discussion of the subject must be of service. This parallel of the *Rights of Man* and the *Reflections* was irritating and in the worst taste possible; and the great care taken by Fox and his friends to avoid the ap-

pearance of any severity of criticism upon Thomas Paine and his doings did not escape notice.

We must briefly notice a change of some importance which took place in the cabinet. Ever since the king's malady and the chancellor's double-dealing in the regency business, there had been no good understanding between Thurlow and Pitt. On some occasions, where his assistance in the House of Lords was considered necessary by the premier, the chancellor had sat silent, and in other cases he had even openly opposed measures to which Pitt attached the greatest importance. Nor did Thurlow in private society restrain his irritable temper and rough tongue in speaking of the chancellor of the exchequer: he spoke of him often in a tone of contempt, which must have been exceedingly irritating to one who was probably about the proudest man in England. The Marquis of Stafford, himself a member of the cabinet, who had been intimately acquainted as well as politically connected with the lord-chancellor for many years, repeatedly remonstrated with him, and laboured to bring about a reconciliation, which seemed so necessary to the existence of the present administration; but Thurlow was proud and obstinate, and all these exertions of the marquis were thrown away. Thurlow's imposing manner and solemn and wise looks (which made Fox tax his countenance with imposture, and say it proved him dishonest, since no man could *be* so wise as he *looked*), his indisputable abilities in many parts of business, and the force of habit, which was always a potent force with George III., long made him cling to his heavy-browed, ill-humoured chancellor, and apparently balance at times whether he should keep him by throwing out Pitt, or keep Pitt by throwing out Thurlow. The chancellor of the exchequer at last determined to leave the king no other alternative. Early in the session Thurlow had poured out in the lords a torrent of spleen and censure on the minister's bill for liquidating future loans. On the very next morning Pitt submitted to the king the impossibility of his remaining in office with the lord-chancellor, and the consequent necessity of his majesty's making his choice between them; writing at the same time to Thurlow, to tell him the step he had taken, and his conviction that his majesty's service could not be carried on to advantage while they both remained in their present situations. When thus pressed, George III. presently made his choice, and acquainted Thurlow that he must resign. But as a change was not desirable during the session, and as it was wished he should terminate some chancery business, it was agreed that he should keep the seals until the prorogation of parliament.

By this time government had made up their

minds to adopt a much more rigid style of criticism towards the *Rights of Man* and publications of a similar tendency; and to resort to the very questionable measure of putting down, or attempting to put down, seditious writings, by proclamations-royal and restrictions on the liberty of printing. On the 21st of May appeared his majesty's proclamation for preventing seditious meetings and writings. The societies and associations were handled not less severely than the books and pamphlets. The proclamation asserted that there was reason to believe that correspondences had been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts, with a view to forward criminal and wicked purposes, &c. It solemnly warned all loving subjects, as they tendered their own happiness and that of their posterity, to guard against all such attempts, which aimed at the subversion of all regular government; and it strictly charged and commanded all the magistrates to make diligent inquiry in order to discover the authors and printers of such wicked and seditious writings, &c. It could not venture to prohibit clubs or meetings; but it charged all sheriffs, justices of the peace, magistrates of cities, boroughs, and corporations, and all other magistrates, to take the most immediate and effectual care to suppress and prevent all riots, tumults, and other disorders, which might be attempted to be raised or made, &c. This proclamation was disapproved of by many, who were of opinion that government ought to have contented itself with prosecuting the authors of such publications as were evidently seditious, and with opposing by pen and speech and sound arguments those publications that were so worded as to obviate prosecution. They said, and truly, that public opinion was not to be directed by royal proclamation; and that metaphysical and political speculations were not to be refuted by a call upon sheriffs and magistrates; that the appearance of prohibition would only cause the books that were known to be more read; and that persecution would only call into the field fresh authors, and increase the vehemence and importance of the old ones. But still more men were of opinion that the proclamation was all that it ought to be—was a timely exertion of authority in a turbulent season—was a measure indispensably requisite to restrain within limits that effervescing spirit which was daily increasing, and which threatened to subvert the established government. The political clubs had given great provocation. They had struck up a league with peripatetic French Jacobins, with American democrats, and with all manner of revolutionists. Among these transatlantic republicans was Joel Barlow, the laureate of the United States, the author of that not-to-be-forgotten epic wherein George Wash-

ington is typified by Joshua, and the free citizens of America, and their expulsion of the English, by the Jews and their conquest of the Holy Land. This American infusion certainly gave some new twang or flavour to the "London Society for Constitutional Information." Indeed, we suspect that a flaming address from this society to the French Jacobins must have been written by Joel himself. The following bombastic declaration in this address, from which an estimate of its character may be formed, will remind the reader of the comparison drawn between that "bright occidental star" Elizabeth, and James I., "the sun in his strength," which forms the introduction to the English version of Scripture by its translators, and could scarcely have been imitated at haphazard or without purpose:—"The sparks of liberty, preserved in England for ages, like the coruscations of the northern aurora, served but to show the darkness visible in the rest of Europe. The new lustre of the American republic, like an effulgent morning, arose with increasing vigour, but still too distant to enlighten our hemisphere; till the splendour of the French revolution burst forth upon the nations in the full fervour of a meridian sun, and displayed the practical result of principles which philosophy had sought in the shade of speculation, and which experience must everywhere confirm!" Still keeping up this pompous magniloquence, the address thus exhorted the new lights and regenerators of France—"Go on, legislators, in the work of human happiness! The benefits will in part be ours, but the glory shall be all your own; it is the reward of your heroic perseverance, it is the prize of virtue. Your revolution dispels the clouds of prejudice from all people, reveals the secrets of all despotisms, and creates a new character in man." This pomp and parade of political sentimentalism fitly ended in the step that passes from the sublime to the ridiculous. In the postscript was added the following important notice:—"We are also commissioned to inform the convention, that the society which we represent has sent to the soldiers of liberty a patriotic donation of a thousand pair of shoes (!), which are by this time arrived at Calais; and the society will continue sending one thousand pairs a week for at least six weeks to come. We only wish to know to what care they ought to be addressed." The address, moreover, affirmed that the great majority of the English nation were disgusted with their own government, enraptured with the French constitution and the rights of man, and eager to follow the glorious example which had been set them by the greatest and most virtuous nation in Europe. Whatever the Society for Constitutional Information in London might call themselves, the president of the French conven-

tion called them "*generous republicans*." Nearly at the same time—in the month of November—the Revolution Society in London sent over their congratulatory address to the convention. These things were not done in a corner; these lights were not hidden under bushels: they were paraded in the most public manner and in the most public places; they were blazed forth to the world in daily and weekly newspapers, in books, tracts, handbills, and placards; for every one of these societies held their own doctrines as gospel truths, and every one of them was burning with the fierce zeal of proselytism, and ready to denounce every man that differed from them as a knave or a fool. This particular society, of which Price, the friend of Priestley, had been high-priest and patriarch—this Revolution Society in London—had published some time before this, with high exaltation of the French revolution, a big book, containing a collection of their proceedings and correspondence, both at home and abroad, from the close of the year 1789, when Price had preached his sermon in the Old Jewry Chapel, and when Earl Stanhope had undertaken to carry the congratulations to Paris, down to the month of March, 1792. A dread of that power which "keeps the wretch in order," and a calculation that it would not answer their purpose to startle Englishmen's minds by producing at once all their boldest theories or aspirations, induced these Priceites to suppress some of their opinions and many of the papers they had written into foreign parts; but quite enough remained in the portions they had the courage to print to damn them in public opinion and their book too. It appeared from the volume that, in 1790, it was reported and boasted at the anniversary meeting that this society had lately received "the warmest marks of approbation and respect" from the Jacobin clubs established in more than twenty of the principal cities and towns in France, together with copies, for their own instruction, of numerous Jacobin resolutions and publications; and that in England they had been very successful in forming branch societies in different parts of the kingdom: that at the anniversary of 1791 there was read a long list of societies in France and England, with which the committee of this Revolution Society in London had corresponded in the course of the preceding year; and that letters from the French Jacobin clubs, hailing the members of the revolutionary society as friends and brothers, and fellow-combatants for the sovereignty of the people, &c., were read at the said anniversary: that these Priceites had declared over and over again, in words spoken and in words written, that they aimed at nothing less than a sweeping revolution, like the "late glorious and splendid one in France," as England was a prey to an arbitrary king, a ser-

vile peerage, a corrupt House of Commons, and a rapacious and intolerant clergy.

Towards the close of the year clubs and associations began to be formed, with the avowed object of counteracting the Revolution Society, the Corresponding Society, &c. One of these new societies—"The Association for preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers"—held their first great meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the 20th of November, and agreed to certain resolutions and declarations, which they published in the newspapers, and otherwise circulated very extensively. "Considering," said they, "the danger to which public peace and order are exposed by the circulating of mischievous opinions, founded upon plausible but false reasoning; and that this circulation is principally carried on by the industry of clubs and societies of various denominations in many parts of the kingdom, it appears to us that it is now become the duty of all persons who wish well to their native country to endeavour, in their several neighbourhoods, to prevent the sad effects of such mischievous industry; and that it would greatly tend to promote these good endeavours if societies were formed in different parts of the kingdom, whose object should be to support the laws, to suppress seditious publications, and to defend our persons and property against the innovations and depredations that seem to be threatened by those who maintain the mischievous opinions before alluded to. These opinions are conveyed in the terms of the *Rights of Man—Liberty and Equality—No King—No Parliament*—and others of the like import; all of them, in the sense imposed on them, expressing sentiments in direct opposition to the laws of this land, and some of them such as are inconsistent with the well-being of society under any laws or government whatsoever. It appears to us, the tendency of these opinions is, that we are voluntarily to surrender everything we now possess—our religion and our laws, our civil government and civil society—and that we are to trust to the formation of something new, upon the principles of equality, and under the auspices of speculative men, who have conceived ideas of perfection that never yet were known in the world: and it appears that the missionaries of this sect are aiming at effecting the overthrow of the present system of government and society, by infusing into the minds of ignorant men causes of discontent adapted to their various stations; some of which causes are wholly imaginary, and the rest are such as inseparably belong to civil life, have existed, and ever will exist, under all forms of government, cannot be removed by any change, and will be aggravated and multiplied a hundredfold by the change proposed." The cry

of liberty and equality in France which was finding so cordial an echo in Britain, was met by the following unanswerable statement:—"It appears," they said, "from history and from observation, that the inequality of rank and fortune, in this happy country, is more the result of every man's own exertions, than of any controlling institution of the state. Men become great who have greatly distinguished themselves by the application of talents, natural or acquired; and men have become rich who have persevered with industry in the application to trade and commerce, to manufactures, and other useful employments. How many persons are now of great rank and fortune, who were born without either! How many are rich merchants and traders who began their career in the lowest employments of the shop and counting-house! In the progress to this advancement they have all, in their stations, contributed their share toward the show of opulence, both public and private, which is now seen in every part of this island. It is by the effects of this industry that the gentleman is enabled to support his rank and station, and the merchant and tradesman to employ his clerks, journeymen, and apprentices." They demonstrated that, if a perfect equality could be established to-morrow, there would be inequality the day after; that the French people, after all their murders and assassinations, "deliberately planned and justified by some of their pretended philosophers as the means to attain their ends of reform"—after all their sufferings and atrocious crimes, "which it could not enter into the gentle heart of a Briton to conceive"—after all their pretences and boasts—had, in reality, only changed their masters to groan under new tyrannies, to be subject to the lash and knife of one desperate leader after the other. It would be unfair to deny, or even to pass over in silence, the fact that these counter-revolution societies became in many places over-zealous and intolerant. They urged on the government—already sufficiently excited and alarmed—in the paths of suspicion and persecution; and in the excess of their own fears they were but too ready to trench upon the popular liberties.

As more immediately connected with our own affairs and interests, we shall now rapidly sketch the history of the war in India, which began in 1790. Tippoo Sahib, whom our opposition in parliament had undertaken to honour and applaud, was the cruel, faithless, ambitious prince that we have described him. Hyder Ali, though a barbarian, had several of the qualities of a great prince; but there appears to have been nothing great about Tippoo except the power and resources which his father had left him. After the peace of Mangalore, in 1784, the dominions of

Mysore, of which Tippoo remained in possession, extended over a tract of country some 500 miles in length by 350 in breadth: it was nearly all an elevated table-land, intersected everywhere with



SEPOY OF TIPPOT'S REGULAR INFANTRY.
From Capt. Gode's Oriental Drawings.

rivers, and cooling, fertilizing streams; the climate is, for India, very temperate, and the soil as fertile as almost any part of the great peninsula. It swarmed with population, the Mahometans being almost as numerous as the Hindoos, the more ancient occupants of the soil. Several of the towns, besides Seringapatam, the capital, were strongly fortified; and the region abounds in places of great natural strength, affording admirable advantages for a defensive war. Anticipating and providing for a grand struggle, Tippoo, assisted by European engineers, chiefly French and Italians, had erected many new fortresses. His annual revenue was estimated at about £5,000,000 sterling, and his father had left him a well-filled treasury. Besides European engineers and artillery officers, he had a considerable number of Europeans to train and discipline his native troops: but these fellows were chiefly common soldiers that had deserted from the Company's service to escape punishment for crimes committed; and as Tippoo was a bigoted Mussulman, and fond of religious conversion, forced or spontaneous, they had all become renegadoes. He had clothed part of his regulars in uniform, and had armed them with French muskets. Their discipline, however, was very far from perfect, and their whole number inconsiderable, not exceeding 3000 or 4000. The rest of his infantry was a mere rabble, armed with old muskets, matchlocks, pikes, and scimitars. But his principal force was his cavalry—that Mysorean cavalry which had repeatedly rushed through the

Ghauts like mountain-torrents, and swept the whole of the low, open country of the Carnatic. Yet the *élite* of this force, the Circar or stable horse, who were uniformly clothed and equipped, did not exceed 6000; all the rest being irregulars, who found their own horses and arms, and who did no military duty, except when called into the field on some emergency, or to make some plundering incursion into the territories of their neighbours. These fellows, however, were bold and clever riders; and the rapidity of their movements often made up for their deficiency in other points. His artillery was more than respectable, the French having furnished him with guns of all calibres, many of which, being larger and longer than any of the guns of Lord Cornwallis, Governor-general of India, who now superintended the campaign against the Mysore in person, gave him a considerable advantage over the English in this war.¹ His heavier pieces were drawn by elephants, of which he had 400 well trained for the purpose, and for the movements of the lighter cannons he had an immense train of very excellent bullocks. In consequence of these means of conveyance, he could move his artillery with a rapidity which the English could not equal; while his light, nimble cavalry could shift their positions with a practised dexterity and quickness almost inconceivable by an European enemy.

Notwithstanding his military advantages, it was determined to penetrate into the very heart of Tippoo's dominions. The march of Lord Cornwallis, and of General Abercromby, who moved in a different line, was excessively laborious. They had to make the roads by which they were to advance; and for fifty miles and more Abercromby's route was across steep mountains, where the battering-trains, provisions, and stores were moved with the greatest difficulty, every separate gun being hoisted by the soldiers over a succession of ascents by means of ropes and tackle. India was still too generally considered as a field of war unworthy of much notice, and English writers have never had the art of dressing up the exploits and victories of their countrymen in such brilliant colours as the French; but the difficulties overcome by General Abercromby in this campaign, by Colonel Fullerton in his expedition into the Malabar provinces, and by several other British commanders in other parts of India, were nowise inferior to those with which Napoleon Bonaparte had to contend in his much-famed passage over the St. Bernard. Unhappily the small-pox broke out among the troops of Cornwallis and Abercromby, the treacherous Mahrattas violated their agreements, the rain set in prematurely, provisions

¹ For portrait of Lord Cornwallis, see p. 622.

became scanty, and, after beating Tippoo in the field, and getting within seven miles of Seringapatam, our army, at the end of May, 1791, was compelled to retreat towards the coast. Rejoiced



GENERAL SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY.—From a print by Bartolozzi, after Hoppner.

at a retreat which had been occasioned by sickness and the warring elements, Tippoo gave loose to his boastful, arrogant spirit, and proclaimed that he had obtained a glorious victory over the British, and put them to flight; but conscious of his own weakness, he renewed his overtures for peace, which could no longer be listened to. Impatient to recover the prestige of our arms, and punish a tyrant whose perfidy and cruelty nothing but absolute subjugation could restrain, Lord Cornwallis insisted upon the same conditions that had been offered previous to his retreat. These of course were indignantly rejected, and his lordship made preparations for a fresh campaign, which was to be opened before the year had ended.

At the close of autumn Cornwallis was again in the field, and with every prospect of success, having spent the short interval in making ample preparations in troops, artillery, and military transports and conveyances, as well as large supplies of money, so that he was at the head of an army sufficient, if need were, to march through the Mysore, and lay its proud capital in ashes. In his onward advance every interposing obstacle fell before him. The passes that lead from the Carnatic to the Mysore country, by which the invading army was to receive its supplies, were cleared, and the forts by which they were defended were stormed, or compelled to surrender at the first summons, after which the whole British convoy from Madras, of elephants, stores, and treasures, marched through them in triumph,

and without interruption. The hill-forts which intercepted the communication of Cornwallis with his ally, the Nizam of Deccan, were in like manner reduced, and with still greater facility. The only exception was Nundydroog, on the top of a mountain 1700 feet high; and, confident in the height of their fort, the Mysorean garrison ventured to stand a siege, imagining that their stronghold was inaccessible to artillery. But the cannon were drawn up the steep, the walls were breached by their fire, and the British troops under the daring General Medows were advancing to the storm, when some one gave the alarm, "There is a mine near the breach!" "If there is a mine," cried Medows laughingly, "it is a mine of gold!" The onset was immediately renewed, and the place was won. In like manner, the strong fortress of Severndroog and Ootradroog, between Bangalore and Seringapatam, were carried by storm; and an army which Tippoo had sent to keep open his communication with the important provinces of Bednore and Mangalore, the only part of his dominions which the war had not reached, was first driven back by the Mahratta allies of the British, and finally routed and dispersed by Captain Little. In this manner the way to the capital was cleared, and Cornwallis, uniting with General Abercromby, who had advanced from his cantonments at Tellicherry, and with his ally the Nizam, the whole combined force arrived before Seringapatam on the 5th of February, 1792.

The means of defence possessed by this queen of Indian cities were apparently enough for an effectual resistance. It stood upon an island between three and four miles in length, formed by two branches of the river Cauvery, and having a fortress on the western angle; while the eastern part of the island was guarded by ramparts and batteries, that were connected by entrenchments and a deep ditch. Without the walls, and upon the bank of the river, Tippoo lay encamped, his army divided into two lines occupying both sides of the Cauvery, and numbering nearly 50,000 strong, defended by redoubts, fortresses, and 400 pieces of artillery. An army so numerous and so well entrenched seemed fitted to give battle for a kingdom; but Tippoo had not his father's daring spirit; his chief hope lay, not in active resistance, but procrastination and delay, until the rainy season should force his assailants to retire. But on the night of the 6th of February his calculations were disagreeably interrupted by the British, who attacked his first line, captured some of its strongest defences, and filled the whole camp with confusion and panic; and when he endeavoured, in the morning, to rally his troops and repair his disasters, he was so unsuccessful that he was obliged to flee with the

remains of his first line across the Cauvery, and unite himself with the second line under the walls of Seringapatam. But even there he could find no safety, for on the morning of the 8th, Abercromby had effected a secure lodgment upon the island; the capital itself was beleaguered by the British army; and everything was ready for an attempt to storm that could scarcely fail to be successful. All that followed on the part of the Mysoreans was a series of abortive struggles and skirmishes, in which they were repulsed at every point; by the 23d the second parallel was finished, the furnaces prepared for firing hot shot into the town, and the storming party under the leading of General Meadows impatient to enter the breach, which a few discharges of fifty pieces of cannon would have widened for their assault. But during these hostile preparations, the panic-struck Tippoo had been negotiating with Lord Cornwallis; and although he saw that resistance was hopeless, he still continued to demur to the hard conditions offered by the British commander, until the 24th, when the last hour of clemency and treaty had expired. It was only then that the Sultaun's proud spirit yielded, and that Cornwallis issued orders to his soldiers in the trenches to suspend their operations. The treaty which Tippoo was forced to accept contained the following articles:—1. That he should cede one-half of his territories to the allies; 2. That he should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees—nearly £4,000,000; 3. That he should unequivocally restore all the prisoners who had been taken by the Mysoreans from the time of Hyder; 4. That he should deliver up as hostages for the due performance of the treaty two of his three eldest sons. In conformity with these terms Tippoo began to send the treasure out of the fort to the camp of the besiegers; and, on the 26th, the young princes, one of whom was about ten and the other eight years old, were conducted to the British camp with great pomp and ceremony. “These children,” said the vakeel of Tippoo on presenting them, “were this morning the sons of the Sultaun, my master; they must now look up to your lordship as a father.” It was as a father that Cornwallis received the young princes, so that in a short time they regarded him with confidence and affection. Even when the negotiation had proceeded thus far, its fulfilment was not as yet quite certain, for the dispossessed sovereign, humbled by his defeat and enraged at its consequences, was ready for every expedient to avoid the payment, or at least obtain some mitigation of the terms. He therefore threw several obstacles in the way before the definitive treaty was concluded; and he objected particularly to the restoration of the Rajah of Coorg to his dominions, who had been

the faithful ally of the English, and of whose interests Cornwallis was not forgetful when the opportunity to requite them had arrived. While he was thus procrastinating the coming of the evil hour, it was also found that he was privately repairing his damaged forts and strengthening the works of Seringapatam, as if for a fresh resistance. The measures of Lord Cornwallis in this case were prompt and decisive. He issued orders to his army for a renewal of the siege. He treated the young princes no longer as hostages but prisoners of war. They were even already on their way to Bangalore, where they were to be taken into strict custody. These proceedings showed that all further hope of escape or procrastination was fruitless, and Tippoo at last consented to all the conditions without delay or reservation. In the definitive treaty which he sent to the British encampment on the 19th of March, he surrendered to them all his dominions on the coast of Malabar, a district surrounding Dindigul, and some territory on the western frontier of the Carnatic, with Buramuhl and the Lower Ghauts. This, however, was only a portion of the dismemberment, as the allies who had served in the war against the Sultaun had also their claims to be taken into account; and accordingly Tippoo, by the terms of the treaty, surrendered to the nizam the whole country from the river Kistna to the Pennar, and to the Mahrattas their old frontier line extending over the whole territory as far as the river Toombudra. It was no wonder that the proud monarch was so reluctant in the cession of so large a portion of his dominions, or that his conquerors should suspect his purpose to recover them as soon as an opportunity offered. The territory thus acquired by the English did not yield much more than half a million sterling of annual revenue; but it was highly valuable as strengthening the Carnatic against invasion, as affording excellent land communications, and as containing ports on the Malabar coast highly favourable to commerce and to the extension of that influence which we aimed at. The nairs and the other Hindoo people that occupied the coast of Malabar were made happy by the change of masters, and by the full freedom now allowed them in the exercise of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their old customs. After the ratification of this treaty, the terms of which, considering the provocation, were signalized by justice and moderation, the governor-general endeavoured to conciliate the humbled tyrant by kindness and courtesy; but every advance of this kind was met with sullenness, or an acquiescence that was still more offensive. It was evident that the war, instead of being ended, would be resumed with greater rancour than ever. In his letter

to the court of directors, which accompanied the definitive treaty, Lord Cornwallis described Tippoo as "a faithless and violent character, upon whom no dependence could be placed." His lordship knew very well his connection with the French, and the efforts he had made, and continued to make, to bring that powerful nation back into the Indian wars; and it is urged by one intimately acquainted with the whole subject, that he must have considered Tippoo, even in his reduced state, as much more likely to disturb the Company's possessions than either the nizam or the Mahrattas; and that it was from far different considerations than any dread of increasing the dominions of the Mahrattas and his other ally (the motive generally ascribed to him for concluding the present peace) that he did not prosecute the war to the total destruction of the Mysorean power.

The affairs of Poland now demand our attention. In the month of October, 1788, the Polish diet, consisting of the magnates and the clergy, had assembled with the intention of improving and remodelling the whole system of government in that part of the country which yet remained to them unpartitioned. Soon encouraged by the spirit that was showing itself in France, the members of the diet resolved to continue their sittings until their work of reform should be completed; and, in order to strengthen themselves by the addition of a *tiers état*, about which so much noise was making elsewhere, but which hitherto had had no political existence in Poland, they determined to admit the inferior orders into a participation in their deliberations and powers. Several years before this, the chancellor, Andrew Zamoyski, who had both patriotism and ability, had prepared a new code, which removed many ancient abuses, and partly emancipated the peasants, who in Poland remained at the end of the eighteenth century in the same condition of serfs or slaves as the peasantry of all Europe had been in at the end of the fourteenth. The diet which had been assembled in 1780 had rejected these vast improvements and this code altogether, the majority of them calling Zamoyski, who had set the example by emancipating his own serfs, a plunderer and a traitor to his country. Nor could the diet now assembled venture to propose the emancipation of the serfs, nor was it in the end proposed until it was too late. The diet, in fact, did little or nothing but occupy itself about an alliance with Prussia, until September, 1789, when they named a committee to propose reforms in different branches of the administration, and to present the basis of an entirely new constitution. "If," says a Polish noble, a magnate of the kingdom, and one as we believe honestly attached to his country, "if the diet had

proceeded with more despatch, and proclaimed the new constitution eighteen months earlier than they did, Poland would have been saved. She would have had the time necessary to consolidate her government and to gain strength from 1789 to 1792; she would not have lost all the advantages of an alliance *very sincerely offered at that period* by the King of Prussia; she would not have left Russia the time to make peace with the Turks and the Swedes; and she would have prevented that friendly understanding between Russia and Prussia which arose out of the events and troubles in France in 1792. It was this understanding and these events which entirely changed the intentions of Frederick William with respect to Poland; which altered his character and manner of thinking; and which raised and armed nearly all Europe against France, without producing any other effect than increasing the revolutionary fanaticism, exasperating men's minds, and leaving France exposed for a time to all the horrors of anarchy." The Polish constitution-makers did not perform their work quite so rapidly as the French, although, unfortunately for themselves, they imitated those vivacious legislators in too many particulars. A deputy, or *nuncio*, from Lithuania, thought that, before they made a constitution at all, they had better provide the means of defending their country; and repeatedly exclaimed in the diet, "Money and an army! These are the two sole objects which ought at present to engage our attention!" He was in the right, but he was not listened to. The diet indeed proposed some necessary reforms, which were embodied in eight articles, under the title of "Principles for the improvement of the Constitution." But these were useless so long as the radical evils of the doomed government and kingdom were left untouched. Their principle of elective sovereignty—by which every new king was certain to be inaugurated by bribery, intrigue, and discontent, and often with the chances of a civil war—was still recognized as a fundamental principle of Polish kingship. In the same spirit, the peasantry were still to be retained in serfship, and the burghers allowed no share whatever in the administration of government, the expenses of which, however, they were mainly expected to bear. All places except the lowest were still to be monopolized, as hitherto, by the 300,000 Polish nobles, real and nominal, by whom the kingdom of Poland at large had been wont to be represented.

The diet, which was prorogued on the 30th of December, 1789, to the 3d of February, 1790, came to no conclusion either on the establishment of an hereditary monarchy or admission of the

¹ Michael Oginski, *Mémoires sur la Pologne et les Polonais, depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815.*

common people into a share in the government: but, unlike the French nobility before the revolution, who paid nothing and would not agree to pay anything towards the expenses of the state, these Polish magnates voluntarily taxed themselves to the amount of a tenth part of their yearly revenues, and decided that the burghers and country-people should pay no more than they had been accustomed to pay in quieter times. During the recess of the diet, Luchesini, Frederick William's ambassador, informed the court of Warsaw that the Empress of Russia had declared that she would be no obstacle to an alliance between Prussia and Poland; that the King of Prussia highly approved of the projected reforms, and was ready to offer Stanislaus Augustus a defensive alliance, and conclude with him a commercial treaty, upon terms liberal and beneficial to both countries. But at the same time Luchesini did not conceal the eager desire of Frederick William to possess Thorn and Dantzic, which would throw open to him the navigation of the Vistula to the Baltic; intimating, however, that Prussia would give an equivalent by ceding other territories to Poland. But the Poles would not consent to give up the commerce of the Vistula to one of those powers by whom their country had been partitioned, and the diet decreed that no portion of the kingdom should ever be alienated. But how could such a decree be enforced upon those who were resolved to strip them of all? They continued their attempts to work out the problems of reform that had been laid before them, and finding their term of sitting too short for the task, they voted their continuation of proceedings, which was carried in spite of the keen opposition of a strong minority. In like manner they decreed that their throne should be hereditary, and the Elector of Saxony was recommended as the fit successor of their present king, and founder of the new dynasty of Poland.

Unfortunately the Polish reformers increased their speed at the very moment when the French revolutionists were alarming or startling all the established governments of Europe. If they had determined that their crown should be hereditary, they seemed equally resolved that its power, though increased from what it had been hitherto, should be very limited; they kept to themselves the right of declaring war and making peace, and entering into and concluding treaties of alliance; only enacting that in these cases there must be a majority of three-fourths of the diet. The demand of the burghers for a share in the representation was submitted to a committee, who, in their report, recommended the measure. The minority of the diet, who called themselves anti-revolutionists, and who thought it monstrous that plain citizens should be anything in the

state, opposed the measure with the greatest fury; but, after some amendments, it was agreed to. This seemed one great step gained; but, unfortunately, neither the citizens of Warsaw, nor those of any other town in Poland, had any great weight or influence in the country, or any familiarity with free municipal institutions, or any of those habits of self-government which are only to be acquired by time. The majority now proceeded with a constantly increasing speed; and being impatient of the opposition of the minority, and apprehending some hostile interference on the part of Russia if the business were not finished immediately, they resolved that the articles of the constitution should be adopted *en masse* and sanctioned by the king all in one day, and that the minority should be taken by surprise. On the 3d of May the king, as had been agreed, entered the hall in the royal palace where the diet held their sessions; and, the constitution being read and voted by the nuncios, Stanislaus Augustus took the oath to it, and called upon all those who loved their country to follow him to the church to take the same oath with more solemnity. And forthwith all the nuncios, except twelve, followed the king through the halls and corridors which lead from the palace to the cathedral church; and before the high altar they solemnly swore to maintain this constitution. A *Te Deum* was then chanted, and the nuncios separated till the 5th of May. This new constitution determined that the Catholic religion was to remain the dominant religion of the state; that other Christian sects should be tolerated, but that the king must always be a Catholic; that the hereditary principle was adopted, and the succession to the throne vested in the Elector of Saxony, and his descendants; that there should be *two houses*, or a senate and a lower chamber; that the king should have a deliberating voice in the senate, and a casting vote; that the diet should assemble every two years, &c. It was also determined, that the burghers of the free towns should send deputies to the diet, and that these deputies at the end of three years should have the right of being ennobled, if they applied for it; that every one in the army who reached the rank of captain should be ennobled; and that at each successive diet, thirty burgher proprietors might be ennobled at the demand of the towns. The abolition of the slavery of the cultivators of the soil was no clause in this charter, and was not even mentioned in it; but measures had been taken by the leaders of the reforming party to prepare for and gradually bring about that change without occasioning any violent shock, or infringing the rights of property of the noble holders of lands and serfs; and the Poles insist that there can be no doubt whatever that if this reforming

diet had not been forcibly interrupted, and then dissolved for ever, the slavery of the peasants would gradually have disappeared.¹

None of the Poles, except the enthusiasts of the nation, could fancy for one moment that they, in the impoverished and already dismembered state of the country, could make head against the formidable power of the Russians, or oppose the czarina in a single campaign when she should have finished her war with the Turks, unless they were backed and supported by some other power or powers. The ally pointed out by the circumstances of the times and the disposition of the reigning king was certainly Prussia. In the month of March, or some six weeks before the constitution was sworn to and promulgated, the ministers of Frederick William had concluded the commercial treaty with the Polish government; but, as the Poles would not yield to him Thorn and Dantzic, no progress was made in the defensive alliance; and the decree of the Polish diet prohibiting for ever the alienation of any portion of the remaining territory, stopped all further negotiation on that subject. This decree was passed some time before the 3d of May, and there can be little doubt that it gave offence to Frederick William, and destroyed all hope of Prussian assistance, although he allowed his ministers to conclude the commercial treaty after the decree was passed, and wrote an approving and an applauding letter to Stanislaus Augustus after he had sworn to the new constitution. And the Prussian minister at Warsaw had, on the 16th of May (thirteen days after the promulgation of the constitution), a long conference with a committee the diet had appointed for managing foreign affairs, and assured them, in the name of the king his master, that his majesty highly approved of the happy and bloodless revolution which had given to Poland a wise and well-organized constitution. Up to a certain point, or so long as the integrity, or at least the independence of the Turkish empire was the uppermost consideration, Pitt and his government unquestionably encouraged the King of Prussia in demanding Thorn and Dantzic as the price for which he would conclude a defensive alliance, and assist the Poles in maintaining their new constitution, and guarding all of their kingdom that was left to them by the last partition against the arms of Russia, and against the arms of Austria, if the emperor should be induced to make common cause with the czarina. Pitt's words to Count Oginski, and Lord Grenville's despatches to the British minister at Warsaw, were sufficiently explicit on this head; and a pamphlet, printed, published, and widely circulated in the Polish capital, to recommend the cession in ques-

tion, and to prove that the indispensable sacrifice would not really cost the Poles much, was universally attributed to the English resident minister, Mr. Hailes, who, on the 28th of January, 1791, or three months and a few days before the promulgation of the new constitution, had delivered a note to the diet, expressing the most friendly sentiments on the part of the British government, and the earnest desire entertained by the king, his master, to contract a commercial and defensive alliance with Poland, and to see his ally, the King of Prussia, essentially included in that alliance.

But when the czarina had concluded peace with the Turks, and had begun to put herself forward as the antagonist of French revolutionary principles, pretending to seek the friendship of Prussia, chiefly if not entirely on account of the one great object and common cause of sovereigns and established governments, Pitt and his cabinet became suddenly cool and indifferent as to the fate of Poland, adopted a tone of the greatest caution in their diplomatic correspondence, and hinted very plainly that they must and would remain neutral in that quarrel. Fox and other members of the opposition, though they expressed an enthusiastic admiration of the new Polish constitution, and complimented Oginski on the energy, good conduct, and moderation of his countrymen in their late revolution, certainly did nothing in time to serve their cause or obviate the doom which awaited them. Indeed, Fox may be ranked among the enemies of Poland; for it was he and his party that had prevented the extension of our Prussian alliance, and those energetic measures which would have checked in more than one direction the aggrandizement of Catherine, and have left her little time and no means to devote to the destruction of Poland. Fox told Oginski to beware of the King of Prussia, whose alliance, he said, was not to be trusted; but he continued to enlogize in the British parliament the moderation and the magnanimity of the czarina; to declare that Russia was a power we ought to conciliate instead of alienating—that Russia was a natural ally of England; and it was at the very time when Catherine was preparing to invade Poland, when her troops were almost on the frontiers, that Fox sent his own minister, Adair, to St. Petersburg to congratulate and encourage the empress! The blame may be divided among them all, but neither Fox and his party, nor any other party or set of men that we can discover in England, can justly pretend to throw the whole of the “deep damnation” of the “taking off” of Poland upon Pitt and his cabinet.

As soon as Catherine had concluded, for the present, her war with the Turks, by the treaty of Jassy, which was signed in 1791, she directed

¹ Oginski, *Mémoires*.

the whole of her attention to Poland, preparing to employ against it those armies which had been in the field against the sultan, and diplomatizing with the courts of Stockholm, Berlin, and Vienna, with consummate art. Pretexts for her aggression were not wanting, and these were presented by her minister to the new Polish government at Warsaw. They were sufficiently hollow, but what they lacked in substantial weight was sufficiently compensated by their number. After a long enumeration, in which the Poles were charged with every offence both political and moral—accusations which came with an ill grace from this most flagitious of female sovereigns—the alarming manifesto added, “The least of these grievances, without mentioning those which are voluntarily suppressed for the sake of brevity, would already justify, in the face of God and men, the resolution of her majesty to take signal vengeance.” A wise, temperate, conciliatory answer was returned by the diet, in which they vindicated their new government and their right to make it; but any kind of answer was too late; for on the 18th of May, when the remonstrance of the czarina was presented at Warsaw, her troops had entered the kingdom, and the threatened work of vengeance had commenced. A Russian army of 60,000 men, soon backed by 40,000 more, was poured into Poland, wherein there were not more than 10,000 troops that could be called disciplined, under the command of Prince Joseph Poniatowski, the king’s nephew. The property of the Polish bankers and capitalists was chiefly locked up in the countries with which they were at war: a general bankruptcy soon ensued, and this catastrophe accelerated the final ruin. At the same time the country continued to be rent by factions: there were two armed confederations of factious nobles in the field, for the purpose of overthrowing the new constitution and restoring the elective character of the royalty, with nearly all the clauses and curses of the old constitution which had reduced Poland to her present helpless condition. Applications which were made to the court of Berlin and to the court of Vienna, met with cold or delusive replies. At first some trifling actions seemed to be favourable to the Poles, whose light cavalry was excellent, and fought with the most determined bravery. But the great affair of this short and desultory campaign, and that which brought into action the best warrior, the greatest name of modern Poland, was on the 17th of July, at Dubienka. Here Kosciuszko kept his ground against a Russian division three times more numerous than his own, beat them in repeated charges, inflicted a terrible loss, and only retreated when his flank was turned by another Russian division, which had been allowed to tra-

verse a part of Galicia, and to fall upon him from a quarter where he expected no attack, as Galicia belonged to Austria, and as it was calculated that the Emperor Francis would at least remain neutral in this war—a capital and an unpardonable mistake, which was attended by dreadful consequences. If there had been a gleam of hope before, the conduct of Austria in allowing this passage to Catherine’s invading troops utterly destroyed it. It was soon found necessary to submit to superior force. The regular Polish army surrendered to the Russians; Russian garrisons were placed in every considerable town; and, before the end of the year 1792, the new constitution and the independence of Poland were alike destroyed.

The English Whigs, when it was too late, made a loud oratorical noise, forgetting to what an extent their great leader had indirectly contributed to the resistless power of Catherine; but, for the present, they did nothing beyond holding a meeting at the Mansion-house to get up a subscription for the suffering Poles. Although parliament was not prorogued until the 15th of June, which was nearly a month after the marching of the Russian army of 100,000 men, and although the great preparations for that army and Catherine’s threats and intentions had been well known in England in the month of January, before parliament met, not a motion was proposed on either side of the house, scarcely a mention was made of Poland and the fate which awaited her. But, in the course of this very session, Fox had repeatedly extolled the magnanimity of the czarina, exaggerated the value of the English trade with Russia, and recommended a close alliance with that court, as being more suitable to England than any other alliance whatsoever!

To paraphrase what Talleyrand said of the Duke of Orleans, the French revolution became the sink into which were thrown all the foul things of the world; or, it came to be considered as a generating pestilence which produced all manner of diseases, the most opposite in their symptoms and character. Even the murder of the enthusiastic, romantic King of Sweden was attributed to the French revolution, although assuredly there were causes sufficient to account for it without referring to that great mother of mischief. The Swedish nobles harboured an implacable resentment against Gustavus III. on account of his political reforms or revolution, which struck their corrupt oligarchy with a death-blow. Other Swedes, not attached to the oligarchical faction, were dismayed at the efforts this king of a poor country was making in order to carry a great army into France; and some of them hurried to the conclusion that he was mad, and that his madness would completely beggar and ruin the

nation. In the autumn of the preceding year Gustavus had made a journey to Aix-la-Chapelle, and had resided for some time in that antique town, concerting with French emigrants and others the best means of attacking the French republicans, and of getting to Paris in order to release the object of his idolatry, Marie Antoinette, and put down the hydra-headed Jacobinism. After the flight from Varennes of the Marquis de Bouillé, he took that general into his service and discussed with him a variety of plans. His ambition and his hope was that Russia, and perhaps Prussia, would join in the enterprise without further loss of time, and confide to him the command or the chief direction of their armies. But in the meantime plots were forming and maturing against his own life. The conspirators were so little cautious, that their intentions became known to many persons in Stockholm; and, if Gustavus had not been rashly brave, or overgenerously determined not to believe that Sweden harboured assassins, he must have escaped. On the night between the 16th and 17th of March he determined, in spite of many and recent warnings, to go to a public masked ball in the theatre of Stockholm. He entered the ball-room with-

out the least embarrassment, walking arm-in-arm with his master of the horse; but he had scarcely made two turns when he found himself environed and rudely pressed by a crowd of men in masks; and as he was moving to get out of this throng, a pistol loaded with cased shot was fired close at his left side. He fell mortally wounded, and expired on the 29th of March, in the forty-sixth year of his age. Thus perished the champion and knight-errant of Marie Antoinette, and with him every chance of Sweden taking any part in this war against the Jacobins. On opening the body, a square piece of lead and two rusty nails were found lodged within it. The reins of government were immediately assumed by the Duke of Sudermania, the crown prince being only in his fourteenth year. The regent was intent on peace; and the Swedish people, who were but little excited by the murder of their king, seemed glad to be free from the expense of a distant and hopeless war. Their neighbours the Danes agreed with them in their resolution to avoid all participation in the contemplated hostilities against France.¹

¹ De Bouillé, *Mémoires, Hist. de l'Assassinat de Gustave III.*, par un Témoin Oculaire; Coxe and Clarke, *Travels*; Appendix to *Annual Register*

THE COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. BOOK X.—CONTINUED.

CHAPTER XXXI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1792.

GEORGE III.

The French revolutionists impatient for foreign wars—Necessity of war at this time for France—Predominance of the Girondists in the government—Introduction of pikes and caps of liberty—Grounds of quarrel between France and Austria—Eagerness of Dumouriez for a war between the two countries—Becquey's arguments in favour of peace—They are disregarded—France declares war against Austria—France divided into three military commands—Its armies and commanders—Disagreement of the French generals about the plan of the campaign—War commences against Austria—Panics of the French troops at the commencement—They complain that they are betrayed by their officers—The clubs of Paris take up the cry—Robespierre's proposal to make war with the press as well as with armies—Prevalence of suspicion and fear in Paris—Crowding of the prisons—Commencement of the "Reign of Terror"—Dr. Priestley confides his son William to a member of the French assembly—William Priestley presented by it with letters of naturalization—Penalties denounced on priests who had refused to take the *serment civique*—The king refuses to sanction the decree—Insolent treatment of Louis by the *sans-culottes* ministry—Pedantic conduct of Roland, minister of the interior—His notable letter to the king—Roland dismissed from office—Mischievous effects from the publication of his letter—Resolution of the Parisian mob to break into the Tuileries and indoctrinate the king—Their ominous banners and emblematic devices—They demand permission to enter the national assembly—Debate of the assembly on the propriety of granting their demand—They rush in without leave—Imperious harangue of the mob to the assembly—They march through the hall—They attack the Tuileries—They are admitted by the national guards—Their violent conduct—Their reception from the king—Their rude treatment of Louis and the royal family—Addresses of sympathy to the king from several parts of France—La Fayette uselessly returns to Paris—His increasing unpopularity—Tidings of hostile movements of the King of Prussia—A feast of the pikemen, &c., in the Champ de Mars—The king and his family are present at the spectacle—Inefficiency of their presence to recall the loyalty of the people.

THE French revolutionists, not avoiding war but courting it, were in a most bellicose attitude at the end of the year 1791. They announced that the whole French people was eager to march into the Low Countries to attack the emigrants at Coblenz and elsewhere, and all the princes, whether an emperor or a little margrave, that harboured and assisted them. As early as the 1st of January the great Girondist orator, Gensonné, said in the assembly that there was no use in attempting to disguise the fact that they were ready to attack all the despots in Europe. On the 11th of January the war minister assured the assembly that from the completeness of their troops, fortresses, and preparations, they had nothing to fear from an immediate war. Upon this, fresh defiance

were hurled in the teeth of all the sovereigns in Europe, and fresh Jacobin emissaries were sent into the states of most of them. It was now found that foreign conquest would be the most profitable employment for a revolutionized and virtuous democracy. New rules were adopted for recruiting the troops of the line with more facility; and, when some economical deputies objected to the great expense which must attend this scheme, Lacombe exclaimed, "Do not be sparing of your money! With money we shall obtain troops, and victory, and conquests; and victory will bring us back plenty of money!" Thus early did the Jacobins adopt a principle which was destined to carry the French arms so far. Fresh *émeutes* broke out in Paris and the faubourgs on account of the dearth of bread and *sugar*, and the want of employment for the working classes. What employment was so easily

to be obtained and likely to be so profitable as that of war, for which the French people had so natural an inclination? Among many things which are obscure enough, this one is perfectly clear to every eye not blinded by prejudice:—if Austria and Prussia had never attacked France, they would have been attacked by the French.

The Girondists, or Girondins, as they were called from the district which had given birth to some of their leaders, now formed the majority of the new assembly. Though, for a time, figuring as constitutional monarchists or champions of the existing order of things, they were one and all republicans, and impatient for the overthrow of the last semblance of royalty. After breaking up the king's disjointed ministry, these triumphant Girondins entered the cabinet by storm, and inundated all the places of government. The husband of the ultra-republicaness, Madame Roland, became minister of the interior, and that true chameleon Dumouriez minister for foreign affairs; De Grave, who was soon replaced by Servan, got Narbonne's post as minister of war, and Lacost was appointed minister of marine; the finances were confided to Clavière, a poor republican stockbroker and man of letters from Geneva, who had first signalized himself by attacking his compatriot Necker; and the important department of justice was given to Duranton, a little lawyer from Bordeaux, after Roland, the virtuous, had failed in obtaining it for the obscene Faublas Louvet. Madame Roland, who had had much to do with the formation of this Girondist ministry, but who had not been able to appoint to all the places, and who had afterwards personal reasons to complain even of some who had obtained their posts with her good wishes and concurrence, speaks very slightly in her *Mémoires* of most of these new statesmen, finding not one of them, save and except her own husband, who was but the double or echo of herself, precisely what he ought to have been. The court called this ministry, which was formed in the month of March, the *sans-culottes* ministry. Between these Girondins and the Jacobins there was already a mortal feud. For a season the Jacobins had pretended to be anxious for the preservation of peace; but when Robespierre and his party saw that a declaration of war was inevitable, and that they might risk their popularity by opposing it too long, they originated or promoted measures for arming and strengthening the people; and the Girondins, striving with them for popularity, and shutting their eyes to the inevitable consequences of arming the mob, encouraged the same system, which was gradually to destroy the present ascendancy of the middle classes, and erect on a broad basis the dominion of the multitude—of the most desper-

ate and the neediest, the real *sans-culottes*. Brissot, a leader of the Gironde, was among the very first to recommend that pikes should be forged in every section of Paris, in every department, in every town in France; and that the hat should be thrown aside as a vile slavish thing, introduced by priests and despots, and give place on every true French head to the *bonnets rouges*, or red night-caps, such as were worn by some of the lowest people. Brissot, in his journal, demonstrated that the *bonnet rouge* was the real Phrygian cap of antiquity, the proper cap of maintenance for the French people, the real cap of liberty; that such caps had been worn by the Greeks, the Romans, the Gauls, and all the great nations and illustrious men of antiquity; that Rousseau was a great partizan of the red cap as the symbol of liberty; and that Voltaire was equally proud of it, and always wore it.

This essay from the pen of Brissot appeared in February, and within a month the *bonnet rouge* was in high vogue. Pikes were forged faster than red night-caps were made, patriots and patriotesses subscribing or clubbing together to keep the smiths going; and still Brissot kept saying in his newspaper—"Citizens and patriots, let us forge pikes from one end of the kingdom to the other!" And Gorsas, and other newspaper-men, kept echoing, "Pikes! pikes! pikes! Nothing but pikes and *bonnets rouges*, and tricolor cockades to put upon them." There were soon pikes enough, with blood enough upon them!

The Emperor Leopold, who had fondly clung to peace, and to the hope that all difficulties might be settled by means of a congress, died suddenly on the 1st of March. His son and successor, Francis II, immediately saw that war was inevitable. In one single case he had matter enough to fill a manifesto and justify a declaration of hostilities. A number of German princes, holding large estates in Alsace, and thence called by the French *princes possessionnés*, had been deprived by the revolutionists and the decrees of the assembly of all their ancient hereditary rights, which had been acknowledged and confirmed by treaties, when Alsace (for the general misfortune of Europe) was allowed to be incorporated with France. The French had refused to give these dispossessed princes any equivalent or compensation whatever—compensation being a word obliterated in the political dictionary of these revolutionists, who, in like manner, had taken Avignon from the pope. As a guarantee of treaties, Francis, on the failure of diplomacy, and on the insulting refusals both he and his father had received, was fully justified by the law of nations in declaring hostilities. Instead of clearing of troops such of his territories as bordered on France, and prohibiting the gatherings of the

emigrants, as his predecessor Leopold had done, the young emperor, Francis II., it was said, collected troops, appointed generals, traced out camps, gave open countenance to the expatriated French princes and noblesse, and declared that the court of Vienna must and would insist on the restoration of the possessed princes to their rights in Alsace, &c.; on the restoration of Avignon to the pope; on the cessation of that French propagandism which was seeking to undermine all the thrones and established governments of Europe; and, finally, on the restoration of Louis XVI. to his liberty and royal dignity, or at least on some adequate guarantee that the peace and tranquillity of the neighbouring powers should not be disturbed through the present weakness of the internal government of France. Prince Kaunitz refused to treat any longer directly with French negotiators, or with the government now established in France; and the Baron de Cobentzel informed the ambassador whom Dumouriez and the Gironde had sent to Vienna, that Austria would on no account qualify or recede from this ultimatum. Dumouriez, who had obtained great influence over the mind of the king, who had formed in his own mind a grand plan of campaign, who intended, though now minister for foreign affairs and not war minister, to direct and manage the whole of the war, was overjoyed at this termination to diplomacy; and he immediately carried poor Louis with him over to the assembly, to give, in constitutional form, the note of war. It was the 20th of April, when Louis, with the confident and tricky Dumouriez by his side, and all the rest of his ministers at his back, rose to inform the national assembly that he had come there for one of the most important objects that could possibly occupy the attention of the representatives of the nation; and that his minister for foreign affairs would read them a report which he had made in council on the actual situation of affairs. When this was done or said, Dumouriez, whose schemes of conquest fell but little short of those that were subsequently entertained by Napoleon Bonaparte, commenced reading his report, with a voice and manner full of hope and hilarity. By suppressing every allusion to the revolutionary propagandism—the open war which the Jacobins had long before this declared against thrones—the infectious nature of rights of man and Jacobin principles—the indisputable invasion of the rights of the possessed princes—the barbarous treatment which the revolutionists had bestowed upon the queen, a daughter of Austria—it was not difficult for so brisk and adroit a man as Dumouriez to make out a terribly bad case against Austria, with its conferences at Mantua and Pilsnitz, its coalitions, completed or in progress,

its open protection of the emigrants who were in arms to invade France, and its haughty, imperious tone towards a country at least as great in the European scale as itself. Dumouriez, as the conclusion of his spirit-stirring report, announced that there must be an immediate declaration of hostilities, and that the king, whose honour and good faith were indisputable—that Louis XVI., the constitutional king of the French, who was the depository of the dignity and security of France—was quite ready to make this declaration of war.

Becquey, a moderate man, and one who had obtained a reputation for ability and prudence, ventured to say that reformed France ought not to be so eager for hostilities; that if they invaded the Netherlands they would provoke a general war; that England was bound to protect Holland; that if the war was once begun, there was no seeing where and when it would end; that Austria, after all, had taken none but defensive measures; and that France had placed three formidable armies upon her Belgian frontiers, while Austria had only a very inferior force in the country beyond those frontiers, which was her own. "*You know this,*" said Becquey, "*and without doubt, you only wish to attack her at this moment, because you are certain that you are better prepared for a war than she is!*" Becquey might have added that the assembly knew equally well that the Belgic revolutionists, who had only been put down in 1790, were very willing to rise again by the spring of 1792; that an incessant correspondence had been carried on between these revolutionists and the French Jacobins; that those who were stronger than diplomatists and ministers, or any established or tottering authority in France, had promised succour and co-operation, fraternity, and a democratic liberty of the widest extent; that other emissaries besides the Demoiselle Théroigne and Bonne-Carrère had been sent, during the last two years, and were at this moment constantly going to Luxemburg, to Liege, to Brussels, to Bruges, to every town in Brabant and Flanders, to excite the people to rise and arm against the Austrians; and to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the other United Provinces, to induce the people there to take the same course against the stadtholder and his party. Becquey boldly predicted the evil reputation the French would acquire if they went to war thus hastily; and prosecuted the war, in the way proposed, by foreign invasion and conquests, and the propagandism of universal insurrection of peoples against their governments. "If," said he, "we attack Austria, in this manner we shall force all the kings of the earth to enter into a league against us, for they will see that we are shaking all their thrones! Let us content ourselves with preparing resolutely to defend our

own country; and then, in all probability, we shall have no war at all. If we begin the attack, we shall make our cause odious in the eyes of our neighbours. We shall obtain the character of aggressors; we shall be represented as a restless, turbulent people, disturbing the repose of Europe, in contempt of old treaties, and of our new laws, which forbid us to aim at conquests. You will have to combat, in the end, not only the kings of Europe, but the peoples of Europe, who will fight you with that natural animosity felt by every man against those who go to disturb the repose and well-being of his country!" The war party, the overwhelming and intolerant majority, had called for an unanimous vote; the mob in the galleries were ready to set down as traitors to their country all such as opposed the general wish; and, in the excited humour of the moment, there might have been imminent danger in voting in opposition to the galleries: only Theodore Lameth, Dumas, Becquey, and four other members, had the courage to stand up as a minority; all the rest, who disapproved of this precipitating of hostilities, remained seated and silent; and the question was declared to be carried in the affirmative, with a shouting and a noise as loud as could have been made if house and galleries had been in the act of charging the Austrian army. As soon as the "Vive la guerre!" "Vive la liberté!" "Mort aux tyrans!" &c., had somewhat subsided, Condorcet rose to state that it became the national assembly to publish a declaration of the political principles which had led them to their present resolution, and that he had such a declaration ready written for them. The assembly agreed that the philosopher and master in politics should be heard; and thereupon Condorcet began to read a long paper, the scope of which was to prove that the French people were forced into this war by the iniquity of despots, and that they had given no provocation whatever. Gensonné, who had been working with a committee appointed to draw up the decree of war, soon stepped forward with that decree written and finished; and forthwith the assembly adopted it unanimously, and appointed a deputation of twenty-four to carry it to the Tuileries for the king's signature and sanction.¹

The poor helpless king, who hoped that the chances of war might liberate him from his captivity, if they did not restore him to his former power, gave the required assent, and war was declared, to the universal satisfaction and joy of the people. Becquey, who had been hissed and hooted in the assembly, was almost the only public man that deprecated hostilities, and quite the only one that had the boldness to declare that the French from the beginning were aiming

at aggressions and foreign conquests, and were looking to war as the most profitable occupation in which their unbridled, half-famished democracy could be engaged. Robespierre and his party regretted the declaration of war, only because they considered that the army had not yet been sufficiently democratized, and that La Fayette and the generals of the old monarchy would be sure to betray the people. The language of the Jacobin Club was—"Let us have sans-culottes generals, sans-culottes officers, and none but sans-culottes for soldiers, and, by arms and by adroit emissaries, the tricolor cockade will make the tour of the globe."

At the moment when war was declared, the vast frontier of the kingdom from Dunkirk to Huningen was divided into three great military commands; and was watched, besides, by numerous corps of national guards, and a whole people more or less armed. On the left of this long line, from Dunkirk to Philippeville, was the army of the north, commanded by old Rochambeau, and consisting of 40,000 men and 8000 horses. Between Philippeville and the lines of Weissenburg was the army of the centre, commanded by La Fayette, and counting at least 45,000 men and 7000 horses; and to the right of this centre, and stretching away from the lines of Weissenburg as far as Basle, was the army of the Rhine, commanded by Luckner, and consisting of 35,000 men and 8000 horses. The frontier of the Alps and the Pyrenees, where attacks were expected from the King of Sardinia and the King of Spain, was watched by General Montesquieu with another army, which, for the present, had nothing to do, as the Italian and Spanish courts were not yet ready to act in concert with the emperor. Of the three generals on the northern frontier, where the war was to commence, La Fayette was the best stationed; and, as he was also the youngest, it was expected that he would be the most active of the three. He had spoken loudly of the great things he would perform, but he was destined soon to find that he could do little or nothing; that he was suspected by his own troops, and that the widest differences of opinion prevailed between him and Rochambeau and Luckner, and again between all three of them and Dumouriez, who, though minister for foreign affairs, acted as war minister and took upon himself the entire direction of the campaign, the Girondist De Grave, the nominal war minister, being a young man, and equally without experience and ability. Dumouriez insisted from the beginning that they ought to commence operations by making a dash upon Belgium, where the people were ready to rise and join them. "The number of the discontented in that country," says Dumouriez himself, "was so very encouraging! The dismantling of

¹ *Ilist. Parlement.*

the fortifications, and the rupture of the barrier treaty, caused by the late Emperor Joseph, had prepared the Belgic provinces to receive the law from France, because there was nothing to protect them from invasion. The people appeared to solicit our assistance. In short, whether friendly or unfriendly, it was wise to select this as the first theatre of the war, in order to anticipate the house of Austria. . . . Besides, but little preparation was needful for the attack. The Austrians had not more than 30,000 men there. The country was rich and fertile and everywhere open, and the people expected us with impatience: as a proof of which it is to be recollected that they received us with joy six months after, notwithstanding the shameful disasters that accompanied our first ill-managed attempts at invasion."¹ But Rochambeau, when this plan was opened to him at Paris, had strongly disapproved of it, had recommended remaining on the defensive, had called Dumouriez a fool, and had set out for his head-quarters on the frontiers in a pet. La Fayette, who had been so eager to assist the Belgian revolutionists two years before, when the Emperor Leopold was reducing them to order, and when Austria had given no provocation whatever to France, not only approved of the plan of invasion, but endeavoured to appropriate to himself the original conception of it. He not only attempted to deprive Dumouriez of his glory, but, according to that brilliant adventurer, the most trickish and intriguing of men, he tried to trick him and dupe him in other matters, and set forth ambitious claims, which could not have been listened to without disgusting Rochambeau and Luckner, and giving to him (La Fayette) more power than any party was disposed to intrust him with.

The plan being somewhat modified, a part of the invading force, which was all to be concentrated under the present command of La Fayette, was drawn from Rochambeau's army of the north, and a part from Luckner's army of the Rhine. By the 1st of May, La Fayette got all his heavy artillery as far as Givet; but instead of pressing forward for Namur, which he might have taken on the 2d of May, he began making a fixed position of Givet. General Biron, setting out from Valenciennes, crossed the Belgian frontiers on the 29th of April, and on the 30th pressed onward for Mons. But scarcely had his people caught sight of some Austrian light troops which General Beaulieu had sent out of Mons, when they set up a terrible shout that they were betrayed, and this was presently followed by the cry of *Sauve qui peut*. Two regiments of dragoons, who are said not even to have seen the enemy, galloped back into the ranks of the in-

fantry, swearing that they were surrounded and betrayed; and the infantry, thrown into perfect disorder by this unsoldierlike movement, took them at their word, and followed them in their mad flight. In vain Biron, young Rochambeau, and other officers conjured them to stop; there was no rallying them; and they never stopped till they reached Valenciennes, where they threatened to massacre all their general officers. These 10,000 runaways were pursued by only 500 or 600 Austrian light horse, who captured Biron's baggage and military chest. On the very same day and hour Major-general Theobald Dillon's division of 3000 men, which had left Lille and advanced as far as Bessieux, manifested the same panic at the apparition of 800 or 900 Austrians who had sallied out of Tournai; and they fled back to Lille without ever looking behind them, abandoning artillery, baggage, and almost everything else. Theobald Dillon, who entered Lille after the fugitives, was massacred by his own men, as well as a lieutenant-colonel of engineers. The bodies of these two victims, together with that of an unsworn priest, were hung up on a gallows; and, the populace joining the soldiery, all kinds of excesses were committed, including the butchery of some Austrian prisoners of war, who had been surprised and taken near the frontier at the first irruption.² No one dared to hint that brave men ought to have stayed to see how they were betrayed before they fled; all joined in crying that their superior officers were aristocrats, and engaged in a plot against liberty. La Fayette would no longer venture to move from the position he had chosen at Givet, and he stayed there, doubting of his troops and complaining of Dumouriez and the rest of the Gironde ministry, till his provisions began to fail him. Although they agreed on no other point, old Rochambeau united with La Fayette in writing letters to the king and to the national assembly, to throw all the blame of what had happened upon Dumouriez and *his* plan of campaign, and at last to declare that they could no longer obey the orders of an ignorant Gironde council and a presumptuous minister.

The Parisian clubs took up the cry of the soldiery, that they had been betrayed by their aristocratic leaders. The Cordelier Club sent a deputation to the bar of the assembly, to complain that the lives of their brave soldiers had been treacherously sacrificed by their generals. But in simple truth, there had been no fighting whatever, for except a few stragglers, none of the French had got within reach even of an Aus-

² The reader will look in vain for this horrible fact in M. Thiers and the French writers of history. We derive it from a letter addressed by La Fayette to the minister at war, dated Givet, the 2d of May.

¹ *Mémoires*.

trian rifle; if they had stopped in their panic flight, and had formed, the Austrians must have run back without fighting, for they were solely light troops, without artillery or anything whatever to support them; but the journalists and popular harangues had always been talking about Thermopylæ, and the orator of the Cordelier deputation was determined that a Thermopylæ there should be, or should have been, with a perfect parity of numbers to the ancient one. "Three hundred of our brethren," said they, "have perished! They have had the fate of the Spartans at Thermopylæ! The public voice, always truer than the ministerial voice, makes us believe that they have been the victims of treachery and treason!"

During all these days, or from the arrival of the news of the disgraceful flight of the troops on the frontier at the beginning of May, down to the dissolution of the king's guard at the end of that month, many significant debates and proceedings had taken place in the great Jacobin Club; and it may be imagined whether the teeming Jacobin press lay unproductive or silent. After Chabot had declared that not only Dillon, who had been massacred, but that all the other generals were rank traitors and conspirators, Robespierre undertook to explain the results which might be expected in future, if the whole army was not put under true sans-culottes generals. He also delivered a discourse, and printed it afterwards in his own newspaper, "On the means of making war usefully." In this discourse he said that the idea had often been emphatically announced that the French printing-press would be as terrible an engine as French artillery in prostrating kings and tyrants; yet, under a corrupt administration, no life and activity had been put into this revolutionary press. Why had there not been printed manifestoes and short essays to develop the doctrines of the rights of man, and the true principles of democratic liberty? Why had not such papers been translated, under the eye of the French government, into the German language and the Belgic patois? Why had not such translations been distributed, by tens of thousands, among the people and the soldiers of the Austrian army, before the French columns attempted to move into Belgium? This was a monstrous omission. If the French really wished for victories, and the destruction of kingships and aristocracies, they must thoroughly convert the common people, the popular masses, in the countries which were to be the seat of their wars; they must indoctrinate and revolutionize the standing armies of all the despots; and, in working in this sense, the French press would be indeed more terrible than French artillery. But before they could carry on the war usefully

abroad, there was one general measure that was absolutely indispensable: this was to make war at home upon aristocracy, perfidy, and tyranny! If they struck down the enemies to the people, if they thoroughly worked out the glorious principle of the rights of man within France, they might expect victory and every advantage without, but not otherwise. After warning the people to beware of La Fayette, and of every other commander, Robespierre concluded by saying, "Frenchmen, if you would conquer, be patient, intrepid, cautious, proud, cool, and *distrustful!*"

Urged on by suspicion and fear (the two great sources of the national cruelty) numerous arrests were made; the prisons were crammed with unsworn priests and with men who had had the misfortune to be born in the condition of gentlemen; riots and *émeutes* were made in Paris and elsewhere; it was announced that Paris alone contained 40,000 conspirators against the rights of man, who must be watched and kept down by the true sons of liberty from the departments; a cry for blood ran through the whole kingdom, and that this thirst might be satisfied, the Girondins, uniting with the ultra-Jacobins, passed a decree, calling to the capital 20,000 of the provincial federates—the most needy and desperate of those armed rabbles which La Fayette had mainly helped to call into existence. These desperadoes were for the most part sans-culottes in the literal meaning of the term. When they joined and fraternized with the now pike-armed *canaille* of Paris and of the faubourgs, they were irresistible; and the reign of terror, with its wholesale massacres, may be said to have begun from that day.

At this critical moment Antoine François, a member of the assembly, and a native of Nantes, where, before the revolution, he had exercised the double calling of lawyer and officer of customs—a thrifty, shifty man, who was now a hot republican, but who, like so many others, became an imperialist under Napoleon and a royalist under the restored Bourbons—announced that the great Dr. Priestley had confided his son William to his care, in order that he might make a good Frenchman, or citizen of the world, and republican of him. Priestley himself, in a farewell address which he or his friends took care to print, said to his son, "Go, and live among a brave and hospitable people! Go, and learn from them to detest tyranny and to love liberty!" François of Nantes, after reading a long eulogium on the science and exalted liberalism of the English father, demanded letters of naturalization for the son. Lacépède, the naturalist, who had acquired fame before the revolution began by a treatise upon reptiles, seconded the motion, and the letters of naturalization were granted unani-

mously. This being done, William Priestley presented himself at the bar of the assembly, to express his gratitude for that national adoption which had admitted him into the number of French citizens, &c. Together with the decree for calling up the provincial federates, the assembly also presented, for the king's sanction, a terrible law, awarding transportation or imprisonment to all priests who had refused to take the *serment civique*. "This prince," says Dumouriez, "was not only scrupulous, but courageous, when religion was concerned." Louis laid the decree of law upon the council-table, and declared that nobody should ever prevail upon him to sanction it. Dumouriez told him, that far from saving the priests by his veto, he would expose them to the danger of being massacred. The queen objected to the proposed federated camp. "Think, sir," said she to Dumouriez, "how hard it is for the king to sanction a decree which will bring 20,000 rogues to Paris, perhaps to massacre him!" The constitution established allowed the king a suspensive veto, but his present Girondist ministers, in common with the assembly, were determined that he should not exercise any such power. These sans-culottes ministers insulted Louis to his face, browbeat him, and turned the council-chamber into a bear-garden; they frequently quarrelled with one another in the royal presence; and, on one occasion, a quarrel came very nigh to the drawing of swords and the shedding of blood under Louis's eyes. The *virtuous* Roland, who assumed to be a sort of premier, behaved towards the king in a heartless and treacherous manner. He was leagued with all the men that were most eager for the abolition of royalty and the overthrow of the constitutions they had so solemnly and so repeatedly sworn to maintain at the cost of their lives; and, while occupying the post of a minister of the crown, he was incessantly sneering at monarchic institutions. Now he obstinately persisted in reading a long letter at the council-table, which he had addressed some two or three days before to his majesty. This precious piece of political pedantry and republican insolence was written, not by Citizen Roland, but by the citizeness his wife, who was in the habit of drawing up nearly all his plans, and writing nearly all his papers; and who magnanimously declares, in her *Mémoires*, that for her husband she could even have condescended to write homilies and sermons!

The Girondist lecture to royalty, like nearly all the productions of that school, is long and tediously verbose; it has been printed in many places, and may be found entire in the book of M. Thiers, who calls it "that famous letter;" but the substance of it was, that, through various iniquitous means, the constitution had got lamed,

and could not march; that the king had been guilty of perjury, &c.; and that nothing could make the constitution go, except the rigorous execution of the new decree against the priests, and the immediate assembling of the patriotic camp of 20,000 men. After telling the king that it was vain for him to think of drawing back or of temporizing, this amiable republicanness, who soon saw blood enough, and whose own veins soon went to swell the red torrent, said in this letter, which her husband read to the king's face—"The revolution is in the mind of the people: it must be purchased at the price of blood, and be cemented by blood, if wisdom does not prevent it by adopting measures which are still possible!" "Monsieur Roland," said Louis, "it is now three days since you transmitted a copy of this letter to me: it was therefore useless to read it to me before my council; and, besides, you told me it was to remain an eternal secret between you and me." The king then withdrew. By the advice of Dumouriez, the king dismissed Roland and his satellites, Servan and Clavière. Upon this Roland wrote a letter to the assembly, and basely inclosed in it his letter to the king, which he had solemnly declared should never be known, except to Louis and himself. The assembly read "that famous letter" with enthusiastic applause, and forthwith ordered it to be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments. The menaces and sinister prophecies it contained insured, in a manner, their own fulfilment; and Roland's telling the king all that he had to fear from the people was, indeed, suggesting to the people all that they had to do against the king.¹

The publication of this letter to the king, which, as Dumouriez says, actually pointed daggers at the breast of that unhappy prince, would have produced some terrible *émeute*, without any other agency, public or secret. But there were secret and most powerful agencies that had been most actively employed ever since the moment that Louis turned out the Girondist ministers; and nothing was more true than the intelligence Dumouriez gave the king, that the Girondists, united by Mayor Petion and the municipality, were agitating the Faubourg St. Antoine. Petion—Virtue Petion, as he was now styled by the sans-culottes, who, in little more than a year, drove him away, to perish by famine or by poison, and to be devoured by wolves—had all the necessary knowledge of persons and places. He called upon the brewer Santerre, the butcher Legendre, the ex-Capuchin Chabot, the ex-Marquis St. Huruge, and other men of that stamp; he held several meetings with them, and urged them to make a demonstration with their Parisian pikes, which, by this time, were counted at some 30,000

¹ Dumont.

or 40,000. Petion even made up matters for the nonce with Robespierre, whose *esteem* he had lost by identifying himself with the Gironde party; and the immense popular influence of the Incorruptible was added to that of the mayor of Paris.

It was soon resolved to break into the Tuileries, and give the king and queen a moral lesson. On the 20th of June, at the dawn of day, an immense mob began to assemble in the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marcel to beat of drum. About eight o'clock they began to form themselves into marching columns; but it was not until nearly eleven o'clock, when Brewer Santerre, at the head of a strong detachment of invalids and other old soldiers, joined them, that they began their march towards the Tuileries. Nothing could be more terribly clear than their em-

enough to express their opinion, declared that the assembly ought not to admit this armed multitude; but the Jacobins and the Girondists, with louder and bolder voices, declared that the citizens, who only wanted to present a petition, ought to be received by the representatives of the people with civility, respect, and a welcome. Vergniaud, "the most eloquent orator of the assembly, whose soul was devoured with the love of the public good," mounted to the speaking-place, and told the assembly that these were not times to be too particular, and that petitioners not a few had been admitted there before. Dumolard, on the other side, said that everybody knew that that shameful abuse had been established; but that it was now time to put an end to it, if they did not wish the assembly and the king to appear

equally, in the eyes of all Europe, the merest slaves of an insolent mob. But, while he was speaking, the lumbering of cannon, the roll of drums, and the shouts, and shrieks, and shrill cries of men, women, and children, announced that the faubourg columns had arrived in the square outside the Salle de Manège, and a letter was handed in from Santerre to the president. This letter, which was read with that promptness which was demanded by any missive from such a quarter, stated briefly that the patriots of the faubourgs merely wanted to be admitted to the bar, in order



SANS-CULOTTES AND BONNETS ROUGES.—From Bertaux's Etchings.

blems and devices. Their standard, *par excellence*, was a pair of old black silk breeches extended on a tall cross-staff, with these words underneath:—"Tremble, tyrants! the sans-culottes are coming!" On another tall staff they carried a bullock's heart, pierced through with the steel head of a pike, and having inscribed beneath—"Aristocrat's heart." Women and children marched in column with the men, and all were armed with pikes and iron-shod clubs. From the pike-heads streamed tricolor ribands; and banners were distributed along the line of march, with inscriptions like these:—"Without breeches, but free;" "Down with the veto;" "Long live liberty;" "Death to all tyrants;" "Advice to Louis XVI;" "When the country is in danger all sans-culottes rise;" "The people are tired of suffering, and will have an entire liberty or death;" "We only want union, liberty, and equality;" &c. They halted at the door of the assembly. All the côté droit who had courage

to confound their calumniators, and prove themselves still the men of the 14th of July, 1789. In the midst of an idle debate—most idle and absurd in every respect, for if they had wished it, the assembly could not have kept out the pikes and the clubs, the bullock's heart, and the black breeches—the impatient mob rushed into the hall, and filled it almost to suffocation. Then Guadet made a speech, not merely to excuse, but to justify their coming; and to propose that they should be permitted to defile, with their arms and banners, before the assembly. Crowding into some order, the head of the columns came up to the bar; and then Santerre, with a naked sword in his hand, being flanked by St. Hurme, who held another drawn sabre, delivered an oration in his loudest voice. The burden of it was that the sovereign people must have their way in all things; that the king had committed a crime against the nation by the late dismissal of that patriotic minister Roland; that the armies,

instead of being in the high career of victory and conquest, were inactive and paralyzed; that it was suspected that this inactivity was owing to the executive power, and that, if this were true, the executive power ought to be annihilated forthwith. When this precious harangue was finished, the president (M. François of Nantes, the same who had made Dr. Priestley's son a French citizen) replied, with what some French writers call "remarkable dignity." He told Santerre and the pike-armed rabble that they were all fellow-citizens, and that the people and the assembly were but one; that the assembly, as the representatives of twenty-four millions of men, announced to them through his organ that they would disconcert all the plans of the conspirators by the sword of the law, as the law alone ought to avenge the people, &c. By that time there were at the least 30,000 men, women, and children in the Place du Carrousel, and they all intended to defile through the hall with their pikes and their bludgeons, their swords and guns. One formalist of a deputy wished to know whether the citizens of the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marcel were to be permitted to traverse the hall thus armed; but the assembly, to save their dignity, called him to order, and, without mentioning arms, decreed that the citizens should traverse the hall. While this idle talk was going on among the legislators, the sovereign mob formed, and began to march through the hall, coming in at one door and going out at the other, and shouting "Down with the veto!" "Long live liberty and equality!" "Long live the patriots without breeches!" and dancing the Carmagnole, which was their war or liberty dance, and singing, in deafening chorus, the *Cu ira*, or "It will go" song. A very long time was necessarily consumed in these performances; and it appears to have been about four o'clock in the afternoon before the patriot citizens got clear of the hall, and consolidated their columns for an assault on the Tuileries. They had scarcely cleared out when another formidable deputation, though not quite so numerous, marched up to the bar of the house, as if to give an additional, but scarcely necessary proof of how much the Girondists had had to do with this insurrection. The deputation consisted of armed men from the first and second battalion of the department of the Gironde, who were going, they said, to the frontiers, and who could not, in passing through Paris, neglect to pay the homage of their respect and fidelity to the assembly. As soon as their orator had read his oration, and the complacent president had replied to it, the house adjourned till the evening, and the deputies went to their dinners. In the meantime the patriot columns, with the transfixed heart at their head, moved along the

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strong iron railing which incloses the garden of the Tuileries. Some faint hope was entertained that the gens d'armes and the national guardsmen would stand by the king; but the gens d'armes refused to load their muskets, and the national guards surrounded the artillery, swearing that they would not permit them to fire upon the people. If the king's guard, so recently and so opportunely disbanded, had been there, matters might have taken a different turn; but, with such precious defenders as Louis had, he could do nothing but submit. The national guards threw open the gate, and the living torrent rushed into the garden, with Santerre and a cannon at their head. Near the door of the palace a number of respectable citizens surrounded the brewer, and endeavoured, by persuasion or by terror, to prevent his entrance. They told him that he would be responsible for whatever might happen; that he was the sole chief of that most unconstitutional movement; that he had basely deceived the people, and would soon be regarded by all as a scoundrel. Santerre turned pale; but Butcher Legendre gave him an encouraging wink, and then the brewer cried out, "Gentlemen, I take you all to witness that I refuse to march at your head into the king's apartments!" and then the *gentlemen* who carried pikes and the bullock's heart, perfectly understanding what was meant, closed their ranks, pressed forward, and swept on before them Santerre and those who were remonstrating with him. They found the strong oak door of the outward apartment closed upon them; but they dragged a cannon up the broad staircase, and pointed it against the door, which presently flew open. At the same moment other divisions of the patriots broke open other doors and windows with sledge-hammers and axes, and entered different parts of the palace at once. Nothing remained between the king and the mob, save one inner door, which presently shook and cracked under the blows of the sans-culottes. Louis ordered it to be opened, and even advanced to meet the mob, expecting instant death, but being prepared to die unflinchingly like a martyr. "What is it you want?" said he. The foremost patriots recoiled awe-stricken; but anon the masses in the rear, who could neither hear his words nor see his calm, unmoved countenance, drove them forward, and in they rushed by hundreds. Some of the grenadiers of the national guards who belonged to the more respectable classes had got into the room by a private staircase. M. de Bougainville, fearing that, if they did not murder the king with their pikes and axes, the in-rushing multitude would throw him down and smother him, cried out to these grenadiers to carry his majesty into the embrasure of one of the windows, and place benches and tables before him

to keep off the crowd. This was promptly done, and the few grenadiers placed themselves immediately in front of the benches between the king and the rabble. "Sire, fear nothing," said one of the grenadiers. Louis took the man's hand, and, placing it over his heart, said, "Feel whether I fear!" Twice, it is said, a pike was thrust at his body, but parried by one of the national grenadiers. But there was another member of that doomed race who could meet martyrdom with a heart as unpalpitating as Louis, and who had active courage as well as fortitude and the power of enduring. At the deadliest part of the hurly-burly and fury, Madame Elizabeth attempted to run to her brother. The irresistible mob, were uttering frightful imprecations against the queen, and calling for her head. "Ah!" said Elizabeth, "let them believe that I am the queen, so that she may have time to escape!" The noble-minded woman could not reach the king, nor could the queen and her children escape out of the palace, which was invaded on every side, and completely surrounded without. They, too, were prudently carried into the embrasure of a window in the council-chamber, which was within the apartment where Louis was standing; and there they stood, behind chairs and tables—the queen, her little boy and girl, Madame Elizabeth, the faithful Princess of Lamballe, the Princess of Tarente, and three other ladies. A national grenadier had the forethought to hand the queen an enormous tricolor cockade, and this she stuck in her cap. Many of the sans-culottes had got drunk on bad wine, which had been copiously distributed to them by Santerre and others. One of them in this condition presented to the king, at the end of a pike, a cap of liberty or bonnet rouge, one of those red worsted night-caps which Brissot had learnedly recommended as the proper head-gear for republicans: Louis calmly took it, and placed it on his head; and, further to pacify the madmen, he joined in the cry of "Long live liberty!" "Long live the nation!" By this time the heat was suffocating. The king complained of thirst: a black bottle was handed to him from the mob, and he drank out of it—to the health of the nation. The grenadiers had placed him on a table, as near as possible to the window, and there he stood for full four hours with the red cap on his head. A young man mounted another table in front of him, and kept repeating for a long time, "I demand, in the name of the 100,000 souls who surround me, the recall of the patriot ministers! I demand the sanction of the decree against the priests, the sanction of the decree for the camp of 20,000 men! I demand the immediate execution of both decrees, or you shall perish!" The only answers that these and other

terrible and indecent threats could extort from the king were that this was not the form or the manner in which to demand his assent—that he would never depart from the strict line of the law and the constitution. The assembly, who had adjourned and gone to their dinners, in order not to be called upon to interrupt the moral lesson of the mob, did not re-assemble until past six o'clock. Then, to preserve some appearances, they sent a deputation to the palace to request the mob to withdraw, and to tell the king how sorry they were for all that had happened. About the same time Mayor Petion found his way to the Tuileries, to allay the storm—to conjure the foul fiend which he more than any other man had raised. Approaching the king, he said, with one of the most barefaced lies that ever came from the lips of Jacobin or Girondist, "Sire, I have only this instant learned the situation in which you are placed." Louis calmly replied, "That is very astonishing, for I have been in this situation these two hours!" And there, in spite of the coming of Petion and the deputation from the assembly, he was destined to remain nearly two more mortal hours, half-stifled by the heat and stench, half-deafened by harangues here and harangues there (there were fifty orators speaking at once in different parts of those state-rooms), and by shouts and clamours inside and outside, that never ceased for a single second. In the end, between eight and nine in the evening, it being considered that the moral lesson was complete, Santerre, "the king of the faubourgs," got all his patriots out of the palace. Vergniaud and the republican deputies, who had come over from the assembly in deputation, could scarcely have desired to see royalty in a more degraded state, or a palace more perfectly sans-culottized. The sadness of the scene, and perhaps still more the tone of the queen's voice, and the expression of her countenance, drew tears even from the eyes of that lost Jacobin, Merlin, who was one of the deputies whom the assembly had so opportunely and appropriately sent to the king. Marie Antoinette perceived his emotion, and said to him, "You weep, M. Merlin, at seeing the king and his family treated thus cruelly by a people whom he has always wished to make happy." "It is true, madame," replied Merlin, "I weep for the misfortunes of a woman, handsome, endued with sensibility, and the mother of a family; but, do not mistake me, there is not one of my tears shed for the king or for the queen: I hate kings and queens—this is the only feeling they inspire in me—this is my religion." Thus ended that doomsday of monarchy, the 20th of June, in the Tuileries; for no pen has attempted to put upon record the scenes which passed in that palace when rabble and legislators were all

withdrawn, and the royal family were left to themselves.

Eight thousand Parisians, not of the sans-culottic order, had signed a petition against the federate camp, and 20,000 of the same class of citizens now signed an address to the king. Some other addresses came up from Rouen, Havre, and several large towns. All the respectabilities of the national guards vowed—now that it was far too late—that they would stand by the king, and resist the pikemen, who were threatening the most complete and most sanguinary anarchy. La Fayette, too, brimful of confidence, resolved to go to the capital, and there bring the Jacobins and pikemen to order, and set all things straight. He who was, in very truth, “by dint of experience improving in blunders,” quitted his army, and suddenly appeared in Paris on the 28th of June, at an early hour of the morning. Old Luckner had told him that the sans-culottes would surely cut off his head; and several persons on his road had entreated him to give up his desperate project. His arrival, the news of which was heard with astonishment, was soon known throughout Paris. He went to the bar of the assembly, and said that “the acts of violence committed on the 20th at the Tuileries have excited the alarm and indignation of all good citizens, and especially of the army!” This was doing worse than nothing. He saw the king and queen at the Tuileries, and told them that he was going to save them and the monarchy from destruction; but he had no rational, feasible plan of deliverance to propose, and their majesties would not and could not trust him. It was said that the queen declared to those about her, that it was better to perish than to trust a man who had done them so much harm. After passing a night or two at Paris, not without the risk of being assassinated, this hero of two worlds fled rather than travelled back to his camp on the frontiers. He had not got many miles on his road ere he was burned in effigy by the Parisians, with horrible imprecations; and at the same time Jacobin emissaries, travelling nearly as fast as himself, were wending their way to the army to preach mutiny and murder to the common soldiers. That nothing might be wanting to keep up the ferment, Mayor Petion placarded the streets of Paris with an alarming proclamation, commencing, “Citizens, the storm is preparing!” As it was a Sabbath-day, when all the world was idle and abroad, this placard was seen by everybody. It led to a deal of scuffling and fighting with sticks in the streets and public places; and several individuals who belonged, or were supposed to belong to La Fayette’s party, were wounded and all but killed in the Palais Royal.

It was not long after this that certain intelli-

gence was received of the hostile movements of the King of Prussia. On the morning of the 11th of July the assembly voted that the country was in danger. This decree made the people more suspicious and more ferocious than ever; and the dethronement and imprisonment of the king were now loudly called for on all sides. La Fayette had made a federation of respectabilities; but now it had been resolved to have a feast of the federation of the pikemen, and the 20,000 desperadoes from the provinces. On the morning of the 14th of July, the federates assembled in the Faubourg St. Antoine with the most desperate of the sans-culottes; the pikemen and pikewomen were admitted into the ranks of the national guards, whose commanders had been all changed; the gendarmerie on foot and horseback, and all the troops of the line then in Paris, drew up on the boulevards; and from the square of the Bastille to Porte St. Martin nothing was seen but troops and an armed multitude, the rough pikes being rather more numerous than the bayonets. Some of La Fayette’s respectability battalions were observed to be sadly thinned; the bankers, the stockbrokers, the merchants, the lawyers, the men of property or gentlemanly habits, had refused to serve under the sans-culotte commandants that had been appointed. A faubourg orator delivered an harangue upon this text:—“All the kings of the earth are conspiring against us; therefore let us swear the ruin of all kings.” The members of the assembly, the municipal authorities, and all manner of constituted bodies joined the armed mob. Nearly every man wore on his hat the words, “Long live Petion!” or “Petion or death!” The virtuous mayor was the real hero or idol of this feast, as La Fayette had been of the federation of 1790; but already his glory had reached the culminating point. The wretched king, who had not been able to prevent this new federation, made up his wavering mind to be present at it, with some most faint hope that, by showing himself in the midst of the people and these much-dreaded federates from the provinces, and by protesting and taking fresh oaths, he might turn the ceremony to his own advantage, disarm the popular animosity, and still that terrible cry for *déchéance*, which could only be a synonyme for death. The queen, who showed on every occasion a determination to share in the dangers of her husband, insisted upon accompanying him. They took the little dauphin with them to the Champ de Mars, where they arrived long before the procession, and where they were kept waiting, without receiving one sign of respect or good-will, except from a few timid hirelings whom Bertrand de Moleville had paid to cry “Vive la reine!” when the queen should hold up the dauphin in

her arms to show him to the people. The Champ de Mars was surrounded with eighty or more pieces of artillery; and every inscription, emblem, or device looked like a threat and a malediction to royalty. At last—at about five o'clock in the evening—the multitudinous procession, loosely estimated at from 400,000 to 500,000 men, women, and children, began to arrive, deafening the royal ear with shouting “Long life to Petion!” “Petion or death!” and revolting the strong religious feelings of the king by filling the air with church incense, burned before the only god of the French, the plaster-of-Paris image of Liberty. When the federates and the pikemen, the national guards, and the troops of the line, had volleyed their oaths, as if they had been firing shot at the ene-

my, the king proceeded on foot, from a tent which had been pitched for him and his family, to the deal altar of the country, to swear again to that constitution which was falling all to pieces, and which was so soon to bury him and his under its ruins. The president of the assembly and a host of other functionaries committed, knowingly and wilfully, the same act of perjury, in the midst of cannonading, shouting, and *Ça ira* singing. Louis then descended, and traversed again the confused mass of the people, which rolled and roared like the Bay of Biscay in a storm. These people never saw him again until they saw him, firm and composed even as he now was, upon the guillotine scaffold in the Place Louis XV., re-named “Place de la Révolution.”

CHAPTER XXXII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1792.

GEORGE III.

Fresh attack of the Parisian mob upon the Tuileries—Louis in vain presents himself to them—He and his family compelled to take refuge with the assembly—Assault upon the Tuileries after his departure—Defence made by the Swiss guards—Their brave resistance—They are overpowered and massacred—Consternation of the national assembly during the conflict—Their incoherent deliberations—Their decree for the suspension of royalty, &c.—A new government hastily formed—Its chief ministers—The king and royal family imprisoned in the Temple—The arrest of La Fayette determined—He escapes into the Austrian dominions—His capture and imprisonment by the Austrian government—Disorganized state of his army at his flight—Slow advance of the Prussians upon France—They capture Longwi—Measures of resistance decreed by the assembly—Danton's plans for the national defence—He recommends a rule of terror and the destruction of the royalists—The Girondists offer no opposition—Danton commences the reign of terror—The royalists cooped up in the prisons—Preparations for their wholesale butchery—Proceedings and decrees of the national assembly—Their apathy about the coming fate of the royalists—The prisons forced and their royalist inmates murdered—Continued indifference of the assembly—Roland's justification of the prison massacres—Account of the Princess de Lamballe—Her horrible murder by the mob—Republican massacres throughout France—Various statements of the numbers who perished.



Y the reception of two terrible and most ill-timed manifestoes of the Duke of Brunswick, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army of invasion—the arrival of more republican federates from the south—the re-modelling the Paris municipality—and the fury of the clubs, excited by Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and men of that stamp—a more sanguinary invasion of the Tuileries was soon occasioned. The king had been permitted to collect, for the defence of the palace, the Swiss guard and some of the cannoneers of the national guard. On the night of the 9th of August the tocsin was sounded in the faubourg and throughout Paris, and early on the morning of the 10th the mob and the federates began to assemble in the Place du Carrousel, where they massacred four individuals, because they were dressed like gentlemen, and wore small

swords at their sides. For some time there was hesitation and fear of red-coated Swiss among the sans-culottes of the faubourgs. That burly brewer Santerre, who had a very loud voice and very little courage, proposed that the business should be put off for a day or two. But Westermann, the hero of this 10th of August, caught the brewer by the throat, and told him that he must march or die. At about six o'clock the heavy firing of cannon told the court that their merciless foe was coming. “Sire,” said the queen, “this is the time to show yourself, or never.” Louis put on his hat, and descended to the gardens to address his troops. Some grenadiers of the national guard belonging to a respectable section put their caps on their bayonets and cried for the last time “Vive le roi!” But the rest looked with mixed anger and contempt at the king, and, irritated at the cry of the grenadiers, and encouraged by the arrival of some of the

cannoneers, who came to point their guns, not against the people, but against the palace, they shouted "Vive la nation!" "Vive la liberté!" "A bas le vôte!" "A bas le traître!" "Vive Pétion!" and presently mingled with such cries hooting and cursing. Rœderer, one of the highest municipal authorities, who appears to have been employed to frighten the royal family into taking refuge among the legislators, now told the king and queen that they must flee to the assembly. While Rœderer was speaking, another municipal officer arrived, and said that the people demanded *only* the dethronement of the king. "But," said the queen, "after this dethronement, *what will happen?*" The municipal was silent. "Sire," cried Rœderer, "your majesty has not five minutes to lose! there is no safety for you except in the assembly." "But, sir," said the queen, "we have troops yet— . . ." "Madame," replied Rœderer, interrupting her, "all Paris is marching!—*tout Paris marche!*" And then addressing the king with greater earnestness than before, the procureur-général added, "Sire, time presses; it is no longer a prayer that we make to you, it is no longer an advice that we take the liberty to give you; we have but one thing to do in this moment, and that is, to demand permission to drag you to the assembly!" At these words poor Louis, who had been seated near a table with his hands on his knees, and his eyes fixed on the ground, raised his head, looked fixedly at Rœderer for some seconds, then turning towards the queen he said, "*Marchons*—let us march," and then rose. His affectionate sister said to the procureur-général, "Monsieur Rœderer, you answer for the life of the king?" "Yes, madame, with my own life," replied Rœderer, who then opened the death-march. At the foot of the great staircase Louis halted, and said to Rœderer, "But what is to become of all those persons left up stairs?" meaning the members of the diminished court, his faithful servants, and the devoted men who had run to the palace in the course of the preceding night to share in his danger. It was never in the heart of Louis to be indifferent, as monarchs so often are, to the fate of his friends and servants; nor could any extremity of danger or distress drive them from his mind. Rœderer replied, that, as all the gentlemen appeared to be in plain clothes, they had nothing to do but to leave their swords and come out—that harm could scarcely happen to them. The king continued his march. As they passed along the terraces of the Tuileries gardens, they had to walk over leaves which had fallen abundantly from the trees in the course of the night, although it was only the 10th of August. "Here is a great fall of leaves," said Louis; "they fall early this year!" Some days before this, Manuel had writ-

ten in a newspaper that the king would only last till the fall of the leaves. The little dauphin playfully kicked the leaves about, all ignorant of the prophecy and its actual fulfilment. The president of the department ran beforehand to the assembly to announce that the king was coming. A deputation came forth from the assembly to meet the king. "Sire," said the president, "the assembly, eager to concur in securing your safety, offers you and your family an asylum in its own bosom."¹

With the departure of the king all motive for resistance seemed to cease at the palace, where the means of defence were diminished by the departure of the grenadiers and others who had helped to escort the king. The gens d'armes, who had so implicitly obeyed Procureur Manuel, quitted all their posts, and joined the people with cries of "Vive la nation!" the national guards that remained in the great courtyard and in the gardens of the Tuileries were now all of one mind, for those who were well disposed to the king saw now no chance of saving their lives except by declaring for the insurgents; but the brave Swiss—500 or 600 men, for some of this corps too had gone to give escort to the royal family—remained at their posts within the palace, nothing daunted by the tens of thousands that were gathering around them; and there they determined to remain until their orders to that effect should be revoked by those who had given them. On the other side, the Marseillaise and the Breton federates, who had come to fight, and who could not brook the idea of being disappointed of the pleasure of storming the château, were resolutely bent upon entering the palace; and the party, or rather the parties, whose impulses they obeyed, wished for some grand scene there that might terrify all non-republican members, and drive the assembly to a rapid solution of the *déchéance* problem. To scare the Swiss, who, with their muskets on their shoulders, were looking out at the windows and doors of the palace, the mob paraded along the Feuillant terrace with four bleeding heads stuck upon pikes. Finding that this had no effect, some of the insurgents parleyed with the Swiss, who, in sign of peace and friendship, threw cartridges out of the windows, but intimated at the same time that they must do their duty. Westermann, who had removed the indecision of Brewer Santerre in so energetic a manner, could, as a native of Alsace (which was still more than half German), speak a bad German dialect with facility; and, as he fancied the Swiss might not well have understood those who

¹ Rœderer, *Chronique de Cinquante Jours*; "Proceedings of the Assembly," as given in *Hist. Parlement*; Pétion's "Account," *ibid.*; Cléry, valet de chambre de Louis XVI., *Journal*; Madame Campan; Toulangeon, *Hist. de la France depuis la Révolution*; Marquis de Ferrières, *Mémoires*; and other mémoires of the time.

had parleyed with them in French, he spoke to them in his Alsatian German. Still the brave, stern men from the mighty Alps and the high Swiss valleys, remained firm as their native rocks,

time entirely cleared the Place du Carrousel. Many of the fleeing rabble never stopped until they reached the Faubourg St. Antoine, and never re-appeared on the scene of action until

the only work to be done was to butcher helpless prisoners. Westermann, who had risked life and limb like a soldier, rallied the Breton federates, and the Demoiselle Théroigne, a lady of the Palais Royal, who had had a great deal to do with every revolutionary demonstration since the march to Versailles, ran from rank to rank, crying "Vengeance! vengeance! victory or death!" Even some of the runaway pikemen rallied; and some of the national guardsmen who had remained within the iron railing of the Tuileries, infuriated at seeing Frenchmen flee before the Swiss, and the blood of their countrymen shed by foreigners, fired upon the Swiss on flank and rear.



SWISS GUARDS.—From prints by Bertaux and Wille.

the only men or things that were firm on that day. Not only was the Place du Carrousel now crowded, but the quays on the other side of the Tuileries, and every spot of ground near the palace, were covered with armed multitudes, who, for the most part, were kept in ignorance of the fact that the king and his family were no longer there, and who consequently urged on the attack with a blind fury. Some voices nearer at hand roared out, "Only give up the château to us, and we are friends!" But the Swiss made no answer. The next message or summons on the part of the patriots was spoken by three loud cannons that fired over or into the roof of the Tuileries. Such of the nobles and gentlemen in black, and such of the servants of the royal household as had not escaped before, now fled from the doomed place in the best manner they could. Many of them, however, were slain either by cannon balls within the palace, or by the pikes of the patriots outside of it. The Swiss returned the fire of the three great guns; and the insurgents then plied all their cannon and all their musketry, firing on the palace from different sides and angles, and aiming chiefly at the doorways and windows. But presently the Swiss made a bold sortie from the palace, drove the insurgents back from a barricade which they had almost mastered, and out of the great courtyard, seized one of the pieces of artillery which had been placed there, turned it against the retreating Marseillaise, gave many of them a lasting quietus, and in brief space of

The very battalions of Filles St. Thomas and Petits-Pères joined in this fusillade. The mass of the artillery of the besiegers was gradually collected on one good point; more guns, seized by the mob at the arsenal and in other places, were dragged forward; some barricades were raised, and a close concentrated fire was opened upon the Swiss and the château. But still the Swiss kept up their fire by volley and platoon, and, by dint of musketry and their single cannon, they captured three other pieces of artillery—but unfortunately without their linestocks. At this moment many lookers-on were very doubtful whether a complete victory would not remain to the Swiss. Napoleon Bonaparte—then a very young and a very poor officer of artillery, who was among the spectators, and who afterwards pretended that he was indifferent or merely led to the spot by curiosity, although in fact he was then professedly an out-and-out Jacobin of the school of Robespierre—thought that the Swiss must beat if they had only a skilful commander. But the Swiss, unable to use the three guns they had just captured, and assailed by the national guards as well as by the enemy in front, were soon compelled to fall back upon the palace. They had left, however, on the Place du Carrousel from 1000 to 1200 Frenchmen killed and wounded—so dreadful had been their fire, and so close and thick the masses against which it had been directed—and their case was by no means desperate when M. d'Hervilly arrived from the assembly

with the king's order to them to cease firing. The Swiss, relieved from that duty for which alone they had been hazarding their lives against such fearful odds, would gladly have piled their arms; but the insurgents, who obeyed no orders, or at least none that came from the king or from any other constituted authority, kept firing on more vigorously than ever. Some few of the Swiss did, however, quit their posts to follow M. d'Hervilly to the assembly, where he promised them life and security; but the rest remained in the palace—and many of them, it is said, never knew, or had an opportunity of knowing anything about the king's order. Cannon-balls and bullets were flying about too thickly to allow d'Hervilly to make any long stay. He was scarcely gone ere Westermann led the Marseillaise and Bretons to another assault in front of the palace, while another body of insurgents attacked it with artillery on the side of the Louvre. Long and bloody was the contest, and many a Marseillaise and Breton fell dead on the terrace and on the marble steps before Westermann forced an entrance by the great door; and then the Swiss obstinately defended every step of the broad staircase. But, as soon as the Marseillaise and Bretons got footing in the interior of the palace, they were followed by thousands of national guardsmen of the sans-cullotie districts, and by thousands of pikemen from the faubourgs, by a living mass which might have seemed sufficient to make the old oak beams and rafters of the Tuileries crack and break, and so bury together in one hideous ruin Swiss and French, the assailants and the assailed. The republicans even dragged up heavy guns to burst open the inner doors with grapeshot. At last the Swiss, who were for the most part wounded and covered with blood, threw down their arms and cried for mercy. Never was such a cry more vainly raised; the French fell upon them, and commenced one of the most atrocious of massacres—a butchery in which mere children and women, armed with pikes and knives, took part. One division of the victims, from 200 to 300 strong, formed into a column, rushed out of the palace, and endeavoured to cut their way to the Champs Elysées, and thence on to Courbevoie, where were hundreds of their brave countrymen and brothers in arms, in barracks and doing nothing, but who, had they been kept in Paris, might have given a very different turn to the fortune of the day. They kept together and in perfect order for some time, defending themselves with their bayonets, for they had consumed all their cartridges before they quitted the palace; but, attacked from every side, fired upon by artillery and musketry, and seeing every avenue blocked up, they hesitated, halted, consulted, and then broke and fled in small parties,

and in every direction, crying, "Quarter! quarter! mercy!" Nearly every man of them was massacred by the ferocious mob, who mutilated their bodies, and stuck their heads upon pikes. Out of 700 or 800 brave fellows who had mustered in the palace on the preceding evening, not more than 150, or at most 180, outlived this bloody day; and many of these afterwards died of their wounds or of grief. But few were killed in battle; they were butchered when they were prisoners or utterly helpless. So madly savage were the Parisian mobs, or patriots and patriotesses, that they murdered all the door-porters they could reach, as some of those men were Swiss, and as they were all called Swiss—the word *Suisse* having become, in Parisian French at least, a synonyme for "door-porter." As a large party of them—fifty, or, according to other accounts, eighty—were on their way to the Hôtel de Ville, under escort of a detachment of national guards to whom they had surrendered—a ferocious multitude in the Place de Grève burst through the ranks of the national guards, and murdered the helpless prisoners in cold blood to the last man, the guardsmen looking on, and, it is said, making not the slightest effort to save men whose lives ought to have been sacred in their eyes.

The massacres were not all over till late in the evening; but as early as eleven o'clock in the morning the triumphant shouts of the people informed the republican deputies sitting in the assembly, Jacobins and Girondists, who had set them to this work, that they had conquered, and that the Tuileries was in their possession. Until the moment when this certain intelligence was received, these reformers and reconstructors of nations, though they had the king and his family in their hands, were quivering with agitation and alarm. The cannon which was fired close by—for their hall was not many hundred yards from the palace—shook the walls of their Areopagus, and their windows were nearly all broken by the concussion of the atmosphere and by random musket-shots. Some of the illustrious deputies rose and went to the door; but to go out where balls were flying like hail was more dangerous than to remain in; and so they returned to their seats or vaulted into the speaking-place to talk about the glory of dying for the country, and the imperative duty of all representatives of the people to remain at their posts in the hour of danger. As the guns boomed and the house shook, they talked the louder to keep up what heart was left in them. A portion of the armed mob rushed in at the door of the hall; but it was not the mob that these orators feared, and so they greeted the in-comers with shouts of "Vive la nation!" The next thing they did was to decree

an address calling upon the people to respect, not the palace they were attacking, but "the rights of man, liberty, and equality," and to order that this brief address should instantly be printed and placarded. As soon as this was decreed they had recourse to some more swearing, which they always employed like a dram: they all rose on their feet, stretched out their right hands, and to the loud accompaniment of the galleries, they swore that they would perish *if* necessary, for the defence of liberty and equality. Then a deputation from one of the sections, composed of daring men who had ventured to come to the house through the terrible storm that was raging, appeared at the bar to say that their section fully concurred in the petition for *déchéance* which Mayor Petion had presented, to declare that they too had sworn to die for liberty and equality, that they were all tired of the crimes of the court, and wanted to get rid of kings for ever. The king and his family were present, though stowed away in the reporters' box. After some more harangues from deputies of the mob, and some very long ones from deputies of the assembly, President Vergniaud, with the ordinary Girondist cant, spoke of his own tender feelings, and of the deep grief the assembly must necessarily feel in being obliged to have recourse to rigorous measures; but he ended with saying that these measures must be adopted instantly, or farewell liberty! farewell equality! farewell the existence of France as an independent nation! His propositions were twelve, but the essential ones were these:—1. That the French people were invited to form a national convention, to take place of the existing assembly. 2. The king was provisionally suspended from his functions, until the national convention should pronounce upon the measures proper to secure the sovereignty of the people and the tranquil reign of liberty and equality.

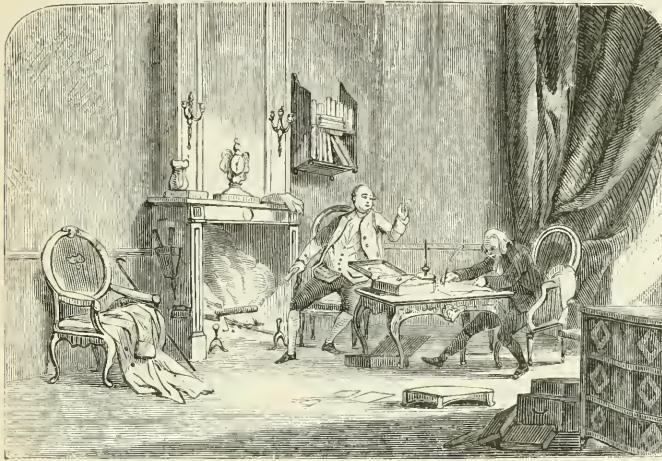
The uncrowned king, panting in the close hot box of the short-hand writers, had scarcely heard the assembly vote this decree, ere Guadet presented the plan for constructing a new popular ministry—a plain and simple rule, for the members of the assembly were themselves to elect all the ministers for the present. And as soon as this was agreed to, Guadet said that the same rule would do very well for choosing a governor for the king's son. Two things appear pretty certain: the Girondists must have had these decrees, and projects of decrees, and orations ready written in their pockets, and the *côté droit*, who had shown so much energy and boldness during the two or three preceding days, must either have kept away from the assembly for fear of being massacred, or they must all have lifted hands and taken oaths with the republicans in dread of the armed patriots, who crowded both the gal-

leries and the body of the house. Hitherto there had been no division, everything being carried by acclamation; nor can we find that, in the course of the whole day, or in the course of several following days, there was a single deputy that ventured to offer one word of opposition, or remonstrance, or protest. And the Jacobins, who were determined not to leave all the honours of the day to the Girondins, now proceeded rapidly to propose and carry decrees which could not be otherwise than fatal to the Gironde, who had little or no hold on the popular masses. Jean Débrie proposed that the assembly, having just sworn so solemnly to maintain and carry out the principles of liberty and equality, ought forthwith to admit the natural right of universal suffrage, and ought to decree that, for the approaching convention, every citizen of the age of twenty-five, and living by the produce of his labour, should have a vote; and this, too, was adopted unanimously. Choudieu demanded, as measures very essential to the general safety, that a camp should be formed under the walls of Paris, to be composed of the people of Paris, and of all other patriots that chose to repair to it; that the Parisian cannoneers who had been so active in this day, should be allowed to place their artillery battery on the heights of Montmartre, which commanded the capital; and that from this moment the assembly should remain in permanent session. As soon as all this had been decreed unanimously, Lacroix, another most thorough-paced Jacobin, demanded that the assembly should instantly appoint a committee, or commissioners, to go to the army on the frontiers to announce the changes which had taken place, and to keep the soldiers in the right path.

When this and more was done, Isnard called the attention of the house to the new cabinet that it was to form. "And," said this Girondist, "since the assembly declared that *Roland*, *Clavière*, and *Servan* carried with them the regret of the nation, we owe it to the public opinion to reinstate those three virtuous ministers immediately by an unanimous vote!" The house voted as he proposed, and thus, through the bloody paths of insurrection and anarchy, the husband of Madame Roland found his way back to the cabinet. The assembly then proceeded to elect the three other ministers by simple vote. Danton, who had gone into the Tuileries when all the fighting was over, with a drawn sword in his hand, was appointed minister of justice by an overwhelming majority; Monge, the mathematician, was named minister of marine, and Lebrun minister for foreign affairs. At half-past three in the morning the assembly suspended their labours for a few hours. The king and his family were conducted to four small rooms on the upper

floor which had been destined to the use of Camus the archivist. On the afternoon of the 13th, they were all conveyed from the assembly to the dismal prison of the Temple, situated in the filthiest

that country, and confessing (as he does repeatedly) that he was fully convinced that England was the only country in Europe in which he could be secure from arrest and captivity, he re-



ROOM IN THE TEMPLE, PARIS, where the Royal Family was confined.—From Bertaux.

resolved to honour us with a visit, and claim the protection of our laws and the benefits of our hospitality. Perhaps it would not have been easy for the most ingenious of men to traverse the Low Countries at such a moment; but La Fayette chose his course so badly that he went but a very few miles ere he fell into the hands of an Austrian detachment, and was taken prisoner together with the few companions of his flight. He remained in captivity until the peace of Campo Formio in 1797, when he owed his liberation from the dreary fortress of Olmütz to Napoleon.

He filled the wide world with

part of Paris. "And thus," says Dulaure, who is an historian worthy of his subject, "thus the antique monarchy of the Franks, the dynasty of the Capets, established by force in barbarous times, was annihilated by force in civilized times!"

The vapouring confidence, the pride of La Fayette had a terrible fall. He was compelled to run from the monster whom he had unchained. The assembly sent three members of their house to arrest him in his camp, and then ordered Dumouriez, who had been appointed to the command of a division of the army on the frontiers, to march against him as a rebel to the people. When he appealed to the soldiers in his camp, they told him that they were all *sans-culottes*, and threatened to lay hands on him; and, on the 19th of August—only nine days after the bloody affair of the Tuileries—the hero of two worlds found himself under the humiliating necessity of fleeing from the fury of his own troops into the territories of the Austrian emperor. His kind words and deeds towards our country during the American war are pretty generally known, but not so is the fact—though derivable from his own writings—that, during his brief revolutionary greatness in France, he had proposed a scheme for lighting up the flames of rebellion and civil war in Ireland;—and this too at a time when we were at peace with France, and more than two years before our friendly intercourse was threatened with interruption! Yet, despairing of making a new insurrection in Holland (another of his darling projects), and even of being safe in

his loud complaints of Austrian injustice and cruelty; but if he had been caught on his flight by his own countrymen, either he would have been torn to pieces, or he would have perished under the guillotine. As it was, the assembly outlawed him, and the commune had his effigies destroyed by the common hangman. La Fayette, in quitting France, had boasted that he had put his lines in excellent order for repelling the foreign invaders. Dumouriez says that he found all the dispositions La Fayette had made as bad as they could well be: the army was divided into two bodies; the advanced guard, consisting only of 6000 men, occupied an extensive camp on the right bank of the Meuse, which it would have required 40,000 men to defend; the main body, consisting of 17,000 men, was posted three leagues in the rear, in a bad camp on the heights that overlook Sedan. He says that the consternation was general; that the soldiers considered all their officers as traitors; that no one took upon him to issue orders, and that, assuredly, if the Duke of Brunswick, any time between the 22d and 28th of August, had but pushed forward 10,000 men towards Sedan, La Fayette's army would either have dispersed itself among the fortified places, or have fled as far as Paris. But the Duke of Brunswick was moving in a different direction, and by marches that were not forced marches. Slow, however, as was their progress, the Prussians sat down before Longwi on the 23d of August. This town, on the Moselle and the north-eastern frontier of France, was small and poor, but it had a fortress on a rock, which had been

constructed by the great Vauban. After summoning the place the Prussians commenced bombarding it. The garrison was in a terrible state of disorder and indiscipline; their commandant had no control over them; and the inhabitants, although they had all sworn to die for the country, had not fixed the when or the where, and were anxious not to die just yet. In a very few hours the place was surrendered to the Duke of Brunswick, who allowed the garrison and the commandant to retire to other fortresses more in the interior of France. The Prussians then blockaded Thionville, and advanced upon Verdun. On the 26th the news of the surrender of Longwi was known all over Paris. It produced the greatest alarm and rage: the people, who attributed the surrender to treachery, believed that they and their cause would be betrayed everywhere, and that the Duke of Brunswick would be allowed to reach the capital and execute his tremendous threats without any valid opposition. Cambon demanded that the assembly should instantly decree a levy of 30,000 men in the department of Paris and the departments nearest to the capital. The proposition was voted by acclamation. It was then hinted that though men might be ready enough to march, they could not well march without muskets; and this led to the passing of resolutions, that all those citizens who were not going to march to the frontiers should deliver up their guns to those who were; that domiciliary visits should be made, and that muskets and all other arms should be seized whenever they could be found. It was also voted that every citizen in a besieged town who talked of surrendering should be punished with death.

But it was in the municipality or commune that the greatest fervour and energy were displayed. Danton, who attended there much more constantly than in the council of ministers, recommended the measures of vigour and rigour that ought to be adopted at the present crisis. It was he that suggested the taking into pay and arming all the indigent men in and about Paris. It was Danton's plan that the barriers should be strictly guarded and closed for forty-eight hours, and that the domiciliary visits should not be made merely in search of arms, but also for the arrest of all aristocrats, of all unsworn priests, of all who had put their names to anti-revolutionary petitions—of all, in short, who were in any way *suspect*. In order that all these victims might be seized within Paris, the strictest and most terrible orders were given to let no living being pass the barriers; and the pikemen and the sans-culotte national guardsmen, who watched those barriers and every issue from the capital, wanted neither threatening nor prompting to make them keen in their duty. On the morning of the ter-

rible 29th, news was received that the Austrians were advancing rapidly, and that nearly the whole of La Vendée was up in arms. The panic and the fury were trebled. The Girondist ministers lost what little heart had been left in them, and proposed abandoning the capital and retiring to Saumur. But here Danton raised his sonorous voice, and said—"You cannot be ignorant of the fact that all France is in Paris! If you abandon the capital you are lost for ever, and you deliver up all France to the enemy. You must maintain yourselves in Paris, cost what efforts it may. It is also impossible to think of fighting under the walls of the capital: the 10th of August has divided France into two parts, one attached to royalty, and the other wishing for a republic. The republicans, whose extreme minority in the state you cannot conceal from yourselves, are the only men upon whom you can rely—are the only men that will fight. The rest will refuse to march; they will agitate Paris in favour of the emigrants and foreigners, while your republican defenders, placed between two fires, will get themselves killed in endeavouring to repel the invasion. If they fail, as it seems to me they must do, the ruin of France and your own ruin are certain: if, contrary to every expectation, they should return as conquerors of the coalition, still this very victory will be a defeat for you; for it will have cost you the lives of thousands of brave republicans, while the royalists, even now more numerous than you, will have lost none of their force or influence. My opinion therefore is, that, to disconcert their measures and stop the foreign enemy on his march, we must strike terror into the hearts of the royalists!" The Girondist ministers understood the sense of these terrible words: it is said they shuddered at them, and remained speechless. "I tell you," rejoined Danton, "that there is nothing for us but terror! We must terrify the royalists and all our enemies here at Paris! (*Il faut faire peur!*)" Gentle Roland, honest Clavière, amiable Servan, mathematical Monge, are said to have continued to sit silent and horror-stricken, staring with eyes of wonder at their brother-minister Danton and one another; but, whatever was their wonder, whatever their horror, it is not shown or even said by any one that they made the slightest effort to stop the realization of the scheme of terror and slaughter proposed by this truly revolutionary minister of justice. We know their utter powerlessness, we know that no efforts they could have made would have prevented the massacres which had already been determined upon; but just and brave men, enthusiasts in all the higher virtues, as the Girondists pretended to be, would have made the attempt, and would have been massacred themselves rather than

have lived to witness such infernal cruelties, such an eternal disgrace on the character of their country. But these men were hollow pretenders: they only felt for their own personal danger, which is said to have been great, inasmuch as some of the directors of the massacre wished to include them in it; and when their own danger was over, they would have shaken hands with the blood-stained ruffians who had relieved them from all future dread of royalty and aristocracy.



DANTON.—From a French print of the period.

From the council Danton strode to the Hôtel de Ville, to give the last directions as to the proper means of beginning the reign of terror. The chief men who acted under him or with him were Marat, Tallien, Billaud-Vareannes, Collot d'Herbois, Panis (a little lawyer, and brother-in-law to Brewer Santerre), Sergent (an engraver and Cordelier), Duplain, Lefort, and Jourdeil; but the active agents in the arrests, which were preparatory to the massacre, included nearly every member of the commune, whose total number was at this moment from 500 to 600. All kinds of subterfuges and suppressions are employed by French writers to diminish the numbers of the butchers of the revolution, and to make the world believe that all the worst crimes were not only conceived, but were absolutely perpetrated by a few individuals; but their ingenuity can deceive no one that will look into the facts. Before these hundreds of municipals began the domiciliary visits, they knew as well as Danton himself their meaning and their object.

At the appointed hour the drums beat to arms, the tocsin was sounded, alarm-guns were fired, and the visitations were begun. Many hundreds of victims of both sexes and of all ages were torn from their homes or from their hiding-places, and

crowded in upon the many thousands that already occupied the prisons. Nobles, officers, men of letters and journalists that had taken the wrong side, or that had not gone far enough or fast enough with the revolution; ladies who had belonged to the old court, and ladies who had never belonged to any court, but who had emigrants or some other aristocrats for their husbands or lovers; priests who had not taken the civic oath, and priests who had taken it and repented of it afterwards; men, and women too, who had never taken any part in political matters, but who had been denounced as *suspect*, by personal enemies or by busy-bodies, to the committees of research and surveillance, were all clutched by the municipals and their armed force, and put into prison like sheep into pens to be ready for slaughter. These operations were continued during the following day and night. On Saturday, the 1st of September, they ceased, and the barriers were once more opened for a few hours. But in the course of the day it was reported (prematurely) that Verdun had fallen—and fallen, like Longwi, through treachery. Hence fresh panic, and fury and madness, and hence a cry for blood from every faubourg and section, from every street, lane, place, and corner of that large mad-house—a cry which encouraged Danton, and gave him the assurance that all Paris, or the sans-culotte part of it to a man, would either co-operate in his great work of terror or look on complacently. The burly minister of justice or blood went again to the Hôtel de Ville, and helped the commune to decree that on the morrow the tocsin should be sounded, the guns of alarm should be fired, and the citizens should all meet in arms, with their muskets or their pikes, in the Champ de Mars. The decree added, for form's sake, that these armed citizens were to march off on Monday morning for Verdun; but no one was deceived by this pretence, and those who had relations or friends in the prisons, and who had courage enough to show their interest in them, well knowing that the prisons were to be forced, and that all in them were to be murdered, hastened to supplicate and implore the commune to liberate the objects of their affections.

The morrow, the 2d of September, was a Sunday; it had been chosen because most of the people would be idle, and so have time to spare for the bloody work. Most of the grand crimes of the revolution were, for the same reason, committed on Sabbath-days. The commune issued a proclamation to tell the people that the country was in far greater danger than ever; that the enemy was almost at the gates of Paris; that there was nothing but Verdun between them and the capital. A report was also circulated that the aristocrats were going to break out of prison that

very night in order to put Paris to fire and sword. The national assembly met in the morning, and, while the sans-culottes were assembling in the streets, or marching to the Champ de Mars, the honourable deputies, who must have known what was coming, spent their time in speech-making and in spinning rhetorical figures. That there might be no mistake, two members of the commune came to the bar to announce that the tocsin was going to sound, and that all the patriot citizens of Paris were assembling in the Champ de Mars in order to march against the enemy. The assembly thanked their municipalities in the name of all France for their beautiful patriotism, and invited them to the honours of the séance. Orator Vergniaud poured out a long rhapsody. "It is to-day," said this great Girondin, "that Paris will really show herself in all her grandeur! From this day forward we have nothing to fear!" After talking about the corrupting gold which the enemies of liberty were distributing, and after making use of other arguments and figures which, however he might mean it, certainly tended to keep up the popular fury and thirst for blood, Vergniaud proposed that the assembly should every day send twelve of its members to work with the people in digging trenches on Montmartre. At this proposition all the house rose and shouted, and all the galleries did the same; the decree was passed in a whirlwind of enthusiasm. Soon after this scene the tocsin was heard ringing from the Hôtel de Ville, and all the church towers, the Salle de Manège was shaken by tremendous discharges of artillery, and Danton came to the bar with a radiant countenance. "Gentlemen," said this minister of justice, "it is very satisfactory to the ministers of a free people to have to announce that the country is going to be saved. Everything is moving, everything is shaking itself, every man is burning with anxiety to fight. You now know that Verdun is not taken, but only invested. You know that the garrison have sworn to immolate the first man that proposes a surrender. One portion of the people of Paris are going to march to the frontiers, another portion are going to work at the entrenchments, and a third will defend the interior of the city with their pikes! . . . The tocsin that you hear is not the signal of alarm; it is only sounding the charge on the enemies of the country! To conquer them, to annihilate them, what is wanting? Audacity, audacity, and still audacity!—*toujours de l'audace, et la France est sauvée.*" The assembly applauded, the assembly approved all that he and the commune had done, saying nothing, hinting nothing about the first and immediate consequences of this universal insurrection and meeting in the Champ de Mars.

The honourable members went quietly to their

dinners at four o'clock, and returned to the house at six, with a fuller knowledge than ever of what was to be done; but still no generous effort was made, no voice was raised to plead the sacred cause of humanity. They knew that the barriers were again closed—that the prisoners in all the prisons and strong houses in Paris, that the royal family in the Temple were in agonies of alarm, and expecting instant death; yet they passed their time in listening to deputations who came to make vapid speeches, and to offer for the service of the country a new musket, an assignat of fifty livres (not then worth five-pence), a pair of hackney-coach horses, a uniform coat, &c., &c. A deputation of citizenesses came into the hall to make the significant demand that all such as were detained in prison merely for debt should be instantly liberated, in order that they might not be confounded and punished with the traitors. Yet still the assembly did nothing, said nothing, to avert the horrible doom that was hanging over many thousands of their countrymen and countrywomen; nay, at this very moment they agreed to a demand that the state prisoners at Orleans should be brought nearer to Paris, or nearer to torture and death. Some mad Englishman had just offered a musket for the defence of liberty, when news was brought that the prisons were forced, and that the massacres were beginning; and a minute or two after, Fanchet announced that 200 priests had been already butchered in the church of the Carmelites, which, like other churches, had been converted into a prison. Then the assembly, without any evident or extraordinary emotion, appointed a deputation to go forth and tranquilize the people; and for this object they selected only five of their members, and those five were men more likely to encourage the people than to check their savage rage: they were the ultra-Cordelier-Jacobin Bazire, the Jacobins François de Neufchâteau, Dussaulx, and Lequinio, and the Girondist Isnard, who is generally reputed the most enthusiastic or maddest of his faction. As soon as these members had quitted the hall, other deputations arrived to make more speeches about dying for one's country; and there sat the assembly listening to these orations, while young and old, the innocent and the helpless, were dying in heaps all round them. At one o'clock in the morning it was reported in the hall "that the disorder continued, and that the people were still killing the prisoners." Then for the first time—when the massacres had been going on for nine hours—the assembly made an application to the omnipotent commune. And what was the nature of this application? Was it an earnest entreaty, a solemn injunction, a passionate appeal to the commune to put forth its whole strength, and stop these murders *en masse*? No!

it was nothing of the sort; it was merely to request the commune to give the assembly "precise information" as to what was passing. At half-past two in the morning three commissaries of the commune, Tallien, Truchot, and Giraud, presented themselves in the hall in order to give this "precise information." Truchot, who spoke first, said with a coolness that could only have proceeded from his approbation of all that had been done, "Gentlemen, most of the prisons are now empty; about 400 prisoners have perished. At the prison of La Force to which I repaired, I thought it my duty to get out all the persons detained there only for debt. I did the same at the prison of St. Pélagie," &c. Tallien, who spoke next, was equally cold-blooded. "The people," said he, "went first to the Abbaye. They demanded from the governor of the prison his register and list of prisoners. All the prisoners detained for the affair of the 10th of August, or for forging assignats, perished at once. The council of the commune sent a deputation to oppose this *disorder*. [The villains would not even call it a massacre.] The procureur of the commune employed all the means suggested by his zeal and humanity. He could do nothing, and saw several victims perish at his feet." What the assembly did for some hours after we know not; we only know that the massacres continued, and that no effort was made by them or by any of the Gironde ministers to stop them. This duty more especially concerned the virtuous Roland, as minister for the home department; and Roland did nothing until the evening of the 3d, when he *complained* to the assembly—or rather until the 4th—when he wrote a pressing letter to Santerre for a military force, which Santerre never sent.

We cannot enter upon anything like a complete account of these orgies of human blood, which did not entirely cease until the 9th. Such an account, compiled from the innumerable narratives left by eye-witnesses, would fill a larger volume than ever has been written upon the Sicilian Vespers or the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and would contain details infinitely more atrocious than any connected with those two celebrated butcheries of human beings. The slaughterers—the *égorgeurs*—proceeded systematically with their bloody work, enlivening their toils with song and dance, and exhibiting as much of the monkey as the tiger part of their character. The first victims sacrificed on the Sunday were twenty-four priests who had been arrested that morning for refusing the *serment civique*. They were put into six hackney-coaches and were literally hewn to pieces in the streets, with the exception of one, the Abbé Sicard, the celebrated teacher of the deaf and dumb, who was bravely and miraculously rescued by a watch-maker who

knew him. Billaud-Varennes, at this time a member of the council of the commune, dressed in his insignia of office, applauded this butchery of aged helpless men, and told the people they were doing their duty. This being done, 200 priests who lay under lock and key in the church of the Carmelites were massacred to a man, not without much laughter and many jests on the part of their murderers. Being refreshed with wine sent to them by the committee of the section, the *égorgeurs* went to the Abbaye, wherein were confined from 200 to 300 persons, including Swiss, gardes du corps, deputies of the first assembly, priests, ladies, and others. These were nearly all despatched in the course of the night; and during that same night, throughout which the assembly sat, some hundreds were massacred in other prisons, and many scores in the streets.

On the following day, Monday the 3d, Roland and that other extra-virtuous Gironde minister, Servan, appeared in the assembly, to request that some stop might be put to the popular excitement, "which had been produced by a few malicious men." The house agreed on a proclamation to the people, which was to be read by sound of trumpet. But it was late in the evening of the 3d before this proclamation was drawn up, although, from morning till noon, from noon till night, the *égorgeurs*, with short intervals for rest, continued their work. Roland, who had accompanied Servan to the bar, did not speak, but he handed in a long-winded, pragmatistical, pedantic letter, full of generalities, commonplace axioms, and self-laudation. Madame, his wife, applauds his wondrous courage in being the first to raise his voice against the massacres. Yet how did virtuous Roland speak of these multitudinous and gigantic abominations? Why, he mingled praise with his blame, and, in most gently condemning what had happened, half hinted at the usefulness of the popular fury; and he openly and directly eulogized the 10th of August, which threw both the throne and the assembly under the feet of a rabid democracy, and which led directly to these very massacres. "The wrath of the people," said this self-sufficient, cold-blooded formalist, in this letter to the assembly—"the wrath of the people and the movement of the insurrection are to be compared to the action of a torrent which sweeps away obstacles which no other power could remove, but the over-flooding and rush of which spreads ravage and devastation, unless it return very soon into its bed. Without the day of the 10th of August [*a day rendered, by the massacre of the Swiss, as atrocious as any single day of blood that followed it*], it is quite evident that we were all lost; the court, fully prepared long before, was only waiting the moment to fill up its treasons,

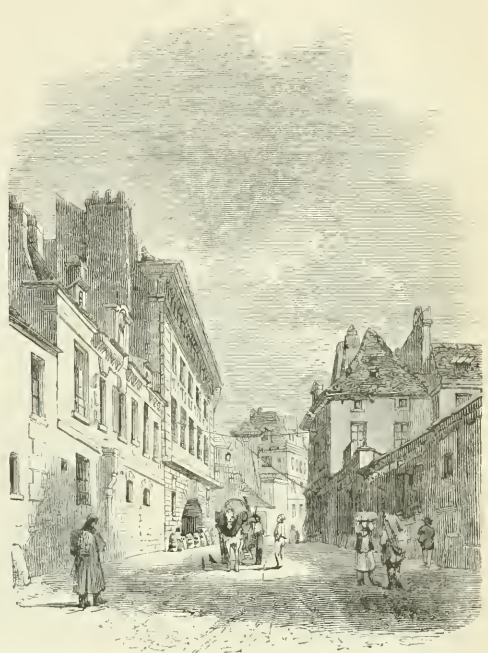
to spread over Paris the flag of death, and to reign by terror! The feeling of the people, always just and prompt when their opinions are not corrupted, anticipated the moment marked for their ruin, and rendered it fatal to the conspirators! It is in the nature of things, and in the nature of the human heart, that victory should bring with it some excesses: the sea, agitated by a violent storm, continues to roll and roar for a long time after the tempest is over; but all things have their limits." Could Danton, could Robespierre at any time, could Marat himself have spoken of blood and horror with more coolness than this? In another part of his letter, virtuous Roland said, "Yesterday was a day, on the events of which we ought perhaps to throw a veil. I know that the people, terrible in their vengeance, yet observe a sort of justice: they do not take for their victim every man that is presented to their fury; they direct their fury against those whom they believe to have been too long spared by the sword of the law, and whom the perilous circumstances of the times persuade them to immolate without delay. But I know that it is easy for scoundrels, for some traitors, to bring about an abuse of this effervescence, and I therefore know that it ought to be stopped. I know that we owe to all France the solemn declaration, that the executive power has been able neither to foresee nor to prevent these excesses; I know that it is the duty of the constituted authorities to put an end to them, or consider themselves annihilated. I also know that this declaration exposes me to the rage of some agitators: well, then, let them take my life; I only wish to preserve it for liberty and equality," &c. He eulogized the gentleness and docility of the French people, and said he was quite sure that if they were only properly informed, and placed "on a level with the circumstances of the times," all would go well until the meeting of the convention, which was close at hand, and which could not fail of securing tranquillity and happiness under the best of republican institutions. The assembly had opened their debates at the usual hour in the morning, and apparently without feeling any interest in the massacres that were in progress. A letter was transmitted from Mayor Petion, who coldly and lyingly affirmed that he knew nothing of the events of the night, until it was too late to apply any remedy! Brissot announced that Verdun was still holding out, and that the enemy had met with a repulse at Montmédy; and was honoured with loud applauses. A milliner came to present some trinkets for the service of the country, and to offer to mount guard in Paris as a soldier: her patriotic daughter, who came with her, presented a silver thimble and fifteen sous. Not a word was

said about the butcheries which were going on more actively than ever at some of the prisons, and no further allusion was made to them until the day was far advanced, when the council of the commune requested that the assembly would be pleased to name six of their own members to act conjointly with them "in calming the effervescence." [The most atrocious, the most immense and astounding of crimes was, in the language of Petion's colleagues, only *disorder* or *effervescence*.] The assembly instantly did as they were ordered, and named six deputies to act with the commune—Bazire, Chabot, Choudieu, Thuriot, Dussaulx, and Lacroix. Four of these six were disciples or admirers of Marat—were Jacobins of the very worst kind; and the remaining two, to say the least of them, were men impatient for a republic, and who were sure not to expose themselves to danger by counteracting their bloodthirsty colleagues, or by opposing the will and energy of the sovereign people. The individuals selected by the council-general of the commune to act with them in calming the effervescence were Robespierre, Mannel, and Deltroy. Business was then suspended in order that the deputies might have time to dine—for men dined in the midst of all these atrocities, sipped their coffee and their chasseur-café while the streets of Paris were running with blood; and the graceful and gracious Madame Roland was giving her dinner-parties and displaying such wit as she had, and turning fine phrases in her hôtel du ministère all the while—at least she gave her usual five o'clock dinner to her husband's colleagues in office and the select members of the Gironde on this very day, the 3d of September, entertaining the madman Anacharsis Clootz, who then and there undertook to prove that the massacres in progress were indispensable and salutary. Yet this woman, who tells us these facts about the dinner, tells us also that the massacres were continuing; that they lasted at the Abbaye from Sunday afternoon till Tuesday morning, at La Force still longer, at Bicêtre four days, &c.

It was on the morning of this day, the 3d of September, and while the assembly and the council of the commune were both sitting, that one of the most damnable of all the murders—that of the Princess de Lamballe—was committed. This lady, a foreigner of royal blood, descended from the ancient house of Savoy, had come into France at an early age to be married to the Prince de Lamballe, a branch of the house of Bourbon-Penthièvre. Marie Antoinette had become greatly attached to her, and had lived with her for many years as an equal and a sister. Hence, when that torrent of obscene slander and libel began, which preceded the revolution, the name of the princess was always coupled with that of the queen, and

she was charged with nearly every vice and turpitude that is to be found in Juvenal's sixth satire. At the time when the reign of liberty began, the princess was a widow, and superintendent of the queen's household. She was and ever had been gentle in her manners, generous in her actions, graceful and kind-hearted to all people, and, though in her fortieth year, her face and form were eminently beautiful. She had never interfered in any business in court or cabinet, except to procure pardons for offences, or promotions and favours for others; but all these things weighed lighter than a feather in the balance against the foul imputations which had been cast upon her for years, and the fact of her being the friend and confidante of the defamed queen, next to whom she was the most hated woman in all France. Her life had been repeatedly threatened—had at one time, when the court was brought from Versailles to be imprisoned in the Tuileries, been threatened daily—and the *poissardes*, the *dames de la halle*, and the other furies who had been wont to sit "knitting 't the sun" under the walls of the palace and in the Tuileries gardens, had often sung in her hearing songs which expressed the happiness they should feel in carrying her bowels on their pike-heads, along with those of the Austrian woman. At the time of the flight to Varennes, the princess got safely out of this pandemonium; she was living in security and honour in England when the king accepted the constitution, and when her generous affection and devotion to the queen induced her to return to Paris. She followed her royal mistress to the dungeons of the Temple, and was barbarously torn from her at the end of a few days, to be sent alone to the prison of La Force. She was there when the massacres began on Sunday afternoon; she was there when her chamber door was burst open, and she was told that she must go to the Abbaye. She said she did not wish to be removed; that she was as well at La Force as she could be at the Abbaye, or in any other better prison. A national guardsman approached her bedside—for she was lying on her bed, though not to sleep—and told her that she must go; that her life depended on her obedience. Having with difficulty obtained permission to be left alone for a minute, she rose from the bed and arranged her dress. When the ruffians went in with their infernal "*Allons, marchons*," and when she saw the blood upon their faces and their hands, she almost sank to the earth or into it; but two men supported her, and leaning upon them she walked or was dragged down to the terrible gate. All agree in relating that she had scarcely crossed the threshold of the prison ere she received a blow on the head from a sabre which made her blood spout; that the blow was presently repeated;

that she fell dead among the heaps of dead, and that then the people (horrible to be told!), *women* mixed with men, stripped her beautiful body stark naked, cut off her head, and committed



THE PRISON OF LA FORCE, PARIS.—From a sketch by T. S. Boys.

other mutilations and *acts* which cause the pen to drop from one's hand in thinking of them. They stuck her head, her heart, her limbs, and other parts of her body upon pikes, and singing and dancing they promenaded them through Paris. When they had done their worst there was a worse behind—when all that they could do to the remains of a beautiful, noble-hearted woman could only damn them to eternal fame without hurting her, an accursed villain cried out, "*We must carry her to the foot of the throne, Allons, au Temple!*" and to the Temple they ran, to show her to the queen, with their horrible shrieks and hell songs, rounded off from time to time with the "*Ça ira*," "*Vive la nation!*" "*Vive la liberté!*" and the Marseillaise hymn, the only hymn now sung in revolutionized France. While these massacres were raging in the capital, fifty-three political prisoners were sacrificed at Versailles.

In various towns and municipalities the people rose with the avowed intention of murdering all political prisoners, all priests, all aristocrats—all men whatsoever who outraged the principle of equality by possessing property and elegant houses or dresses; but in many instances the communes would not consent to take their lesson from Paris,

and the national guards, not yet sufficiently sans-culottized, courageously opposed the égorgeurs. At Meaux fourteen individuals were butchered in the prison of the fort, and a day or two later a good many priests of the town and neighbourhood were put to death by the mob, who carried their heads upon pikes through the streets. At Caen, at Rouen, other horrors were committed; at Roanne seventeen heads of priests and officers were promenaded on pikes; at Gisors the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, ex-president of the directory of the department of Paris, was cut to pieces under the eyes of his mother and his wife; at Rheims, eight priests and laymen were put to death. In the south there were many massacres; at Lyons nearly every prisoner in the Château Pierre-Encise was despatched; and Avignon, where fighting and massacring had never ceased since the expulsion of the Papal authorities and its annexation to France, became a universal slaughter-house. At Bordeaux, the headquarters of Girondism, attempts were made to seize the priests, but the mayor and the municipality made head against the insurrection, and it happily appears that not many were murdered there.

No two accounts agree as to the total amount of these wide-spread massacres. Nothing like an exact account was attainable at the time, and now no such thing is to be expected. The *Histoire de l'Espion*, a work of some authority, states broadly that the number of all who were massacred in the course of the month of September, at Paris and in all parts of France, was 15,000. Barrère and Berville, who published their *Mémoires* in 1823, make the numbers of those who were égor-gés in the prisons of Paris alone, amount to 12,800. In this calculation there is evidently some great exaggeration. Peltier, the royalist writer, calculates the number killed in the prisons at 1005; but he omits several of the prisons in his account, and among them that of Bicêtre, where, according to every relation, the murders were the most numerous, and attended with the most horrible circumstances. Maton de la Varrenne, speaking only of the prisons, and not of all of them, sets down the number of the killed at 1049, of whom 202 were priests; but he relied upon prison registers, which were very imper-

fectly kept, and took no account of the murders that were committed in the streets and in private houses, or of the massacres perpetrated in Paris after the 5th.¹ There was only a lull then; and though the prisons were emptied by the butcheries of the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th, the work of killing was loosely renewed on the 6th and 7th, and was not entirely over on the 9th, while the massacres were well nigh recommencing with as much fury as ever on the 16th and 17th. It is not very probable that any very exact list was taken at any of the prisons of the immense numbers that



PRISON OF PETIT CHÂTELET, PARIS.—From *L'Univers Pittoresque*.

were sent into confinement by Danton's domiciliary visits just before the massacres began. As there was no possibility of escape—as the barriers were strictly guarded all the time the massacres lasted—as the people had lists of the names of many thousands of obnoxious individuals—as the butchery indisputably lasted four days and nights, in full activity—and as assassinations were performed from time to time during a whole fortnight—we believe it may safely be assumed that from 4000 to 5000 victims perished in Paris alone, and that in all France there fell in the course of this dismal month, by murder alone, some 7000 souls, or near upon half the number stated by the author of *L'Histoire de l'Espion*.

¹ This is Peltier's list:—

Aux Carmes et à Saint-Firmin, ...	241
A l'Abbaye Saint Germain, ...	180
Au Cloître des Bernardins, ...	73
A l'Hôpital de la Salpêtrière, ...	45
A la Conciergerie, ...	85
Au Châtelet, ...	214
A l'Hôtel de la Force, ...	161

CHAPTER XXXIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A D. 1792—1793.

GEORGE III.

War of the allied powers against France—Their dilatory proceedings—Military condition of the contending parties—Dumouriez's plan of operations—His successful occupation of Argonne—His resistance to the Prussians at Valmy—Sufferings and disappointments of the Prussians—They retreat—Dumouriez marches against the Austrians—Battle of Jemappe—Defeat of the Austrians—French conquest of Flanders—Dumouriez captures Mechlin—Facilities in recruiting the French republican armies—Dumouriez defeats the Austrians at Tirlemont—The Austrian Netherlands conquered by the French—Dumouriez prevented from invading Holland—He captures Aix-la-Chapelle—The French invade Germany—Their successes under Custine on the Upper Rhine—Their capture of Mentz and Frankfort-on-the-Main—The French resolve to invade Savoy—Arts used to win over the Savoyards—Savoy invaded and overrun by the French—Massacre committed by the French at Oneglia—Events in Paris—Election of its deputies to the convention—Character of the deputies—Dr. Priestley becomes a French citizen and deputy—Parties into which the convention was divided—The trial of Louis XVI. commences—Charges against him and his answers—Popular urgency for his condemnation—He is voted guilty—Clamorous demands for his execution—Meeting of the convention upon the final question—Variety of punishments voted—Conduct of the spectators during the voting—The Duke of Orleans votes for the king's death—Indignation of the convention at the interference of Spain in behalf of Louis—Humane attempt of Duclâtel to save the king—Louis by a majority condemned to die—Execution of Louis XVI.



FROM these civil proceedings it is a relief to escape, even to the horrors of war, for the worst of them are less revolting. It is admitted by a French military man, writing shortly after the crisis, that, notwithstanding the discordant views of the allied powers, there was a moment when everything was possible; but they suffered that moment to be lost. The French people had been expecting invasion, and preparing to meet it for many months—for more than a year France had been one great drill-ground. There was a time when a large part of the population, not yet indoctrinated by the clubs, or emboldened by success, or committed by daring and extreme acts, were wavering and uncertain; but the allies waited to make their attack till the moment when the unity of feeling and the popular enthusiasm were at their highest pitch; and even then, instead of beginning the campaign early, so as to have all the summer before them, they did not enter France until the month of August. Before Verdun surrendered to the Prussians, Dumouriez called a council of war at Sedan, composed of Lieutenant-general Dillon, four major-generals, Petit (his principal commissary), and his own staff, which consisted only of three experienced officers. He opened the map of Champagne, into which the Prussians were penetrating; and he showed that, Longwi being taken and Verdun invested, while another body of the enemy had advanced beyond Thionville, and were threatening Metz, there were no means left either to form a junction with Marshal Luckner, or to receive succours from any other quarter

in time to deliver Verdun; and that accordingly there was nothing to be depended upon but his own army. This army was far inferior in number to that of the Duke of Brunswick: but then the cavalry of it was composed of the best regiments of France, and was upwards of 5000 strong; more than one-half of his infantry (exceeding in all 18,000 men) was formed of regiments of the line; the rest consisted of national guards, being well disciplined, rendered warlike by a year's encampment, and by continual marches and skirmishes with the Austrians; the artillery, too, being excellent, counting a park of sixty pieces, besides battalion guns. With such means there was no reason to despair; he thought that this army might be the salvation of France. It had the inestimable advantage of acting in its own country, where everything was to be expected from the enthusiasm of the people. On the other hand the Prussians would be retarded by the sieges, by the difficulty of finding provisions, by the delays incident to their own convoys, and by the terrible quantity of their heavy artillery. The equipages of so many princes, the number of draught-horses necessary to drag their cannon, stores, and baggage over rough roads, must make their march exceedingly slow. On the contrary, his own army, which could not possibly remain where it was, might move with great rapidity. But in what direction should it move? After various schemes had been proposed, Dumouriez, who abounded in that military genius of which his late rival La Fayette had never given a token, pointed to the forest of Argonne upon the map, and exclaimed, "Behold the Thermopylæ of France! If I

can but arrive there before the Prussians, all will be saved!"¹ The forest of Argonne is a belt of wood running on elevated rocky ground, nearly all the way from Sedan to Passeyant, a league beyond Ste. Ménéhould, the entire length being about fifteen French leagues, its breadth very unequal, varying from four leagues to half a league.



GENERAL DUMOURIEZ.—From a French print

It separates the Bishoprics (Les Trois Evêchés), a rich and fertile country, from Champagne the Hungry, or the Lousy (as *pouilleuse* properly signifies), a district cursed by nature, in which was neither water nor wood, forage nor pasturage, but one cold bed of clay, without towns or bourgs, with no habitations but a few wretched villages scattered here and there and far apart. The forest was intersected with rocks, water-courses, bogs, and marshes, which rendered it impenetrable to the march of an army except by five openings or passes. As there were no other means of advancing on the French capital, where the Duke of Brunswick had promised to dine by a certain day, it is astonishing that he should not have secured one or two of the best of these passes; but he had done nothing of the kind, wasting several days in the sieges of Longwi and Verdun, places which he might have left in his rear without any danger. But if he could now discover Dumouriez's intentions, he could hardly fail of remedying his blunder; and, as he was considerably nearer to the best of the passes, or those which led most directly to the capital, the French general must move with the greatest rapidity, or see his plan frustrated. But Dumouriez not only moved with admirable rapidity, but also marched in such a way as to conceal his intention, until it was too late for the Duke of Brunswick to attempt anticipating him. He moved his army in several separate columns; and

by the 4th of September all the five passes of the forest of Argonne were occupied by different divisions of his army, which was every day reinforced by the arrival of national guards and volunteers. He had also transmitted orders to Beurnonville to quit the fortified camp of Maulde and march straight to Argonne with his 10,000 men, a considerable portion of whom consisted of Belgians who had revolted against the emperor and joined the French; and Beurnonville was expected to arrive in a very few days. Other troops—another army, in fact—were collecting in his rear at Rheims under General d'Harville.

It was not until the 8th of September that the Duke of Brunswick extended his front, and approached the forest and passes of Argonne. His head-quarters were constantly distracted by conflicting opinions, and disturbed by the petulance and evil counsels of the emigrants, who pretended that, as Frenchmen, they must best know how to manage a war in France, and who evidently misled him from the beginning of the campaign to the end of it. There were several very narrow chances; at one time Dumouriez was driven from his fortified camp: at another a panic seized his new levies, and more than 2000 men fled with incredible speed to the distance of thirty leagues, publishing everywhere that the army was betrayed and annihilated, and that Dumouriez and all the generals had gone over to the enemy. But the able strategist contrived to keep the Duke of Brunswick and his army at bay; and by the 19th of September, Dumouriez, being joined by Beurnonville and Kellermann, found himself at the head of a force far superior in number to the army of Brunswick. On the 20th the Prussians made a somewhat spiritless attempt to drive the French from the steep hill of Valmy. The affair has been very properly called the *Cannonade of Valmy*: each of the two armies fired more than 20,000 cannon-shot, and yet lost no more, in killed and wounded, than 300 or 400 men each. It however gave great encouragement to the French, by proving to them that their steadiness and their fire could arrest the progress of so formidable an enemy. The young Duke of Chartres (then plain M. Chartres, and afterwards Louis Philippe, King of the French), was in this battle or cannonade, serving as a general officer, and having for his aide-de-camp his younger brother, the Duke of Montpensier, then a youth of seventeen. Kellermann praised the valour and conduct of both princes, and honourable mention was made of them in the bulletins sent to Paris. Fresh armies were now collecting round the Prussians, who found themselves still entangled in a sterile country, in want of forage and provisions, a prey to a cruel dysentery, occasioned by the badness of their food and by the drenching

¹ Dumouriez, *Memoirs*.

of the autumnal rains, which now fell incessantly for many days, making the bad roads still worse, swelling all the rivers and streams, and ruining all the baggage.¹

At the beginning of the campaign the Duke of Brunswick had been assured by the sanguine emigrants, that the mass of the population, who must by this time be disgusted with the revolution, would rise and join him, and fight under the French princes who were with him; and, in short, that the campaign would be nothing but a pleasant promenade along the banks of the Marne. But, instead of joining him, or even of remaining neutral, the population of the country seemed armed to a man against him, the peasantry cutting off and butchering all his stragglers, fighting in ambush on almost every road, and not unfrequently intercepting his convoys; and at Valmy he had found that the *sans-culottes* were commanded by skilful and experienced generals—that shoemakers and tailors were becoming very good officers, and that the new levies, mixed with old troops, could keep their ground. It was clear that neither he nor the emigrants had sufficiently reflected on the aptitude of the French people for the art and practice of war; or upon the fact that such revolutions must nearly always produce great soldiers. The Prussians were pedants in war, believing that it could only be a successful art when subjected to their own rigid rules; and, as for the emigrants, it was one of the few articles of their limited belief, that *roturiers* could never make good officers—a conviction which was scarcely removed from their minds until the *sans-culotte* armies, under *sans-culotte* officers and generals, had overrun half Europe. On the 30th of September, at the dead of night, Brunswick struck his camp, having sent before him his artillery and heavy baggage. On the morning of the 1st of October, Dumouriez detached General Dampier to occupy the abandoned camp of La Lune, which was found strewed with the carcasses of men and horses, and offering such startling proofs of the epidemic malady or maladies which had been raging there, that Dampier precipitately abandoned the post, lest his men should be infected. Dumouriez, whose vanity was at least equal to his genius, hurried to Paris to show himself at the theatres, to receive compliments and laurel crowns, to solicit for more troops in order that he might conquer Belgium, to see which party was getting strongest in the con-

vention, and to make friends accordingly. In many respects his reception was as flattering as he could have desired; but some of the Jacobins thought that he had not done all that he might have done, and other Jacobins were mortally offended at his having punished some federates who had brutally massacred four deserters from the emigrants. He was, however, enabled to march against the Austrians, who under the Duke of Saxe-Teschen had been obliged to abandon the siege of Lille, and to recross the Belgian frontier, a few days after the Duke of Brunswick's retreat from the Argonne. On the 4th of November, two French armies under Dumouriez entered the Austrian Netherlands in nine columns; and on the 5th, being reinforced by another corps d'armée under D'Harville, they came up with the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, who occupied an excellent position on some wooded hills near the village of Jemappe. But if the Austrian position was good, their disproportion in number was very great, Saxe-Teschen not having more than 15,000 or 16,000 men to oppose to 50,000 or 60,000 French.

On the morning of the 6th the French began a general action by cannonading, to which the Austrians replied from some well-placed redoubts. This heavy firing continued without intermission, and without any great effect on either side, till ten o'clock, when the young Duke of Chartres, or, as he was now called, young Egalité, recommended an attack with fixed bayonets.² From eleven o'clock till one in the afternoon several charges were attempted, but every time the French were driven back by cannon-ball and grape-shot. At one time their centre, after losing a great number of men, was thrown into complete disorder, and was not rallied by the young Duke of Chartres without extreme difficulty. While the duke returned with the centre to attack the village of Jemappe on Saxe-Teschen's right, Dumouriez, putting himself at the head of two fresh brigades, and singing the Marseillaise hymn, "*Allons, enfans de la patrie*," moved rapidly to attack some redoubts towards the enemy's left. He was accompanied by several regiments or strong squadrons of horse, and not relying solely on the bayonet, he carried some light artillery with him. These redoubts were defended by some Hungarian grenadiers, who fought most desperately; but attacking by the gorge of the redoubts, and bringing their artillery within musket-shot, the French at length carried the works, when a fearful butchery of the Hunga-

¹ Dumouriez, the Duke of Brunswick, the Jacobin commissioners, Goëthe, the French newspapers, the English newspapers of the day, all mention these dreadful rains. But a critic in the *Edinburgh Review*, in commenting on Mr. Carlyle's account of the campaign of Argonne, doubts or denies that there was any rain at all, and assures us that September is not a rainy month on the Continent!

² The Duke of Orleans, on being elected a member of the convention, had taken the name of Philip Egalité, or Philip Equality. Dodsley's *Annual Register*, and other works of the day, speak of General Egalité, and of the bravery he displayed at Jemappe, without any notion that he was the Duke of Chartres, the son of the Duke of Orleans.

rians ensued. Dumouriez, anxious about his centre, put himself at the head of his cavalry, and was proceeding at a smart trot to its succour, when he met the young Duke of Montpensier, who was galloping to tell him that the centre was victorious, and that his brother had gained possession of the village of Jemappe after a bloody engagement. This decided the affair; it was only two o'clock, and the Austrians were in full retreat for Mons. The conquered moved off in admirable order, carrying with them all their artillery except seven or eight pieces; the conquerors had scarcely secured their victory ere they were seized with a terrible panic, and, imagining that the Austrians had undermined the hill and that they would all be blown into the air, five battalions abandoned the heights they had gained, and fled in the utmost disorder to a village at some distance. Dumouriez says that it was in consequence of this panic, and of the cowardice of one of his generals and of the disobedience of others, that he could not molest the Duke of Saxe-Teschen on his retreat. The battle of Jemappe decided the fate of the Netherlands, so miserably weak was the force collected for the defence of that rich country, and so disaffected were the Belgians to the house of Austria. Dumouriez states his own loss in killed and wounded at 2000, and that of the imperialists at twice that number; but there is reason to doubt whether, from the nature of the combat and of the ground, and from the want of pursuit, the French did not lose as many men as the Austrians. On the 8th, Tournai opened its gates to Labourdonnaye, Dumouriez's second in command; Courtrai, Menin, and Bruges, which had been well jacobinized beforehand, sent deputations to the commander-in-chief and to the convention; and, as soon as the intelligence of the battle of Jemappe arrived, the French commandant of Dunkirk, with only 1800 foot and 200 horse, marched to Nieuport and Ostend, which received him with joy. Without a single musket having been fired, all Flanders was subdued—or rather, the people joined the French and removed every obstacle to their progress. The exultation of the Flemings and Brabanters was in the course of a very few weeks considerably damped by the arrival of Jacobin commissioners from the assembly, who plundered them most mercilessly, levying contributions, taxing and harrowing them, as if they had really been a conquered people. Even Dumouriez himself gave them a sad proof of what they had to expect: for almost as soon as he had entered Mons, where the inhabitants received him with the utmost joy, he issued an ordinance requiring from the clergy a forced loan of one year of their revenues; and subsequently, in managing contracts for provisions, he forced

the Belgian contractors to accept of payment in French paper money, which was every day becoming more discredited and worthless. His excuse is, that the convention had no money to give him, and that the troops, engaging in a winter campaign, were almost naked.

Old Marshal Bender, who had once so terrified the Belgian patriots by the threat of pulling on his boots, was left in Brussels, not to offer any resistance, which was impracticable, but merely to arrange a capitulation. On the evening of the 13th the marshal was summoned by the Alsacian Westermann, become a colonel in the armies of the French republic by virtue of his exploits in the Tuileries on the 10th of August. Old Bender made the best terms he could, and on the 14th, Dumouriez entered Brussels amidst the acclamations of the people, and shouts of "Long live the French! Long live liberty and equality!" Having called upon all the towns in Belgium to raise and equip volunteer corps and militia, Dumouriez left Brussels on the 19th of November, when Labourdonnaye was already laying siege to Antwerp, while Valence was blockading Namur. He captured Mechlin, where he found a great quantity of ammunition and arms, and an excellent foundry for casting cannon. This enabled him to improve the equipment of his troops, and to arm crowds of volunteers who had come from France, where they had been starving for want of employment, to take part in this harvest of glory and gain. The situation of France continued for years to furnish the like adventurers in prodigious numbers; for there was starvation at home, and no calling within the reach of the common run of men was half so profitable as that of arms. To these must be added numbers—not inconsiderable—of downright republican enthusiasts; and of men passionately fond of war for the mere sake of war and its glories; and again other numbers who could only be safe from the Jacobins and the guillotine by throwing themselves into the ranks of marching armies. All this enabled the revolutionary generals to be careless whether a given operation cost them thousands of lives more or less; the immense numbers which fell were replaced by fresh arrivals: the want of regular employment at home, and the system of terror, were by themselves sufficient to recruit their armies. On the 22d, Dumouriez was astonished by finding the Duke of Saxe-Teschen firmly posted at Tirlemont. Another battle took place. The Austrians, though defeated, continued their retreat in admirable order, abandoning the country foot by foot, and fighting again on the 27th in front of Liège. At the beginning of this war of the revolution many of the Austrian retreats, if properly examined, will be found to be more extraordinary things

than the French victories. Liège, which swarmed with revolutionists and Jacobins, who in various ways had hampered the operations of the emperor's general, welcomed Dumouriez as a deliverer on the 28th. The strong fortress of Antwerp surrendered about the same time to the Peruvian Miranda, whom Dumouriez had sent to supersede Labourdonnaye; Namur surrendered to Valence on the 2d of December; and thus, one month after opening the campaign, the French found themselves completely masters of all the Austrian Netherlands, excepting the duchy of Luxemburg.

Dumouriez, having sent Miranda forward to Roermond, wished to continue his winter campaign by capturing Maestricht, by calling up the Dutch democrats, and by revolutionizing Holland, and all those Seven United Provinces. It was true the Dutch government had not declared war or entered into the coalition against France; but its predilection for the Austrians, Prussians, and emigrants, and its aversion to the French revolution, were not disguised. But greatly to Dumouriez's mortification, the convention and the executive would not send him the order to attack the Dutch; thinking it better, *for the present*, to maintain a neutrality with the stadtholder, until the Dutch democrats were better prepared for insurrection. Thus circumstanced, he resolved to capture Aix-la-Chapelle. But he was sadly impeded by a pestilent Jacobin poet, Ronsin, who had been sent by the convention to superintend the civil concerns of his army. On the 7th of December the Austrians fought another battle; but they were far too weak to secure or cover Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the 8th, Dumouriez entered the ancient city of Charlemagne as a conqueror. On the 12th, when little more than ten leagues from the Rhine, he put his army into winter-quarters.

But it was not alone in the Netherlands that the French, from being invaded, became invaders. The energetic men of Paris had resolved that Germany should be entered. General Custine, who had been attached to the French army on the Upper Rhine, commanded by Biron, made, with 18,000 or 20,000 men, a dash into the little circles of the empire, where there were no troops in the field, and none but weak garrisons in the fortresses. These silly German electors had all been indulging in the pleasant dream that the Duke of Brunswick would get to Paris, and therefore they had not thought it necessary to make any extra exertions. Spires and Worms capitulated to Custine on the 30th of September and 5th of October, and on the 21st of October Mayence (Mentz) threw open its gates, all the garrison laying down their arms, except some 800 Austrians, who marched out and joined the grand army of the coalition. All these successes

could have been obtained only through the disaffection of these Germans to their rulers, and the dissemination among them of French principles. Custine had no artillery or material for conducting any siege, and the least resistance must have preserved Mayence: but the town and university were full of democrats and believers in the new exposition of the rights of man; and these men had secret intelligence with Custine before he approached the place, and as soon as he had summoned it they urged the necessity of an immediate capitulation. In all directions the first progress of the republican armies was favoured by the people of the countries they invaded, so that the French press and their political propagandists were indeed of more service than French artillery. Custine soon gave the speculative Germans some cause for regretting the welcome they had given him. Quitting the banks of the Rhine, he rushed to Frankfort-on-the-Main. This free commercial town had remained neutral in all the wars, and her neutrality had been respected by the armies of kings and emperors; but these republicans were not so scrupulous, and they resolved to plunder it, notwithstanding the fact that the people were disposed in their favour, and were wishing them every success. They entered the open undefended place on the 27th of October, and levied contributions in the most rapacious manner.

Ever since the time of Louis XIV. the French had pretended that the natural frontiers of their country were the river Rhine and the high chain of the Alps; and that Belgium, Savoy, and Nice, which lay within these limits, belonged to France by the assignment of nature. Dumouriez, when minister, had recommended, as a beginning, the conquest and permanent occupation of these countries. We have seen how easily he overran one of them. General Montesquion, beginning earlier in the season, found Savoy quite as easy a conquest; and General Anselme, who was detached by Montesquion, and reinforced by 6000 Marseillaise, moved under the Maritime Alps to make a prey of Nice. In both these possessions of the King of Sardinia, the propagandists had long been at work, and their labours had been attended with very great success. Several days before they made their declaration of hostilities, the Girondist executive had given peremptory orders to General Montesquion to attack Savoy, and drive all the troops of the King of Sardinia across the Alps, as these troops had been collected for no other purpose than to invade France, and to co-operate with the coalition. Before any blow was struck, the French had made pretty sure of the Savoyards, who hated the Piedmontese; and, by a variety of ingenious devices, they had gained all the information they wanted. A republican

general, who thought it no shame to play the part of a spy, took the dress and the name of an Irish priest; and imposed sadly on the credulity of Colegno, the commandant of Chambéry, the

tress of Montmelian, which had been abandoned by its garrison, although well furnished with powder, ball, and provisions. On the side of Nice there was the same mixture of imbecility and



FRANKFORT, THE FISHERGATE, looking up the Main.—From Harding's Sketches at Home and Abroad.

little capital of Savoy, and also upon the too easy faith of Count Perrone, the governor-general of the duchy. Other emissaries went among the citizens and the people, explaining the stupendous benefits they must derive from the French system, the promulgation of the rights of man, the overthrow of the aristocracy, and a fresh division of property. Montesquieu knew that the Savoyards would everywhere join him; and that the troops of the King of Sardinia, about which so much talk had been made, did not really exceed 10,000 men, and these, too, scattered over the country, through the false security or the treachery of those who had the command over them. On the night of the 21st of September, in the midst of a hurricane and torrents of rain, the republicans dashed across the frontier of Savoy, and took by surprise the important fortress of Sanpaurellian, which was garrisoned only by a handful of Piedmontese.¹ Without losing a man, almost without firing a gun, the French reached Chambéry, and were there received with transports of joy by the Savoyard patriots. After making a triumphal entrance, and installing a provisional council of government, composed of ardent democrats, who were *invited* to consider the expediency of an immediate union and incorporation with the French republic, Montesquieu advanced a few miles on the road that led to the pass of Mont Cenis, and took the formidable for-

treachery in those who commanded for the King of Sardinia, and the same sympathy among the people for the French and their enticing principles. Anselme crossed the river Var, which there forms the frontier, on the night of the 23d of September. An inconsiderable corps d'armée, composed of Piedmontese and Sardinians, retreated in the greatest confusion, and, without firing a shot, left the city of Nice open to the invaders. Without the least exertion

except that of marching to their prey, the republicans got possession of all that sea-board, of all the lower part of the country of Nice lying between the Maritime Alps and the Mediterranean, save and except the citadel of Mont Albano. To co-operate in this war of coasts the Gironde executive had despatched, from the near port of Toulon, Admiral Trugnet, with eleven ships of the line, some frigates, and other vessels, having on board 2000 land troops. This fleet now came to anchor, and assisted in the siege of Mont Albano, which soon capitulated. Trugnet perpetrated a horrible slaughter at Oneglia, a small but thriving town on the coast, the birth-place of the great Andrea Doria; and soon after this exploit he returned to Toulon, not without some apprehension of being intercepted by an English fleet, for the British ambassador had withdrawn from Paris in consequence of the dethronement of Louis XVI. and of all that had been done on the 10th of August. Two-thirds of a century have passed since these horrors were committed, but the memory of them has been transmitted from father to son in eloquent and exciting tradition, and there is not at this day, on all that coast, a mariner or peasant but will recount with flashing eyes the horrible particulars of the destruction of Oneglia.

We return to Paris. On the appointed day, the 21st of September, the members elected to the convention met in the Tuileries, the greater part of which was riddled by the cannon-balls of

¹ Carlo Botta, *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814*.

the 10th of August. The elections for the city of Paris may enable the reader to judge of the spirit and influence under which they had been made, and will convey a tolerably correct notion of the character of the deputies returned by most of the departments. The Parisian deputies were—Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, David, Fabre d'Eglantine, Legendre, Panis, Sergent, Billaud-Vareannes, Augustin Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, Dussaulx, Fréron, MARAT, Philippe Egalité, Thomas Manuel, Boucher Beauvais, Raffron, Robert, Lavicomterie, Osselin, and Laignelot. They included in their number all the members of the notorious committee of surveillance of the commune who had directed the égorgeurs or Septemberers. Among them were three newspaper editors, a butcher, a painter, an actor, an engraver, a prince of the blood-royal, two street orators and authors, and one advocate—"which," says Thiers, "represented the confusion and the variety of existences which then agitated the capital of France." The first two returned by the Paris electors were Robespierre and Danton. Their success, about which there never could have been a moment's doubt, was hailed with enthusiastic joy by the Jacobin Club and by the commune, who, in fact, had secured their return. Marat had the same all-efficient support, and was passionately recommended to the Parisian electors by Chabot, who treated with contempt the remonstrances of such as represented that the friend of the people was rather too fond of blood and was already lying under two criminal accusations. Brissot, who was Marat's rival candidate, had no chance against him, and was obliged to get returned by one of the departments. These elections proved that he and his party could do nothing with Paris, and without Paris there was no hope of victory to them in the mortal combat they were entering upon with the ultra-Jacobins. After the failure of Brissot, some of the Girondins set up *Doctor Priestley* against Marat; but the divine was beaten by the horse-doctor. It might have been thought that the September massacres would have dispelled the admiration of the blinded or most frantic of the English republicans; but it was after these atrocities, and at a moment when the details of them were ringing throughout Europe, and filling men's minds with horror, that Priestley became a French citizen, and was elected a member of this convention, which, from the first, showed its determination of pursuing the same sanguinary course. Some have thought that the losing the honour of representing the city of Paris in the convention, and his mortification at being beaten by a man like Marat, may have contributed to keep Priestley away from France. Thomas Paine, who had gained additional consideration by publishing the second

part of the *Rights of Man*, was elected by the department of Pas de Calais. Priestley was elected by the department of Orne, but never took his seat in the convention; "because," as his friends said in the house, "he could not speak our language." Abbé Sièyes, who had not very patiently endured Robespierre's self-denying ordinance, was returned by the department of La Sarthe; and various other members of the first or constituent assembly, who had scarcely been heard of since the dissolution of that body, found their way into the convention. The departments of the south remained tolerably constant to their representatives in the legislative assembly, and there was not one Girondin of any note but found a place in the convention. These Girondins, who had sat on the left before, now took their places on the right, the Jacobins taking the left, and Robespierre with the deputation of Paris and all the most excessive Jacobins seating themselves at the summit of the left (*sur la crête de la gauche*), from which position they obtained the name—the memorable name—of "La Montagne," or the Mountain. What had been called the "Centre" was now called the "Plain;" and at the beginning, it was occupied by a very considerable portion of the house, some being moderates, some cowards, and a great many mere trimmers, ready to go with the Jacobins or with the Girondins, according to circumstances. The first president appointed was Mayor Petion. There was an immediate throwing down of gauntlets between the Girondins and the ultra-Jacobins. The Gironde ministers, by means of their orators in the house, attempted to discredit Marat and crush Robespierre, who still retained his name of the "Incorruptible." They failed completely, and only embittered by their attempt an enmity which was already implacable. But both parties soon agreed in bringing the king to trial and execution. In the meantime all the captives in the Temple—the king's sister Elizabeth, his queen, and his two young children, as well as Louis himself—were treated with the most execrable barbarity.

The mockery of a trial began on the 11th of December, when the king was brought to the bar of the convention. Although Louis had been diligently studying during his captivity the trial of Charles I. as related by Hume, he did not, like that prince, deny the authority of the court before which he was brought, or refuse to answer. He urged that up to June, 1789, there was no constitution, or no existing laws, which hindered his doing what he had done. The president then charged him with having surrounded Paris with troops in the month of July, 1789, and of having caused blood to be shed. Louis replied, that at the time he had the right of commanding the troops,

protesting that he had never had any intention of shedding the blood of any of his subjects. In this manner they went through the articles of charge, fifty-seven in number; Louis either answered by a simple negative, or insisted that what he had done had been done before the constitution, or was justified by the laws as they then existed, or had been done since the constitution, which threw all the responsibility upon his ministers. In reply to the charge about the journey to Varennes, he said that he must refer to what had passed in the constituent assembly at the time, which assembly had set aside the charge for ever by restoring him to the throne, and by swearing with him to the monarchic constitution. He scarcely showed any warmth or vehemence, except when the president charged him with having caused all the bloodshed on the 10th of August, 1792, when he cried out with a loud voice, "*No, sir! No! that was not I!*" . . . The Tuileries was threatened, in a way which all constituted authorities witnessed. The mayor and other municipality saw it; and as I was a constituted authority, I had a right to defend myself; but I did not do even that—I sent for a deputation of the national assembly, and I came and took refuge here with my family." It was, however, resolved that all the blood poured out on the 10th of August should be laid directly to the charge of the king; and it was by the cry of vengeance for this blood—a cry incessantly kept up by the mob, the clubs, and the newspapers—that these proceedings were precipitated. On the 30th of December, deputations began to present themselves at the bar to tell the honourable deputies that the citizens of Paris were wearied out by their long delays. Eighteen of the Paris sections sent petitions and committees; and the men who had been wounded on the 10th of August, and the widows and orphans of the patriots who had perished on that day, came in one grand dramatic group to the convention to demand vengeance and blood for blood. Some of the wounded dragged themselves slowly along upon crutches, and one of them was carried in a litter. Their orator delivered a terrible speech to the "fathers of the country, legislators of all mankind," telling them that Louis must perish on the scaffold forthwith; that there would be no *humanity* upon earth until all kings were destroyed; and that there would be no virtue until all priests were destroyed also. The president made them a very complimentary speech in return, and invited them all to the honours of the sitting. The greater part of them went and sat on the benches with the members of the house.

A.D. 1793.

On the 1st of January more addresses were presented to the departments demanding the immediate execution

of the king, who had been voted *guilty* on the night of the 26th of December, in the midst of the joyous acclamations of the blood-thirsty mob that crowded the galleries of the house, and frequently took part in the debate. It was timidly hinted by some that the English government would resent the death of the king. Billaud-Varennes said that this was a dishonouring and groundless apprehension, and that he was astonished the French executive had not sent over an address to the English *people*, which had been prepared some time ago. "Everybody," said Billaud, "knows the sad situation of the English *people*, and that they are our friends. The oppressed English desire nothing better than to fraternize with us." Men and women were now crying through the streets of Paris, "There has not been blood enough!" "Let the scythe of equality strike off more heads!" "Give us bread and equality!" "Put the traitor to death, and then we shall have both equality and bread!" "The cause of all our woe is in the Temple and in a part of the convention!" &c. Some of the Gironde, fearing the consequences rather than pitying the king, would fain have stopped short of immediate execution on the scaffold; but they were powerless, they had helped to surrender all power to a sovereign mob, and, while sitting in the assembly or skulking in their lodgings, they trembled for their own lives. One of them had the extraordinary courage to declare that all forms of justice and all feelings of humanity were outraged, and that the convention was deliberating under the daggers and cannons of a faction; but these self-evident truths made no impression either upon the mobs in the galleries or upon the men of the Mountain, who had the cannons and the daggers under their control. Out of 721 members present there was not one who would venture to say that the king was not guilty, and only thirty-seven who declared that they were incompetent to pronounce judgment, or who recommended some punishment short of death.

After a long and most riotous debate on the 16th of January, the house proceeded to vote the execution. A secretary began to call over the muster-roll, in order to show who were present and who were not; for all such as should be absent or refuse to vote on this solemn occasion had been threatened with destruction by the clubs and the mob. It was eight o'clock at night, and the hall was only imperfectly lighted up with lamps and candles. All faces were either pale or flushed—the heads and shoulders projecting from the galleries seemed about to fall upon the members sitting in their seats. By a drawing of lots, or by some operation styled a *roulement*, the deputies of the Garonne, Gers, and the Gironde, who nearly all belonged to the party named

Girondists, were the first called upon for their votes. The first of all who voted was Mailhe, and his vote was LA MORT (Death); but he demanded that the convention should afterwards discuss the point whether execution should follow immediately, or whether sentence should be suspended for a time, taking care, however, to add that his vote of death was independent of this proposition. The next two members that voted were Delmas and Projean, who both said LA MORT, and nothing more. As the business went on, the galleries applauded all who voted simply for death, and hooted and threatened all such as attempted to qualify the sentence, or to commute it into imprisonment or banishment. Early in the roll, Vergniaud, who was acting as president, was called upon; and pale and trembling, and cowering before the popular fury, he pronounced the monosyllable DEATH, although he had previously declared that his heart and conscience would never permit him to give such a vote against the unfortunate king. Guadet, who voted next, said DEATH, but recommended the suspension of execution (*le sursis*), which had been first suggested by Mailhe. Next came Gensonné, who followed up the concise vote LA MORT, by demanding that the convention, in order to prove to Europe that the condemnation of Louis was not the work of a faction, should deliberate immediately after judgment on the measures of security proper to be taken in favour of the children of the condemned, and against his family; and that, in order to prove that no distinction was made between villains (*scélérats*), the convention should enjoin the minister of justice to pursue before the tribunals the assassins and brigands of the 2d and 3d of September! In some few instances courage and humanity were found where their existence could never have been expected. Thus Grangeneuve boldly voted "IMPRISONMENT (*la Détention*);" and Manuel, with equal boldness, said "BANISHMENT," and soon afterwards rushed out of the house for ever—but not before he had been hustled, kicked, and beaten, beaten on the very floor of the house, and then in the lobby. As the voting continued, one opinion, delivered by Servière, to keep the king in prison, and only execute him in case of the coalition again invading France, seemed to make some little impression; but it was only for a moment, as the conviction was by this time universal that republican France, instead of suffering invasion, might now invade all Europe, and, in alliance with the people, bring down every throne to the dust. Lepelletier Saint-Fargeau, a man of noble birth and large fortune, who had figured in the constituent or first assembly, and who had harangued and written largely for the abolition of all capital punishment, now, to save his own life, said,

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DEATH. Condorcet said, "THE GREATEST PUNISHMENT SHORT OF DEATH." Thomas Paine, who had previously urged his opinions with more courage than any of them, both in conversation and in writing, voted for IMPRISONMENT TILL THE PEACE, AND THEN BANISHMENT. Several members of the Mountain voted, like the majority of the Girondists, for DEATH, WITH THE SURSIS. As every member had to answer to his name, to ascend the tribune, to deliver his sentence *à viva voce*, and then to write it and sign it in a *procès verbal*, the dismal business proceeded very slowly. Some of the deputies fell asleep in their places, and had to be roused by the ushers when their names were called. Others, choosing their time, ran out of the house to get dinner or other refreshments. The people in the galleries brought their refreshments with them, and were seen drinking wine and brandy as in a common tavern. One particular gallery set aside for distinguished visitors was occupied by Philippe Egalité's mistresses, and by other rouged and splendidly dressed dames, some of whom, with cards and pins, pricked down the ayes and noes as if they had been at the roulette-table or playing at rouge-et-noir. Deputies of the convention carried ices, and bon-bons and other condiments, to these proper priestesses of that temple of liberty; and love-making of the French fashion, and gallantry, and assignation, went on even as if the harlots and scoundrels had been at a merry play. From time to time some fellows went over to the neighbouring coffee-houses, where other cold-blooded scoundrels were betting upon the results of the *appel nominal*, or vote by name. Marat voted, DEATH WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS; Danton, simply DEATH; but Robespierre accompanied his vote of DEATH by a long comment, in which he said that the very reasons which had formerly induced him to call for the abolition of capital punishment now made him demand the death of the tyrant, and in him the death of all royalty. When the turn of Sièyes came, that ex-abbé said, shrilly and briefly, LA MORT SANS PHRASES (Death without speechifying). But the vote which made the most sensation, was that delivered by the ex-Duke of Orleans, who mounted the tribune between night and morning, and with a hollow, shaking voice said, "Solely occupied by my duty, convinced that all those who have made attempts, or shall hereafter make attempts against the sovereignty of the people, merit death, I vote for DEATH." There was a universal murmur, a sort of subdued groan; but this was all, and with the vast majority there collected, the feeling of horror was transitory. All through the next day, the 17th of January, this voting continued. At eight o'clock at night, when Chazal the younger gave the last vote of all, the president announced that

he had received two letters, one from Louis's counsel, the other from Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, who inclosed a note about the king from the Spanish ambassador. Garan-Coulon, and a great many more deputies, Girondists as well as Jacobins, shouted that the letter from the Spanish minister was an insult, and that it

was carried unanimously. The note of the Spanish ambassador, who offered, in the name of his sovereign, not only the neutrality of Spain, but her friendly mediation with the other powers, if they would only spare the life of Louis XVI., was thrown over the table and sent back unread to the foreign office; and, if all the courts of Eu-

rope had sent similar notes, they would all have been treated in the same manner. They then read the note from Louis's counsel, who begged to be heard once more at the bar. Robespierre insisted that the counsel could not be heard until the *appel nominal* had been scrutinized, and the result of it made known; and, after some debate or clamour, the house agreed with him. At this moment Duchâtel, a farmer from the neighbourhood of Thouars in Poitou, who had been returned to the convention by the department of Deux-Sèvres, and who had generously exerted himself in favour of the king, was carried into the hall in blankets, and with his head wrapped up. He had been lying on a sick bed, but had risen from it in the belief that one humane vote more would turn the balance. Draper Lecointre, Duhem, and some other Jacobins, contended that he could not vote, as the *appel nominal* was over, and the result of it known; but Valazé, who was acting as one of the secretaries, said that the scrutiny was not over, and the majority decided that the house could not refuse to any member his right of voting. Duchâtel crawled up the steps of the tribune, and gave his vote for BANISHMENT. Charlier, a member of the Mountain and a close adherent of Marat, demanded that the president should interrogate the sick member in order to make him confess who had sent to bring him there in that state; but this proposition was rejected with murmurs. The secretaries then presented the lists to the president (Vergniaud), who, putting on a solemn countenance, said, "Citizens, I am going to proclaim the result of the scrutiny. You are going to perform a grand act of justice. I hope that humanity will induce you to maintain the most profound silence: when justice has spoken, humanity ought to have its turn."

After this preamble he read the result of the third *appel nominal*. The number of members absent on commission was fifteen, eight were absent through real or feigned sickness, and five had refused to vote. Of the 721 that remained, two had voted for the galleys; 286 for imprison-

PLACE LOUIS XV., PARIS, Scene of the Execution of Louis XVI.¹—From the Nouveau Plan Routier, 1792.



ought not to be read. Danton exclaimed, "I am astonished at the audacity of any power pretending to exercise an influence over our deliberations. If everybody was of my opinion, we would this instant declare war against Spain, were it only for this letter." Gensonné said he thought like Danton, and he moved the order of the day, which

¹ The place was subsequently named Place de la Révolution, and is now known as Place de la Concorde.

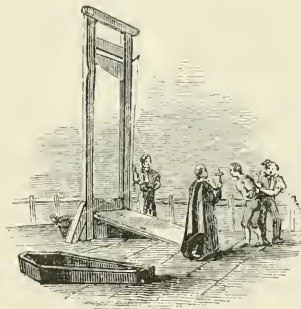
ment and banishment at the peace, or for immediate banishment, or for an imprisonment which was to end in death if France should be again invaded; forty-six had voted for death with the *sursis* either after the expulsion of the Bourbons, or at the peace, or at the ratification of the constitution; twenty-six had voted for death, but had subjoined the recommendation of Mailhe; and 361 had voted for death without any condition, restriction, or recommendation. Taking the twenty-six shuffling Girondins (Mailhe and those who had voted with him) as being on the side of mercy, the majority for death was only a majority of *one*; but throwing Mailhe and his crew on the other side, as they must be thrown, the blood majority will stand at fifty-three, or 387 against 334. When he had gone through these enumerations, Vergniaud said in a sorrowful tone of voice, "Citizens, I declare, in the name of the national convention, that the punishment it pronounces on Louis Capet is DEATH."

The very next instant the king's counsel came to the bar. Desèze read a protest signed by Louis, who, besides protesting, claimed to be permitted to appeal to the people. Desèze pleaded eloquently for the helpless sovereign, dwelling upon the smallness of the majority and the anxiety which the large majority of the convention had so lately shown for the ratification by the people. Tronchet spoke with equal eloquence; and the tears and sobs of the white-headed Malesherbes, which scarcely allowed him to speak one uninterrupted sentence, were more eloquent than any rhetoric or any pleading. Many members seemed overcome by the old man's tenderness; but Robespierre rose and delivered one of his freezing speeches. Guadet demonstrated that it was impossible to allow the king's appeal to the people, and the house forthwith determined

that there should be no such appeal, but that the *sursis*, or suspension of execution, should be debated on the morrow. They then adjourned amidst hootings and hissings, for, though it was near midnight of the 17th, and they had been sitting ever since nine o'clock of the morning of the 16th, the galleries were furious at their adjourning without settling the *sursis* question like all the rest, and leaving the king for immediate execution.

On the fourth morning after this dismal midnight, the *sursis* having been refused, Louis was conducted to the scaffold, which was erected between the garden and palace of the Tuileries and the Champs Elysées. He died like a Christian hero, the last words heard from his lips being, "I pardon my enemies; I pray for France; I die innocent; I ever desired the good of the people!" As his bleeding head was shown to the bloody rabble, both people and troops put their hats and caps upon their bayonets and their pikes, and waved them in the air, with prolonged and re-echoing shouts of "Vive la république!" "Vive la nation!" "Vive la liberté!" It was twenty-four minutes past ten o'clock of Monday morning, the 21st January, 1793. Louis was only in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He had reigned nineteen years all but four months and a few days.

The patriots standing near the scaffold dipped the heads of their pikes in the king's blood, and others pressed forward to dip their handkerchiefs, but not, as we are assured, "out of any royalist superstition." The roar of cannon announced to the captives in the Temple that the king—the husband, brother, father—was no more; and a little later in the day the mob paraded with their bloody pikes before the windows of the queen's prison, and sang and shouted, and danced their infernal Carmagnole.



CHAPTER XXXIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1793.

GEORGE III.

Feeling in London at the tidings of the execution of Louis XVI.—Popular demand for war against France—Parliament assembled early by royal proclamation—The royal speech preparatory to the question of war—Its complaints about the propagation of French insurrectionary principles—Its notices of French aggressions on the Continent—Its proposal to increase the naval and military establishment—Opposition of Fox to the royal speech—His apologies for the excesses of the French revolution—His deprecations of war with France—Windham's reply—His account of French propagandism in England—Speech of Dundas in favour of war with France—Statements of Burke of the connection of English revolutionists with the French convention—Fox again recommends a peaceful negotiation with the French government—He eulogizes the proceedings of the convention—Burke's reply—His appeal to the difficulty of negotiating with the anarchical government of France—Fox a third time proposes negotiation—Arguments in the debate for and against the measure—Review of the question—Provocations to war afforded by France—Impossibility of longer enduring or overlooking them—Necessity of war to the French rulers—Neutrality hitherto observed by Britain in the war of the allied powers against France—Patience of our government under French aggressions and insults—Recal of the British ambassador from Paris—Necessity of the step from the insecurity of the French government—Hostile proceedings of the convention against Britain—The dinner at White's Hotel in Paris—Sole condition on which war with France could be avoided—Its degrading character—The French continue their pretended negotiation with England—Their delay occasioned by the difficulties of the conquest of Holland—War declared by the convention against Britain—Universality with which the resolution was carried—Justification of British politics in entering into this war—Symptoms of the feebleness with which it was to be prosecuted.



ON the day that the death of Louis XVI. was made known in London, that immense city looked as if a great national calamity had happened. The news carried grief and consternation to other populous capitals, in many of which reigned the blood relations or the close connections of the unfortunate monarch, who might command the outward signs of mourning, grand masses for the dead, and pompous funeral services; but in none of those cities was the sadness so universal and spontaneous, so much the uncontrolled and undisguised feeling of the mass of the people, of all classes and conditions of men, as in London. The general conviction had been that the convention would stop short of death; and at first the report of the execution was scarcely credited: but a moment's incredulity, or stupor and bewilderment, gave way to indignation and horror; and, except in the case of some incurable political fanatics, the French people and their present rulers were execrated for the deed by every man, woman, and child in the three kingdoms. So vehement was this feeling that there arose a cry of war from every part of the island.

Parliament had met on the preceding 13th of December, several weeks earlier than had been intended, the government having by royal proclamation called out the militia on the 1st of December. The speech from the throne was much longer than usual, and full of alarm—alarm at the spread of French principles, not only on the Continent, but at home. It attributed the call-

ing out of the militia to seditious practices which had already been discovered, and to a spirit of insubordination, tumult, and disorder which had manifested itself in various places. It declared that there was some fixed design against the constitution, and that this design was evidently pursued in connection and concert with persons residing in foreign countries. It declared that his majesty had observed the strictest neutrality in the present war on the Continent, and had uniformly abstained from any interference in the internal affairs of France; but that it was impossible for him to see without serious uneasiness the increasing indications which appeared there of an intention to excite insurrection in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue schemes of conquest and aggrandizement. It mentioned the fate with which Holland was threatened by the French armies which had overrun the Netherlands; and it said that, under all these circumstances, his majesty had thought it right to adopt precautionary measures, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force. Fox, who was not yet disenchanted of his dream and idolatry of French liberty, and who perhaps had some reason to say that ministers were exaggerating the dangers to be apprehended from popular disaffection at home, made a brilliant speech, condemning every part of the address, and every sentiment that had been uttered in support of it. He declared it to be his firm opinion and belief that every fact asserted in the king's speech was false, that all its insinuations were unfounded,

that no improper spirit existed, and that the alarm had only been raised by the artful designs and practices of ministers. He rejoiced in the triumph of men fighting for liberty over the invading armies of despots, and said that when there had been a probability of the triumph of the armies of Austria and Prussia over the liberties of France his spirits had drooped, and his heart desponded. He bitterly condemned the calling out of the militia; he taunted government for daring to assume a power or control over the minds and speculative opinions of men; and he said, not without some foundation, that the ultra-loyal and Tory clubs and societies had been going to as great extremes in one direction as the reforming societies could have gone in the other. He did not think that England was in a state to go to war; he did not think that anything which had occurred in France, or in Belgium, or in Savoy, or anywhere else, would justify us in going to war with the French republicans. He condemned ministers for not sending a *new ambassador to treat with the present executive government of France*. Pitt was not there to answer him, but the reply came with more force from the lips of Windham, who had figured for so many years as one of the leaders and most eloquent chiefs of the Whig opposition, and who had been linked in such close friendship and fellowship with Fox. This eloquent and elegant man had been scared by the horrors perpetrated in France, and had followed Burke, whose political pupil and friend he had ever considered himself. He declared—and this was at the least as true as Fox's asseveration that the danger was exaggerated—that, whatever might be the amount of real danger, the real alarm was exceedingly great, was felt in every town, village, and hamlet in the kingdom, was agitating every man who had a veneration for the institutions of the country, or had property to lose, or had a proper English aversion to anarchy and bloodshed. For himself he believed that the alarm was not greater than the real danger. He knew of his own knowledge, and all men must know, that there had been and still was a constant communication between persons in Paris and persons in London, the object of which was the destruction of our present form of government. The effect was already felt in an alarming degree; for in every town and village, and almost in every house, these worthy gentlemen had their agents, who regularly disseminated their pamphlets. These agents delivered the pamphlets gratis; a proof that there must be somewhere a society that defrayed the expense, for the agents themselves were poor men. The greatest pains had been taken with the poorer part of the community, to wean their affections from government, to make them dis-

satisfied with their lot, and eager to pull down and plunder all who were above them in fortune and station. Windham believed that the motives of the combined armies that had attempted to march to Paris and liberate Louis XVI. were good. The maxim that no country ought to intermeddle with the internal affairs of another might be true in a limited sense, but he could not admit it as an unvarying rule, as some countries might choose to set up principles that were subversive of the government and tranquillity of all their neighbours; and, even without stirring beyond their own frontiers, or openly intermeddling in the affairs of their neighbours, they might commit incalculable mischief, which would call for repression and suppression. But, he would ask, how had France observed the rule that no country ought to interfere with another? How had she abided by her decree that she abandoned for ever all ideas of foreign conquest? What had she done with Savoy? She had converted it into a department. She was now treating the little republic of Geneva still worse. Her decree that she would give liberty to all mankind was no better than an avowal of a design to disturb every power of Europe. They talked, indeed, of giving to the people of every country where their arms were victorious a free choice of the form of government; but did they ever wait to take the sense of the majority? Not they. Mr. Grey, who remained an unchanged Foxite, replied to Windham, and Dundas to him. Dundas declared that the utmost arts and industry had been used to circulate Paine's *Rights of Man*, and other works of the same tendency, among the poorest and most ignorant of the people; and that they had been told that it was time for them to assert their own rights, to confound all distinctions, to seize and divide property, and, in short, to follow the example which the French had set them. The national convention had been eager to countenance every complaint of grievance from the factious and discontented in this country; and, in proof of this fact, Dundas read addresses which the convention had received with great applause, from several political societies in England. Was not this, on the part of the French, an unjustifiable interference in the internal affairs of another country? And had not leading members of the convention repeatedly declared that they would look not to the sovereign, but to the people of Great Britain—that they would appeal from the government to the republicans of England? Some might pretend to shut their eyes to the truth, but he would never believe that the passion of the French for conquest and aggrandizement had been changed by the change of their government from a monarchy to a democracy, or that the slightest trust

was to be put in their decrees, manifestoes, and proclamations, to which they had already given the lie by their conduct in Belgium, in Savoy, and at Geneva. He referred to the treaties which bound us to assist Holland, intimating that these alone imposed the necessity of our arming and preparing for the worst. The French, since their conquests in the Low Countries and the capture of Antwerp, had declared that they would open the navigation of the Scheldt. This must be ruinous to the commerce of the United Provinces, and England was a guarantee that this should never be allowed. Burke, who had seen many of his predictions already verified, and whose horror of the Gallic revolution was unbounded—Burke, who believed that, if Fox had been suffered to succeed in his project for the amendment to the address, he would for ever have ruined this nation, along with the rest of Europe—rose and spoke with extraordinary warmth. Considerations of party, he said, and all minor considerations, must now give way: he came forward not as the defender of opposition or of ministry, but of the country. He believed the country to be in great danger; he knew that there was a faction in England who wished to submit to France, in order that our government might be reformed upon the French system; and he knew that the French corresponded with and encouraged this faction, and were preparing to aid them. The cabals and conspiracies, the practices and correspondences of this French faction in England, were of public notoriety. Mr. Cooper and Mr. Watt had been deputed from Manchester to the Jacobins: these ambassadors had been received at Paris as British representatives. Other deputations of English had been received at the bar of the national assembly: they had gone the length of giving supplies to the Jacobin armies, expecting in return military assistance in England. A regular correspondence for fraternizing the two nations had been carried on by societies in London with the Jacobin societies in various parts of France. To prove the truth of these assertions, he read the addresses of the Englishmen and Irishmen resident at Paris; and of Joel Barlow and John Frost, deputies from the Constitutional Society of London to the national convention. He declared that the question was not whether they should make an address to the throne, but whether they should have a throne at all. There would soon be no throne or settled government in Europe, if French arms and French principles were allowed to take their own course; and he recommended and prayed for unanimity and determination in England as the best means of stopping the progress of French arms. The division, which did not take place till three hours after midnight, exhibited the

numerical weakness of the Foxites: 290 members voted for the address, and only 50 against it. The great majority of the Whigs, vexed at his imprudent conduct and alarmed at the tone held by men and societies which Fox frequented, had parted company with him for ever, and had followed the Duke of Portland and Burke. He, however, now gave notice that to-morrow he would move an amendment upon the report. And accordingly on the 14th of December, when the lord-mayor brought up the report of the address, he proposed the addition of a clause requesting that the king would enter into negotiations with the present Jacobin government of France. In his speech Fox threw the whole blame of the horrid scenes which had occurred in France upon the coalition, and eulogized the spirit and valour of the French republicans, who had taught the proudest men in this world that there was an energy in the cause of justice and freedom which nothing could defeat. "Thank God," said he, "Nature has been true to herself! Tyranny has been defeated, and those who fought for freedom are triumphant." He said that all the inhabitants of Europe sympathized with the French and wished them success, regarding them as men struggling with tyrants and despots. He could see no force in the objection raised by some men that France had actually no government to treat with. Surely that was a government which the people considered as such. Great Britain ought immediately to acknowledge that government and negotiate with it. He proceeded to contend that we could not go to war without the greatest hazard; that Ireland was disaffected, so that no man in his senses could expect any hearty support from that kingdom; that we could obtain no new allies on the Continent, and that our ally the King of Prussia could not be depended upon; and that no reliance whatever was to be placed on the emperor. Among *some exceptionable characters* Burke had classed and reprobated M. Roland, a man *eminent for many virtues!* [The cant about this "eternally virtuous" individual had reached England, and Fox probably did not yet know to what a condition of discredit and insignificance Roland had by this time fallen in France, any more than he knew that these Girondist rulers with whom he would have negotiated were to be swept away in the course of a very few months by the "exceptionable characters" to whom he alluded as being the only bad men in this new republic.] He said that such invectives did not tend to conciliate France; that such gross insults and injuries could not be forgotten or forgiven by a spirited people like the French. He said that sooner or later we must acknowledge this French republic. Was not the republic of this country readily acknowledged at

the time of Cromwell? Did not courts vie in their civilities to our commonwealth after the execution of Charles I.? If ministers' objection to receive an ambassador at present was that they did not know how to introduce a French republican minister into the king's drawing-room, he wished they would fairly confess it, to the end that the English people might see that their blood and treasure were to be sacrificed for a mere punctilio! [Many persons were hurt at this sarcasm, and none more than George III., who is said to have treasured it in his memory, and to have frequently repeated afterwards, that Mr. Fox would have presented to him Marat or Robespierre, or Samson the headsman.] He bestowed some pathos upon the unhappy prisoners of the Temple; but he soon passed from their sufferings to dwell more tenderly upon those of that "brave but unfortunate gentleman" La Fayette, whom the despots had locked up like a felon because he had always been a friend to liberty. Sheridan seconded the amendment, as being calculated to rescue the country from a war with France. Burke again rose to declare that he saw a spirit at work that would leave England no option between war and peace. Considering it as admitted that France must not be permitted to open the navigation of the Scheldt, and that she must be induced by negotiation or compelled by arms to restore the conquests she had made, he thought it a very extraordinary way of effecting either purpose to represent our internal situation as rotten, and all our allies as powers not to be depended upon. Would Mr. Fox make a choice of friendships and enmities, and renounce all former alliances with established governments to contract a close alliance with a country that had no government at all—with an anarchy? And were we sure that the French republicans, even if courted, would come to any reasonable terms with us? Yet this was the contingency for which we were to renounce our present allies, the ancient and established governments of Europe. The French republic had not yet been recognized by any power whatever. And what was the peculiar time when England was to be the first to recognize it, and to send over an ambassador to Paris? Why, it was the very moment, perhaps, when the merciless savages had their hands red with the blood of a murdered sovereign! To follow the course proposed would look like giving a sanction to a bloody act—like giving currency to regicide, and affording a preliminary to the murder of our own sovereign. He shattered at a blow the argument that Fox had drawn from the conduct of Europe towards Cromwell and the English commonwealth. The French republic, he said, was *sui generis*, and bore no analogy to any other republic

or system of government that had ever existed in the known world. The English commonwealth did not attempt to turn all the states of Christendom into republics; it did not wage war with kings merely because they were not democrats; it professed no principles of proselytism. The same might be said of the republic of the United States of America. But France wanted to make all the world proselytes to her opinions and dogmas—France was for turning every government in the world into a democratic republic. If every government was against her, it was because she had declared herself hostile to every government. This strange republic might be compared to the system of Mahomet, who, with a Koran in one hand and a sword in the other, compelled men to adopt his creed. The Koran which France held out was the declaration of the rights of man and universal fraternity; and with the sword she was determined to propagate her doctrine, and conquer those whom she could not convince. Wilberforce, though deprecating war, if war could possibly be avoided consistently with justice, concurred with the speech from the throne and the proposed address; and Fox's amendment was rejected without a division.

On the very next day—December the 15th, which was a Saturday, a day when parliament did not usually sit—Fox came forward with a third proposition, moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give direction that a minister may be sent to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the functions of executive government in France, touching such points as may be in discussion between his majesty and his allies and the French nation." Mr. Grey seconded the motion, declaring that an immediate embassy to Paris was the only means of averting the greatest of calamities, the most dangerous war that England had ever undertaken. Some gentlemen expressed a hope that Fox might be prevailed upon to withdraw his motion; some said that that motion was a palpable encroachment on the royal prerogative; and some bitterly censured him for his conduct during the last three days. Fox, however, pursued his object with so much heat and perseverance as to cause the house to sit into Sunday morning, a thing not known in parliament for many years.¹ Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Earl of Liverpool) was of opinion that the motion did encroach on the prerogative, and was otherwise improper and dangerous. He believed that there were disaffected persons in the country whose activity made them dangerous; but he thought that war, instead of increasing their power of

¹ Burke, letter to the Duke of Portland on the conduct of the minority, &c.

mischief, would greatly lessen it. The King of Sardinia had endeavoured to negotiate and conciliate the French, and what had he gained by it? Ministers were blamed for not having taken the same course—for not having some months ago treated with the French; but for many months there had been nothing in France with which they could treat. And now, when persons and things were every day changing, when all rule belonged to a mob of robbers and assassins, where could we apply? What government could we acknowledge where there was actually no government? How could England recognize a constitution which the French themselves were every day violating? How could we negotiate with men who had declared a universal war to all governments? "On this very day," he exclaimed, "while we are here debating about sending an ambassador to the French republic—on this very day is the king to receive sentence, and, in all probability, it is the day of his murder! What is it, then, that gentlemen would propose to their sovereign? To bow his neck to a band of sanguinary ruffians, and address an ambassador to a set of murderous regicides, whose hands are still reeking with the blood of a slaughtered monarch?" The master of the rolls thought that Fox himself ought to be sent on this embassy. Perhaps he might be as well received as Frost or Joel Barlow; perhaps not. The French rulers might say to him, "Do you come from the King of Great Britain? If you do you can have no business here, as we have sworn eternal enmity to all kings; you had therefore better be gone!" Mr. Windham contended that not only experience, but higher principles, and the dictates of humanity, forbade any present recognition of the French republic. If Great Britain gave that recognition, which had been given by no other power, what would be the consequences? Some of those consequences would be the alienation of all those powers with whom she was at present allied, and a universal discouragement on the Continent: for, by giving the whole weight of her character to France, she would place all the rest of Europe in a situation truly deplorable—she would arm every subject of every kingdom against the powers that governed that kingdom—she would recommend and facilitate the imitation of what had been done, or was still doing, by the sans-culottes of Paris; and all this could not be otherwise than fatal to the future interests of the world. Mr. Grant, who had studied the law of nations, and who was well read in what the French now styled "the worm-eaten writings of Grotius, Puffendorf, and Vattel," replied to some gentlemen who chose to think that the forcible opening of the navigation of the Scheldt was not of sufficient importance to justify any loud

complaint on the part of the Dutch. Not only the trade, but also the internal security and independence of Holland depended upon that river. All the celebrated writers on the law of nations had laid it down as a clear and indubitable principle that rivers belonged to those who inhabited their banks, just as far and no farther than those banks extended. If the banks belonged to different peoples or nations, then the dominion over the river was divided, each people possessing the part of the river that was contiguous to their domain; and such was the policy of this distribution, that, if it had not been laid down by the law of nature, it would have been a positive stipulation under the law of nations, for without it no state traversed by rivers could be secure. If, as the French were now contending, the course of rivers was as open and common to all mankind as the sea itself, a fleet of French or Spaniards might sail up the Thames, and we should have no right to molest them until they actually began hostilities.

We can neither follow up the long and complicated debates (which did not end with the present session) upon the justice and propriety of England's engaging in this war, nor enter upon an adequate detail of the facts and reasons which justify the belief that the choice of peace or war no longer rested with the British government; that the direct provocations to hostilities did not originate with us; and that, whatever complaints may justly lie against the unwise manner in which the war was for a long time conducted, the government of the day must be wholly freed, by every candid mind, from the charge of heedlessly and wantonly running into hostilities.¹ In the incurable madness of party it is still vociferated that Burke drove us into a crusade against the French republicans; but, in sober truth, there was, on our part, no crusade at all: we raised our bucklers to prevent the French republicans from crusading over all Europe; we went to war because neither our duty to our allies nor our duty to ourselves, neither our honour nor our interest, allowed us to remain longer at peace. Unlike his father, the Earl of Chatham, Pitt was essentially a peace minister; his pride, his hope was

¹ For the true diplomacy of the time, and for a very clear recital of the course of events supported by documentary proofs, we refer the inquiring reader to the *History of the Politics of Great Britain and France, from the time of the Conference at Pilnitz*, by Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, 2 vols. 8vo. This able work, in which no fact is stated without full and convincing evidence (taken chiefly from French decrees, manifestoes, declarations, and other state papers, and memoirs), was originally written in the German language—a language which a long residence at the university of Leipsic had rendered as familiar to the author as his own—and was first published at Leipsic in February, 1799. He translated it himself into English in the course of the same year: and it was published in London in 1800.

centred in measures which could be realized only in peace. The great aim of his life was to extend the industry and commerce, and improve the financial condition of his country; and he shrunk from the aspect of war so long as he could do so without absolute dishonour and unequivocal danger. No amount of neutrality and silence on his part could have long delayed the declaration of hostilities by the convention. The English people were prosperous, and wedded to the arts of peace; the French people, armed to the teeth, had little to put into their mouths; their industry had ceased; they looked to war and invasion as means of living; and their rulers looked to their constant employment in foreign conquest as their only safeguard. "*Peace*," said the virtuous Roland, "*is out of the question; we have 300,000 men in arms; we must make them march as far as their legs will carry them, or they will return and cut our throats!*" And this dread of an armed multitude must have existed and have led to the same decision, of making them march as far as their legs would carry them, if Prussia and Austria had never given refuge to the emigrants, or remonstrated against the acts of violence and encroachment that were committed—if they had reduced their armies to the peace establishment, and quietly assented to all that France was doing at home and abroad; for the popular masses were armed long before there was any talk of foreign invasion; they were armed, not to contend with Prussia and Austria, but to put down, destroy, or drive out the aristocrats, by which term was understood every Frenchman that differed in opinion with the majority, and had property and a name. Before the conference at Pilnitz the principle had been adopted of arming the sans-culottes, as the class that was the most interested in the progress of the revolution, and best prepared for the privations and risks of war. Before there was any intimation of foreign interference France was converted into a great drill-ground, and the shock and convulsion which had taken place, the flight of the opulent and luxurious classes, had created a dearth of employment, which drove men to the army as their only resource. These legions, after doing the work of their rulers and legislators at home, would have demanded a proportionate reward, and their rulers would have sent them to glean it in the neighbouring countries, in the circles on the Rhine, in the rich fields of Belgium, and Piedmont, and Lombardy. This they would have equally done to save their own throats. Such an army could neither have been reduced nor maintained by any government in France; but, in the national passion for war and conquest, these troops would have been ready at any signal to throw themselves upon their neighbours to obtain

not only free quarters, but excitement, fame, and the chances of high promotion, the highest ranks in the army being now not merely open to, but almost exclusively reserved for men of the lowest conditions. Thus, whatever course the European sovereigns and governments had pursued, there would still have been an European war.

In the conferences of Pilnitz, where, in the month of August, 1791, the emperor and the King of Prussia signed a declaration that they would take certain measures to rescue the King of France, provided other powers would support them, England took no part whatever; and when the conferences were over, and the emperor had returned to Vienna, she declared she was resolved to preserve the strictest neutrality. Besides the letter of the emperor, whom the British government could have no interest in deceiving, there are various other proofs that Great Britain, at that period, took no part in the coalition against France. It was an afterthought of the French republicans to charge Great Britain with being a party to that coalition: *they did not mention the charge in their present long declaration of war*; and before issuing that declaration they had repeatedly declared, in the convention and elsewhere, that Great Britain had nothing to do with the conferences at Pilnitz. Brissot, a bitter enemy to England, said she acted the part of a mediator on that occasion, and laboured to calm the effervescence of the German princes. Before the revolution had made so awful a progress, and even during the time of the first assembly (when La Fayette was in the ascendant, and was devising how to federate and fraternize with the Irish), many gross insults had been offered to, and wisely despised by the British government. But, between the month of November, 1791, and the month of February, 1793, there had been an accumulation of outrages, each of which, singly, would have provoked a declaration of hostilities from a testy nation, or from a government eager for war. And every time our silent submission or contempt was interpreted into fear and helplessness, and was followed up by some new and grosser outrage.

At the beginning of the year 1792 the British government reduced the number of sailors and marines to 16,000 men, made a reduction in its very inconsiderable army, and gave up, or rather did not renew the treaty of subsidy with Hesse-Cassel; Pitt, in his confidence of peace, abolishing taxes to the annual amount of £200,000. At the same time the French not only augmented prodigiously their land forces, but also increased their navy, declaring that they would have 80,000 sailors and marines, and that the thunder of their ships was ready to roar in all seas. They must have contemplated a war with England, for Prussia and Austria had no fleets whatever.

When those two powers moved their armies towards the French frontier, the great naval preparations were of necessity suspended: but, as soon as those armies were in retreat, the preparations were resumed; and three months before they declared war they had twenty-one ships of the line, thirty frigates, eighteen sloops, twenty-four cutters, and ten sloops armed *en flûte*, not only in commission, but actually at sea. The brutal bombardment of Oneglia, and the impunity with which they had been allowed to scour a part of the Mediterranean and to insult the helpless Italian states, had wonderfully elated their sailors. Upon war being declared by the convention against Austria (in April, 1792), Chauvelin notified the event to the English court, and received another positive assurance that England would persevere in her neutrality. Chauvelin, an observing and an acute man, expressed his conviction that there was every reason for relying on these assurances of the English government; stating that Pitt was solely occupied with his schemes of finance and home improvements; that he had formerly assured a deputation of merchants that England would not meddle in the affairs of France; that the nation had no taste for war; that no preparations were making either in the ports or in the arsenals. A few days after, Chauvelin delivered a note to Lord Grenville, the secretary for foreign affairs, requesting that all British subjects should be forbidden to serve under any foreign power at war with France; and with this request the court of Great Britain promptly complied, issuing a proclamation on the 25th of May. Nearly at the same time that this proclamation was issued there appeared the proclamation against seditious writings; but this was a mere act of national police, which had no relation to the government of France, and which no more concerned that government than the measures taken in France relative to the emigrants concerned the English government. Chauvelin never pretended that any injury or insult was intended against his government or country in this proclamation. Nearly a month after its appearance he, in the name of his government, thanked his Britannic majesty for his pacific intentions; and a month after that, or on the 17th of July, 1792, he acquainted his government that the British court remained steady to their friendly disposition. In the meanwhile the insults heaped personally upon Lord Gower, our ambassador at Paris, were numerous and excessive. But for great temper on his part he would have withdrawn from Paris long before the terrible 10th of August, and but for the real anxiety of his government to avoid a war, he must have been recalled. He remained when assassination was the order of the day; he remained when the sanguin-

ary clubs and mobs were the arbiters and real masters of France; he remained when his life was scarcely to be considered as safe, and he came home just in time to escape the sight of the monstrous September massacres.

On the 17th of August, 1792, after Louis XVI. had been dethroned and his Swiss guards butchered, the British government recalled their ambassador; but, in his letter of recall, Lord Gower was instructed to neglect no opportunity of declaring that his majesty meant to observe the principles of neutrality in everything which regarded the arrangement of the internal government of France. Lord Gower communicated this letter to Lebrun, and that French minister returned an answer to it in the name of the new republican government of France, expressing, indeed, some regret at his recall, but, at the same time, their joy at the continuance of the friendly assurances of Great Britain. They did not affect to consider the recall as a violation of neutrality, and in ordinary circumstances the recall of an ambassador precedes a declaration of hostilities; but ambassadors had often been recalled without that step being followed by any war, and in itself it never amounts to a declaration. When hostilities are intended the ambassador takes no leave; but Lord Gower had taken leave in a friendly note. In the present case a recognized government had been overthrown, and no regular government had been substituted for it. No one yet knew what manner of government might be set up by the plotting Jacobins and Girondins who had made the revolution of the 10th of August, but who had scarcely begun to make the constitution which was to take the place of the one they had all sworn to—no one yet knew whether there might not be a fresh popular insurrection and a new revolution within a month, a week, a day. Lord Gower had been accredited to Louis XVI. as to the person invested by the constitution with the executive power of France; but Louis was now a prisoner in the Temple, and his authority was transferred to a *provisional* executive council. His lordship's letters of credence were therefore no longer valid. For him to remain at Paris it would have been necessary to have sent him new credentials. But to whom could he be accredited? Not to the executive council, for that was only provisional and temporary, and liable to be changed every hour—not to the national assembly, for it had pronounced its own dissolution; it had ordered the election of a convention, and it had decreed not that the king was actually dethroned, but that he was only provisionally suspended from his functions until the convention should meet and decide what was to be done with him. As all authorities, or semblances of authorities (for there

was no real one except that of the armed mob), were at that time merely transitory; as there was nothing that a regular government could recognize, the most prudent and the most moderate step which England could take was to withdraw its ambassador, and wait at least till the new constitution should be determined by the convention. There was, indeed, an incessant haranguing and writing about *the nation*, which was said to be distinguishable and recognizable apart from any *government* it had adopted or might hereafter choose to adopt. But governments can only treat with governments; Lord Gower could not take the sense of the French people by *appel nominal*. In the assembly he saw one party succeeding another, and each pretending that it represented the whole nation. If he had asked the Girondins, they would have told him that *they* were the nation, and their adversaries a mere faction; if he had put the same question to the ultra-Jacobins, he would have been told that *they* were the nation, and the Girondins a faction. Every man in France foresaw that very soon these parties would make a relentless war upon one another, but as yet few persons could be certain which of the two would remain masters of the field. It was even more necessary to be neutral between these two parties than between France and the coalition. If the British government had treated with the party now in power, they would have been accused by the succeeding ruling party of having treated with a faction—of having intermeddled unwarrantably in the internal affairs of France. The recal of our ambassador was positively the best and the only means of preserving both neutralities.

No complaint was raised by the executive council of France upon the recal of Lord Gower until *after* the Duke of Brunswick had been defeated, and the French troops had commenced their career of conquest. Then murmurs were heard, then decrees intended to produce social insurrection and social war throughout the civilized world were promulgated one after the other, and then, too, more open and flattering countenance was given to those wrong-headed deputations that carried over to the foot of the national convention the congratulations of the English societies and clubs—and then, too, fresh thousands of secret agents and propagandists received their commissions to penetrate into every quarter, and to preach the rights of man and the blessings of anarchy to the poorest classes of society. Gregoire, the Jacobin priest, called these agents “missionaries,” Camille Jordan called them “apostles of rebellion,” and Chaussard, who declares that London abounded with them at the end of November and beginning of December, 1792, called them “revolution professors.” They were furnished with money for the purpose of bribing

and seducing the needy, and paying interpreters and other assistants. According to Brissot himself, the executive council was authorized to take, under the head of army extraordinaries, *unlimited sums for these secret operations*. He also intimates that a great deal of this money was sent over to London, although the greater part of it was embezzled and appropriated by the patriotic executive.¹ At this moment, too, La Fayette’s cherished plan for revolutionizing Ireland was taken up with vigour; and, a month or six weeks before the convention declared war against England, Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, most confidently asserted that the French were quite sure of Ireland, and that a revolution must take place in England. This conviction was so strong and so universal, that no line of conduct which the British government could have adopted would have prevented their declaration of hostilities. And certainly there were some subjects of the King of Great Britain and Ireland who laboured with all their might to confirm Lebrun and his colleagues in their mistake. On the 18th of November, the very day before the convention issued its formal decree that France was prepared to assist every nation which was ready to rebel against its own government (a decree which was translated into all the languages and sent to all the countries of Europe), a grand dinner, or *fête civique*, was celebrated at White’s Hotel in Paris. The company was composed of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Frenchmen, with some few republicans from other countries. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and other men of some name and consequence in the world, sat down to table and fraternized with Santerre, Thomas Paine and other characters of the same notoriety. Among the toasts that were drunk were “The National Convention of France” — “The Patriotic Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, with those men who have contributed to inform and enlighten the people—Priestley, Fox, Sheridan, Barlow, &c.” — “the approaching National Convention of Great Britain and Ireland” — “May revolutions never be made by halves.” Eight or nine days after the publication of the decree for universal insurrection, deputies from certain British societies appeared at the bar of the national convention, and signified their intention of adopting the republican form of government now so happily established in France. “We hope,” said the orator of the first of these deputations, “that the troops of liberty will never lay down their arms so long as tyrants and slaves shall continue to exist. Our wishes, citizen legislators, render us impatient to see the moment of this *grand change*. Nor are we alone animated by these sentiments; we doubt not that they would be equally conspicuous in the great ma-

¹ Brissot à ses Commettans.

jority of our fellow-countrymen if the public opinion were consulted there, *as it ought to be*, in a national CONVENTION." In replying to this address, the president of the convention said, "Citizens of the world, royalty in Europe is either destroyed or on the point of perishing on the ruins of feudality; and the declaration of the rights of man, placed by the side of thrones, is a devouring fire which will consume them all. *Worthy republicans*, congratulate yourselves on thinking that the festival which you have celebrated in honour of the French revolution is the prelude to the festival of nations." Chauvelin and his picked and rather numerous legation, who came over to London shortly after France had declared war against Prussia and Austria, came with strange instructions, and acted in a manner altogether unbecoming and irritating. It was observed that, as soon as they arrived, they eagerly sought the acquaintance of literary men and opposition journalists. The English public, therefore, took them for revolution professors or apostles, who came to propagate their system and make proselytes and disciples. This view of their real functions is borne out by the instructions they received from their government:—"1. To embrace every opportunity of assuring the English *nation* that, notwithstanding the ill-humour of its *government*, the French desired nothing more ardently than to merit the esteem of the English *people*. 2. To threaten the British *government* with an *appeal to the people*." Their reception at court was of course not very cordial. They soon seemed to shun all intercourse with ministers and the friends of ministers, and to seek exclusively the society of Fox, Sheridan, and men of that party. Nothing could well be more indecent, or contrary to the rules which regulate diplomatic intercourse, than this conduct on the part of the Frenchmen. The conduct of the English opposition would merit still harsher language; and, taken in connection with Fox's behaviour towards the Empress of Russia, it looks almost like the adoption of a settled system, that the party, besides opposing ministers by national and legal means, should resist and thwart them by foreign means, and by connections and correspondences with governments that were on the very brink of war with us. Chauvelin, before negotiations really commenced, communicated his secret instructions to an intimate friend of Mr. Fox. On one occasion he wrote to his government, "that, though he was not well with the English minister, yet he was perfectly so with Mr. Fox, and some other members of opposition; and that it would not be prudent in France to lose the fruit of his labours with these gentlemen, and their subsequent services, for any vague form of diplomatic etiquette." No government would

have allowed such a diplomacy to be continued, or such diplomatists to reside in their country.

Moreover, the extreme offence had been given and repeated: on the Malabar coast a French frigate had fired upon an English man-of-war, and the national assembly had never condescended to make any apology; and at the beginning of the present year, 1793, just as the French were sending an ambassador to the United States of America in order to engage them to join France in a war against England, the garrison of Brest made an attempt to sink a British sloop which was cruising outside the harbour; and they poured a cross-fire into her, and hoisted a blood-red flag over their tricolor. If these things had occurred when Chatham was minister, and at the height of his warlike ardour, it can scarcely be doubted that hostilities would have been proclaimed immediately by England.

There was one condition—and only that one—by which England might for the present have preserved herself from the declaration of war by the French, and that was, by concluding a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the republicans and Jacobins. That the French had the audacity to propose such a treaty is an indisputable fact, although French historians pass it over in silence. In July, 1792, Chauvelin gave Lord Grenville clearly to understand that what they required was an English armament and an effectual and decisive co-operation on our part with France against our ancient friend and ally the house of Austria, and against our present closest ally the King of Prussia! Mr. Fox and his opposition, who had made so terrible an outcry against our Russian armament, and who had defeated the object of it, could hardly have expected the government to comply with this strange request. Moreover, a naval armament against two powers who had neither ships nor ports would have been of no more use than an armament against the moon; to adopt effectual and decisive measures, England must have sent a land army to the Continent to co-operate and fraternize with the thoroughly jacobinized and sans-enlottized armies of the French republic. But the whole proposition is too gross and monstrous to deserve a thought or a word, were it not that the Foxite opposition pretended that the French had never made any very unreasonable demands, and that by continuing our friendly negotiations with them, we might very well have kept out of the continental war.

Under the influence of Dumouriez it had, however, been secretly determined to amuse England a little longer with some feigned attempts at negotiation; and, on the 26th of January, M. Maret had been again sent across the Channel to ask Mr. Pitt if he would treat with General Dumouriez. On the road between Dover and London,

Maret, who evidently was not admitted into the whole secret, met Chauvelin returning to Paris, and, fancying he himself might yet be the means of preventing the war, he wrote to his employers in very pressing terms for fresh instructions, intimating that he would not request an interview with the English minister until he had received them. Maret remained eight days in London, but no instructions came for him. At the end of that time, or on the 4th of February, the declaration of war, which had been made by the convention on the 1st, was known in London, leaving nothing for Maret to do but to get back to France as quickly as possible. So much truth is there in the harangues of the parliamentary opposition and in the narratives of party writers, who asserted at the time, and continued to assert long after, that Maret had come with full powers to treat and to offer extensive concessions and securities; and so perfectly true was the declaration of Pitt in the House of Commons, that M. Maret, during his whole stay in London, had proposed to his majesty's ministers no question of state whatever.

The real motive of Dumouriez in sending Maret arose out of that general's discovery that the conquest of Holland presented more difficulties than he had contemplated; and that Miranda, whom he had ordered to begin the attack before the 22d of January, was not in a condition to move so soon. And therefore, also, it was, that on the same day on which Maret was despatched for London, De Mauld was hurried off to the Hague again with a letter from Dumouriez to Lord Auckland, the British ambassador, intimating that he (Dumouriez) would be very happy if an opportunity presented itself of conferring with his lordship on the frontiers of Holland. Lord Auckland consulted the grand pensionary, Van Spiegel, and, after some deliberation, both these ministers consented to confer with Dumouriez. Dumouriez, quitting Paris in the last days of January, before the convention issued the declaration of war, and not being informed by the Girondin ministers, who all feared and suspected him, of their fixed determination to issue that declaration on the 1st of February, went down to Dunkirk, and thence proceeded to Antwerp, examining the country and the French army on his way, and finding everything in confusion, everything in a condition that boded ill for the success of his next campaign, unless he could gain time to remedy the disorder. It was the 2d of February when he arrived at Antwerp. It was agreed that, as soon as Lord Auckland could receive his instructions from his court, conferences should be opened at Moerdyk on board a yacht. Though they could scarcely have been blind to the real motives of Dumouriez, the British government, to avoid the reproach which

would have resulted from a refusal, immediately consented to the hollow negotiation, and authorized Lord Auckland to treat with the French general. On the other side, it was on the very day that the overture was made to Lord Auckland at the Hague by De Mauld that the French executive issued the order to lay an embargo on all British vessels in the French ports. On the receipt of his instructions from London, Lord Auckland despatched a courier to Dumouriez, who was still at Antwerp, and proposed the 10th of February for the day of holding the first conference. But now Dumouriez knew that the convention had declared war on the 1st, and this rendered further thoughts of negotiation impracticable. Two capital and evident consequences attended this manœuvre of the French Proteus and its failure: the one was, that it showed a willingness on the part of the English government to negotiate even down to the last moment; the other, which followed on the failure of the scheme for delay, was a series of failures and defeats on the side of Dumouriez, who, instead of taking Holland in the ensuing campaign, lost nearly the whole of Belgium, and saw the war carried once more to the frontiers of France.

If, in England, there was a small minority desirous of continuing friendly relations with the revolutionists, there was no party or section of a party in France willing to continue in friendship with England. The declaration of war was the unanimous vote of the national convention. Although the decree was drawn up by the hated Girondists, and presented by Brissot, the personal and deadly enemy of Robespierre and Danton, both those Jacobin chiefs and all the Mountain enthusiastically concurred in it; not a man of any party opposed it, not a single man in the house offered a remonstrance or amendment, or so much as a remark on the decree—all cried impatiently, "Vote! vote!" and it was put to the vote and carried instantly, with a unanimity which had hardly ever been seen before on any subject, and which was never seen again in that assembly. When it was carried, they voted an address or appeal to the *people* of Great Britain, and the creation of assignats for 800,000,000 livres.

Such are a few, and only a few, of the particulars of the diplomacy which preceded the breaking out of this most memorable of wars; and the reader may judge from them whether it was possible for England to have kept out of the contest, or to have treated with a set of anarchists who were determined upon the war from the beginning. But neither these facts (and there were others quite as decisive), nor the strongly pronounced sense of the vast majority of the nation, could prevent the Foxites from moving resolutions against our taking up arms. These resolu-

tions were negatived by parliamentary majorities of more than six to one, or were negatived without a division. A bill was passed for preventing traitorous correspondence with the enemy. A number of petitions for parliamentary reform were quashed in the commons, and a drag was for some time put upon Mr. Wilberforce's project for emancipating the negro slaves. A bill to relieve the Roman Catholics of Scotland was passed without the slightest opposition.

Burke had strenuously recommended that the war should be prosecuted with all the vigour of which the country was capable; but here the great statesman was never properly listened to. To those who deplored the interruption of our commerce with the French, Burke replied, "We ought not to enable France to carry on war out of resources drawn from the bowels of Great Britain. We must not allow Englishmen to fight against their own country, and make contracts to its ruin!" "Let us not," said he, "sacrifice everything—the

love of our country, our honour, our virtue, our religion, our security—to mere trade and traffic: let us not estimate these high things by the scale of pecuniary or commercial reckoning. The nation that goes on that calculation destroys itself!"

On the 6th of March some lamentable evidence was given of the weak and ineffectual manner in which ministers intended to begin the great struggle on the Continent. Pitt acquainted the house, in the form of a royal message, that his majesty had engaged a body of Hanoverian troops to assist his allies the States-general; and on the 11th, the house being formed into a committee of supply, the minister made a statement of ways and means, making it appear that a loan of £4,500,000 and an issue of £4,000,000 of exchequer bills, would, in addition to the ordinary revenue, carry him through the year. Resolutions were passed for the loan and for the exchequer bills.

The king prorogued parliament on the 21st June, with a hopeful and confident speech.¹

CHAPTER XXXV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1793.

GEORGE III.

Dumouriez continues his military operations—His success in Holland—He is brought to a stand at Williamstadt—Successes of the Austrians and Prussians over the French in the Netherlands—Dumouriez defeated by the imperialists at Neerwinden—He resolves to attempt a counter-revolution in France—His declarations and menaces against the convention—Deputies sent from the convention to arrest him—He arrests the deputies—His proclamation to the army and France—He and his confederates escape to the Austrians—He is succeeded in command by Dampierre—The Duke of York lands with an English army at Ostend—They join the allied army—They defeat Dampierre at Valenciennes—Valenciennes and Condé taken by the allies—Slow operations of the allied powers against France—Their dilatoriness occasioned by their selfish designs on Poland—The King of Prussia sends troops to Great Poland—His tyrannical proclamation to the Poles—His proceedings seconded by Austria and Russia—Proceedings of a fresh partition of Poland—The allied powers occupy the country with their armies—Their limited military contributions to the war against France—Mayence taken by the Prussians—Want of concert and promptitude among the allied armies—Military operations of the Duke of York—His retreat from Dunkirk—Success of the allied Prussian and Austrian army on the Rhine—They are driven back from Strasburg by the French—Successes of the French under General Hoche—Dissensions between the Austrian and Prussian armies—The convention declares war against Spain—Chief events of the war—Defeats of the French royalists of the south—Toulon held for Louis XVII.—It is reinforced by England and the confederate powers—Siege of Toulon by the republicans—Bonaparte appears at the siege—He directs the operations—The English evacuate Toulon—They destroy the shipping, magazines, &c., at their departure—Vengeance inflicted by the republican army on the Toulonese—Timid neutrality of the Italian states—Contests in the convention between the parties of the Gironde and Mountain—Their leaders, resources, and proceedings—Plot of the Gironde to expel the Jacobins—Their plot detected and defeated—The Girondins proscribed and obliged to flee—Miserable end of their leaders—Execution of Queen Marie Antoinette—Execution of the Duke of Orleans—Execution of Madame Roland—Wholesale executions by the guillotine—Popularity of these exhibitions—Atheistic decree of the French convention—Their republican calendar—New division of months and weeks—Abolition of religious worship—Atheistical proceedings of Fouché and Anacharsis Clootz.



We pass to the seat of war. On the 17th of February, Dumouriez moved from Antwerp, and attacked the Dutch town of Breda, which capitulated immediately. On the 26th, Klundert surrendered upon summons; and on the 4th

of March, Gertruydenburg capitulated, after a short and slight bombardment. The Dutch garrisons behaved in a manner which proved that they were disaffected, or infected by the new

¹ Horace Walpole, writing from Strawberry Hill to the Hon. H. S. Conway, July 17th, 1793, gives a striking picture of the condition of England at that time:—"It is much cooler to-day,

doctrines of the rights of man, and the proselytism of their countrymen of the Batavian legion. They made little more than a show of resistance; and, after capitulating, a great many of them joined the French or the Batavian legion. Dumouriez's plan was to penetrate rapidly into the heart of the United Provinces, where he expected to be joined by Miranda, his second in command, whom he had sent to the right to reduce the important town of Maestricht, on the Maes or Meuse. Without counting his Dutch partizans, he had between 20,000 and 30,000 men; but his army was badly provided, because all parties in the convention suspected him, and because the republican commissaries sent to supply clothes, provisions, &c., were the greatest and most barefaced thieves that had been seen in modern days. The shifty Dumouriez might, however, have made up all these and other deficiencies in the country if he had been allowed to advance; but at the fortress of Williamstadt, which commanded the passage of an arm of the sea called Bies Bosch, he was brought to a pause. Williamstadt was occupied by a brave old Dutch general, Count Botzlaer, with some Dutch troops that were not jacobinized, and by a strong detachment of the English guards, who had just arrived. Moreover, there was a small squadron of gun-boats on the Bies Bosch, which had been fitted out by Lord Auckland at the expense of Great Britain; and this flotilla, manned by British seamen taken from our merchant ships in the Dutch ports, and ably commanded by Captain Berkeley, not only presented a formidable obstacle to the passage of that water, but greatly annoyed Dumouriez's troops as they prepared for the siege of Williamstadt. While Dumouriez was thus brought to a stand on the wrong side of the Bies Bosch, Miranda, who was at Maestricht, and Miazinski, who was at Aix-la-Chapelle to defend the passage of the river Roer and cover Liège, were both defeated and compelled to give ground. On the last day of February the reinforced Austrian army, commanded by General Clairfait, passed the Roer under cover of night, attacked Miazinski by surprise, and defeated him. On the following day the Archduke Albert, with a portion of the Austrian army, carried several French batteries. On the 6th of March the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, with the Austrian van, gained a complete victory over Miazinski's main body in

front of Aix-la-Chapelle, drove the French entirely out of that town, and followed them almost to Liège, inflicting on them a loss estimated at 4000 killed and wounded and 1000 prisoners, and taking from them twenty pieces of cannon. And on the same day Prince Frederick of Brunswick, with a detachment of the Prussian army, gained some important advantages near Roermond. Miranda had invested Maestricht, and had commenced a pitiless bombardment, for the French, who had made such an outcry against the Austrian bombardment of Lisle, never hesitated at having recourse to that destructive operation of war whenever they thought it suited their purpose. But the repeated defeats of Miazinski now compelled Miranda to retreat precipitately from Maestricht, to abandon a good part of his artillery and baggage, to recross the Meuse, and to seek shelter, and a junction with the scattered troops of Miazinski, in the heart of Belgium. The archduke reinforced Maestricht, crossed the Meuse, and followed Miranda as far as Tongres, where he obtained another advantage. Dumouriez now returned from Holland into Belgium, and placing himself at the head of the French army there, he on the 18th of March attacked the imperialists at Neerwinden. The battle, which lasted from morning till night, ended in the entire defeat of the French. About 10,000 republicans deserted the army, and scarcely paused in their flight until they had got on the other side of the French frontier, where they spread a fresh panic, which as usual led to fresh atrocities at Paris. Dumouriez soon fell back as far as Tournai, and thus the Austrian Netherlands were recovered as rapidly as they had been lost. Being menaced by the Jacobins, and disgusted with the incompetent Girondins, he now formed a design of marching to Paris to effect a counter-revolution, and he secretly entered into negotiations with the Austrian generals. It is conjectured that Dumouriez proposed setting young Egalité, or Duke of Chartres (the late Louis Philippe), on the constitutional throne of France, and re-establishing, with some modifications, the constitution of 1791. The young prince of the Orleans branch was with him, and had bravely fought under his eye at Neerwinden. To some Jacobin emissaries who came to his camp, Dumouriez somewhat prematurely declared that neither their horrible club nor the national con-

but still delicious; for be it known to you that I have enjoyed weather worthy of Africa, and yet without swallowing mouthfuls of mosquitoes, nor expecting to hear hyenas howl in the village, nor to find scorpions in my bed. Indeed, all the way I came home, I could but gaze at the felicity of my countrymen. The road was one string of stage-coaches, loaded within and without with noisy, jolly folks, and chaises and gigs that had been pleasuring in clouds of dust; every door and every window of every house was open, lights in every shop, every door with women sitting in the street, every inn crowded with jaded

horses, and every ale-house full of drunken toppers, for you know the English always announce their sense of heat or cold by drinking. Well! it was impossible not to enjoy such a scene of happiness and affluence in every village, and amongst the lowest of the people, who are told by villainous scribblers that they are oppressed and miserable. New streets, new towns are rising every day and everywhere; the earth is covered with gardens and crops of grain. How bitter to turn from this Elysium to the Temple at Paris!"—See *Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, vol. iii. p. 460.

vention could be tolerated any longer. "The convention," said he, "is composed of 200 brigands and 500 fools! As long as I have three inches of steel at my side, I will never suffer it to reign, to shed blood by means of the revolutionary tribunal they have just established! As for your republic, I only believed in it for three days. Ever since the battle of Jemappe I have regretted every advantage I have gained in the field for so bad a cause! As for your Jacobins, if they wish to expiate all their crimes, let them save the unfortunate prisoners in the Temple, and drive out the 749 tyrants of the convention, and they shall be pardoned." The emissaries spoke of his own personal risk and danger, and of the terrible fate which might befall him in case of any failure. "Oh," said Dumouriez, "I shall always have time enough to gallop over to the Austrians." "But, how! will you flee to be thrown into a dungeon, like La Fayette?" "I shall go over to the enemy in a very different manner from that of La Fayette," quoth Dumouriez; "and, besides, the foreign powers have a very different opinion of my talents, and cannot reproach me, as they do him, with having had part in the 5th and 6th of October at Versailles." The general's proceedings and intentions were soon revealed to the convention, who sent off four of their members. The archivist Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal arrived, together with Beurnonville, the new minister at war, to arrest Dumouriez and to bring him to their bar. These deputies were in camp on the evening of the 2d of April. Archivist Camus began in his prim starch manner, to read the decree of the convention; and the other commissioners united in the solemn lie that no harm was meant in calling him to the bar. Dumouriez replied that the tigers of Paris were yelling for his head, but should not have it. The ultra-republican deputies endeavoured to represent to him, by force of old Roman examples, that it was his duty to submit to the republic. "Gentlemen," replied Dumouriez, "we are constantly committing mistakes in our quotations from the classics; we parody and disfigure Roman history in citing their virtues to excuse our crimes. We are plunged in anarchy; we are wading in blood!" "Citizen general," said Camus, "will you obey the decree of the national convention, or not?" "Not exactly at this moment." "*Eh bien!*" rejoined the archivist; "I declare in the name of the convention that you are no longer general of this army; and I order that your papers be seized and that you be arrested!" "*Ceci est trop fort—this is rather too strong,*" cried Dumouriez: "halloo, hussars!" (*hussards à moi!*) The Berchigny men, who were nearly all Germans, trooped in with ringing spurs and rattling sabres. The

general said a few words to them in the German language, the French of which would be, "*Arrêtez ces gens-là, mais qu'on ne leur fasse aucun mal,*" and the plain English, "Arrest these people, but do not hurt them." The lussars surrounded the deputies. War-minister Beurnonville begged to share their fate. "Be it so," said Dumouriez; "and I believe that, in packing you off with the deputies, I shall render you a great service, and snatch you from the revolutionary tribunal." As they had been travelling all day, and might be hungry, he ordered some supper to be served up for them; and when that was over, the four deputies and the war minister were put into two chaises, and whisked away to Tournai as fast as the post-horses and the horses of a detachment of the Berchigny hussars could go. On the route Beurnonville made an attempt to escape, for which one of the rude Germans cut him over the pate. The Prince of Saxe-Coburg passed them on to Maestricht, and they were kept as hostages in different Austrian fortresses till the end of November, 1795, when they were exchanged for the princess royal, the only survivor of the captives in the Temple. During the night Dumouriez drew up a proclamation to his army and to all France. With some eloquence and effect—for he was a good penman—he recalled his past services—his exploits at Argonne, which had obtained for him the name of "The Saviour of France," his ever-memorable battle of Jemappe, and his rapid conquest of all Belgium. He attributed his reverses to the enmity of Marat and the Jacobins, who had devoted him and all honourable men to destruction. He drew a frightful picture—but not less true than frightful—of the prevailing sanguinary anarchy; and he called upon all Frenchmen to rise and rally round him and the monarchical constitution of 1791. On the following morning the army were informed of all that had happened; they expressed no dissatisfaction; the troops of the line seemed steady and devoted to Dumouriez, as did also the artillery. At an early hour on the 4th of April the general with the Duke of Chartres and the staff mounted their horses to keep an appointment with the Archduke Charles, the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, and Colonel Mack—afterwards the hero of Ulm. The party had not gone far when they met two battalions of volunteers, who shouted "Treachery, treachery!" "Arrest these traitors!" and anon these cries were mingled with a crash of musketry. Quitting the highroad, Dumouriez and his companions struck right across the country, and over hedge and ditch, as if they had been riding a steeple-chase. They rode nearly the whole day through a rough swampy country, where their horses frequently sank to the saddle-girths; some of the horses were abandoned, some

of the servants were killed; but, some on foot, and some mounted, and all covered with mud from the tip of the spur to the top of the feather, General Dumouriez, the Duke of Chartres, his brother the Duke of Montpensier, and all the rest of the officers, reached an Austrian position in safety as the sun was setting. Nothing daunted by the narrow risk he had run, and believing that his regular troops would still stand by him, Dumouriez, with the Duke of Chartres and the staff officers, and with an escort of only fifty Austrian horse, returned towards his own camp on the very next morning. But, quick as he was, he came too late—the Jacobin emissaries had been quicker than he. Some of these emissaries from Valenciennes had assured his troops that he was killed or drowned; and during the night the artillery had risen upon their officers and had marched off with all their guns, ammunition, and baggage for Valenciennes, and the troops of the line had followed or were following their example. Dumouriez turned towards the headquarters of the imperialists, and, with the Duke of Chartres and his brother the Duke of Montpensier, Colonel Thouvenot, and the rest of his numerous staff, he rode away from St. Amand. The entire regiment of Berchigny, 1500 strong, and some fragments of some French regiments, followed him and the sons of Orleans; but these were all; the rest, taking care to secure the military chest (said to contain 2,000,000 livres), joined General Dampierre, who had been appointed by the convention to the command of the army, and who established his head-quarters in Valenciennes.

The fugitives who would not serve with the Austrians received friendly passports, and were allowed to go wherever they chose. The Duke of Chartres, who performed a good part of the journey on foot, went into Switzerland, where he arrived with hardly any worldly property except the clothes on his back and the good stout stick in his hand. As for Dumouriez, after a long and restless life of exile on various parts of the Continent, chiefly spent in military and political plans that came to nothing, and writing memoirs and pamphlets that are now forgot, he died in England in 1823, at the age of eighty-five. General Dampierre, who had succeeded to the command of the republican forces, threw himself into the fortified camp of Famars, which covered Valenciennes. The Duke of York having landed at Ostend with a small English army, it was resolved to make a vigorous attack along all that part of the French frontier, and to reduce Valenciennes and Condé (if not Lisle also) at any price; and to this end General Clairfait, who—not without jealousies and dissensions—held the supreme command of the armies of the coalition, where

Austrians and Prussians, English and Dutch, were mixed without being amalgamated, reinforced Saxe-Coburg, who was commanding at Condé, and advanced towards Valenciennes. On the 8th of May Dampierre issued from his camp and made an attack on the allies; his volunteers soon fell into confusion, his best troops were beaten at all points; he was driven back to his camp with terrible loss, and a cannon-ball carried off his leg. Dampierre died the next day under the hands of his surgeons, thus escaping the guillotine, which the Parisians kept in permanence for all unsuccessful commanders. The Duke of York displayed much personal bravery, and the success of the battle was materially promoted by the British troops. On the 23d of May the camp of Famars was attacked and carried by the allies; and Valenciennes being thereby laid open, the siege of that town was committed to the Duke of York, who reduced it by a bombardment on the 28th of July. Condé surrendered to the Austrians a few days earlier. Many circumstances, besides the old Austrian slowness, contributed to retard operations. The King of Prussia, who had undertaken to open in person the campaign on the Rhine, to drive in Custine, and to invade France by the valley of the Moselle, was slow in coming; and when he came, he did not bring with him anything like the number of troops he had promised, having found it necessary to send a considerable part of his army into Poland to secure the territory which he had so unjustly seized in that country.

And here it will be proper to mention a few facts connected with that dark transaction, which, in many ways, acted as a spell and curse upon the coalition. At the beginning of the year, when all minds were occupied about the French revolution, Frederick William sent some Prussian troops into Great Poland, and seized upon Thorn and Dantzic, justifying his proceedings in a manifesto which declared that the Poles had behaved very ungratefully to his ally the Empress of Russia; that they had disquieted his own dominions by repeated excesses and violations of territory; that they had imbibed the French democracy, and the principles of that detestable faction who were seeking to make proselytes everywhere, and who had already been so well received in Poland; that the enterprises of the Jacobin emissaries were not only most powerfully seconded, but even revolution societies were established that made an open profession of Jacobin principles. "His majesty," continued the memorable manifesto, "being necessitated, in common with the allied courts, to continue the war (*against France*), and being on the eve of opening a campaign, thought it proper to concert measures with the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg; and their

imperial majesties could not forbear owning that, from sound policy, it could not be allowed that the factions should be suffered to have their way in Poland, and expose his majesty to the danger of having an enemy in the rear, whose violent and wild enterprises might become a source of fresh troubles." The miserable Polish diet or confederation assembled at Grodno, issued on the 3d of February a long and solemn protest against the Prussian invasion; but this was nearly all they could do. On the 14th of February the Emperor Francis put forth a declaration importing that, inspired by the love of peace and good neighbourhood, he would not interfere with the plans of the King of Prussia and the Empress of Russia, or permit any of his subjects to counteract them. The Poles at Grodno appealed to the generosity and magnanimity of Catherine, whose army occupied all the country that was not in the hands of the Prussians or overawed by Austrian troops in Galicia; and Catherine answered their appeal in the month of March by an ukase, in which she declared that thirty years' experience had proved that all her generous efforts to put an end to the innumerable quarrels and the eternal disputes which tore the Polish republic had all been thrown away; that, latterly, some unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, had been sent to the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, to request their assistance in involving their country also in bloody civil wars; and, finally, that for these and other considerations she had been pleased now to take under her sway, and unite for ever to her empire, certain specified parts of Poland, with all their inhabitants, who, from the highest to the lowest, within one month, were to take the oath of allegiance to her before witnesses whom she would appoint. On the 25th of March his Prussian majesty put forth another manifesto, in which, speaking more plainly than he had done before, he told the Poles that, in *conjunction* with her majesty the Empress of Russia, and with the *assent* of his majesty the Emperor of Germany, he had resolved to take possession of certain districts of Poland, and also of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, for the purpose of incorporating them with his own states. Frederick William also called upon the Poles dwelling in the said cities, and within the line of demarcation he had drawn, to take the oath of allegiance to him, or abide the consequences; but (in this more delicate than Catherine) he did not command them or their priests to pray to God for him and his line. This was followed, on the 29th of March (old style), or the 9th of April (new style), by a Russian declaration from De Sievers, Catherine's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, who was residing at Grodno. In this public document fresh vials of wrath were poured

upon the constitution of May, 1791, and upon the secret machinations which had followed the victories of the Russians and the overthrow of that constitution. De Sievers finished his declaration by inviting the Poles to assemble, as soon as possible, in a special diet, to agree to an amicable arrangement, and to concur with the salutary intentions of Russia and Prussia. The general confederation, including and mainly consisting of the same Polish magnates who had invited the Russians into Poland to overthrow the constitution of 1791, expressed, in a note to De Sievers, their astonishment and dismay at these propositions for a fresh partition of their country. King Poniatowski, after in vain petitioning Catherine, and offering to abdicate the throne, was compelled to assemble a sort of diet; and this diet, though not without coercion and violence, the threat of exile in Siberia, and the actual arrest of some of its members by Russian soldiery, was compelled to ratify a fresh partition which made over to Russia a territory containing a population of more than 3,500,000, and to Prussia a territory containing nearly 1,500,000 of inhabitants, together with the navigation of the Vistula, and the port of Dantzic on the Baltic, which she had so long coveted. The leavings were secured to Poniatowski, but he was bound to govern according to the old crazy constitution; and, to keep him in the right path, a strong Russian garrison was fixed permanently at Warsaw, and the Russian ambassador gave the law in all things. Prussia was obliged to employ a large part of her army in garrisoning Dantzic and Thorn, and in keeping down insurrection in Great Poland; and Austria was obliged to keep one large force in Galicia, and another on the Turkish frontier, as, in case of any renewed attempts on the part of the Poles to recover their independence, they would be sure to attempt an insurrection in Galicia (which was their country until the time of the first dismemberment), and to try to bring their old allies the Turks into the war.

In consequence of these transactions, which were not terminated when he took the field, but which continued to distract his attention all through the campaign, it was the month of April before the King of Prussia crossed the Rhine and invested Mayence; and then he only brought with him some 50,000 men, including Saxons, Hessians, and Bavarians, who served under their own princes. Even when joined by 15,000 or 20,000 Austrians under Wurmser, and by 5000 or 6000 French emigrants under the Prince of Condé, his force was insufficient for the work he had undertaken to do; for in their fortresses alone the French had between 40,000 and 50,000 men, while their army on the Rhine was at least 50,000 strong, and their army on the Moselle

more than 30,000; and garrisons and armies had it in their power to draw continual reinforcements from the interior of France—that vast fermenting camp. Moreover, the French had 20,000 men within the walls of Mayence when his majesty of Prussia and Wurmser began to invest it in the old formal and slow manner.

In the month of May, Custine, who had put himself at the head of the troops in the field, made an attempt to raise the siege, and was routed with great loss; but still the immense garrison held out, and it was not until the 22d of July that Mayence surrendered to the King of Prussia, who, though the French were actually starving, and must soon have surrendered at discretion, allowed them to march out with the honours of war; and these 20,000 men, marching away into the Vendée, contributed very materially to the internal success of the republicans. If, instead of wasting their time, and exhausting the strength and spirit of their troops, in long blockades and sieges, *all* the allies—Austrians, Prussians, English, Spaniards, and Sardinians—had advanced boldly and simultaneously from the Belgian frontier, from the Rhine, from the Pyrenees, from Savoy, and from Nice, right into the heart of France, while the insurrection in the Vendée in the west, insurrections in Languedoc and Provence, and all through the south, and other troubles, were at their height, they might possibly have all met at Paris; but this bold way of making war had not yet been invented; it was still considered necessary that an army should leave no great fortresses in its rear in the hands of the enemy; and thus, before they had finished their sieges, the Vendéans were checked, the other insurgents were scattered, and an improved organization was introduced into the armies of the republic. Most of the allied powers, too, had their separate views, and were seeking how they could best turn the war to their own immediate advantage; and, even without this conflict of selfishness, there must have been a divergency of opinion and a want of proper concert among so many princes, chiefs, and generals, some of whom were separated from each other by the whole length or breadth of France, and with none but tedious or uncertain communications with one another.

In the month of August, the Duke of York had to march back to Menin, to the relief of the hereditary Prince of Orange, who was enveloped by a superior French force, and whose Dutch troops showed little stomach for fighting. Three battalions, headed by General Lake, liberated the prince, and afterwards drove the French from a strong redoubt they had thrown up at the village of Lincelles. The Duke of York then moved towards Dunkirk, and began, at the end of Au-

gust, to lay regular siege to that place. Badly seconded, or not seconded at all, by the Dutch under the Prince of Orange, who remained posted at Menin at the distance of three days' march—badly aided by Marshal Freytag, who ought to have been close at hand at Furnes, but who preferred keeping at a distance—disappointed in the arrival of an English squadron—harassed by a French flotilla of gun-boats and small vessels that came out from Dunkirk—vigorously opposed by a strong garrison under Souham and young Hoche—and threatened by a force more numerous than his own, which was manœuvring round him under Houchard—the Duke of York, after some sharp skirmishing, found himself compelled to raise the siege on the 7th of September. In the meantime the Prince of Coburg defeated a strong body of republicans near Landrecies; and, in consequence of this victory, Quesnoy surrendered to him on the 11th of September. On the same day Houchard fell upon the Dutch at Menin, and, after two days' skirmishing, drove them from their positions; but on the 15th the Austrian general Beaulieu fell upon Houchard between Menin and Courtrai, and defeated him with the greatest ease; for, at the unexpected apparition of a small corps of cavalry on one of their wings, the *sans-culottes* set up the cry of "*Sauve qui peut*," ran from the field, and never stopped until they got under the walls and guns of Lisle. Houchard was presently recalled to Paris to be guillotined.

By this time the French, who had put in requisition every species of vehicle in order to forward with more speed the regular troops they collected from various quarters, and from their garrisons which seemed safe from attack, had formed an immense overwhelming force on the Belgian frontier. Shortly after the retreat of the Duke of York from Dunkirk, the French attacked every post on that long frontier line, but, in spite of their numbers, they were everywhere repulsed. On the 15th and 16th of October the republicans were more successful. General Jourdan, who had gradually collected an immense force in a fortified camp close to Maastricht, sallied out against Coburg, who had been watching the camp, attacked him with great spirit, and, after two days' manœuvring and fighting, induced him to recross the river Sambre. The Duke of York, who had come up by forced marches to assist Coburg, was indignant at this retreat, and declared it to be unnecessary. The arrival at Ostend of a considerable English armament, under the command of Sir Charles Grey, enabled the allies to stop and head back the republican torrent, and to preserve the Low Countries during the rest of the year.

Having taken Mayence, and permitted the

20,000 republicans to march off for La Vendée, and having gained some trifling advantages in skirmishes on the Rhine, the King of Prussia quitted his army, and travelled with all speed into Poland, to look after his acquisitions in that country, and to patch up some differences and jealousies which had broken out between him and the Emperor of Germany. He left the command of his army on the Rhine to the Duke of Brunswick, who was to act in concert with the small Austrian army under Wurmser. These two generals, with some slow, cautious, but well-combined movements, drove the republicans from several strong posts, and about the middle of October expelled them from their fortified lines at Weissenburg, their great bulwark in that direction, and also from the fortified camp and triple lines at Lauter. The Prussians then laid siege to Landau; and the Austrians, invited by the noblesse and no inconsiderable part of the people of Alsace, which had once belonged to the imperial house, and which still was more like a part of Germany than a part of France, invested Strasburg, the capital of that province. The convention, who always sent a pair of their most daring and desperate members to every point where the danger seemed to be great, despatched St. Just and Lebas to Strasburg; and these two worthies introduced the reign of terror into the town, and into the whole of Alsace, except only the narrow slips of it that were covered by Wurmser's arms. It was a facetious saying of Lebas, that, with a little guillotine and a great deal of terror, the republicans might do everything. Custine was wanted at Paris to be beheaded. St. Just called young Hoche from Dunkirk, and gave him the command of that army, which was now reinforced by nearly the whole of the army of the Moselle, which had done little, and hitherto suffered nothing, in this campaign. Wurmser was obliged to retreat before these overwhelming numbers, and Strasburg was left to the sans-culottes, the two commissioners of the convention, and the guillotine. Hoche made a bold attempt to get between Wurmser and Brunswick, but the commander of the Prussian army was on the alert; the ground was difficult and unfavourable to the French; and Hoche, after skirmishing and fighting all the three last days of November, was repulsed, beaten, put to flight, with the loss of 3000 or 4000 men, and with scarcely any loss to the Duke of Brunswick. The republican general then effected a junction with all that was left of the troops that Lebas and St. Just had collected in Alsace; and, crossing the heights of the Vosges, and taking Wurmser by surprise, and then outflanking him with his vast superiority of numbers, he defeated the Austrians, made many prisoners, and took a considerable portion

of Wurmser's artillery. Besides their numerical superiority, the French had the incalculable advantage of being animated by one spirit and guided by one will; but many recent circumstances had revived the inveterate national animosities between the Austrians and Prussians, who now rarely met except to quarrel, and who, when separate, seemed to care little about acting in concert or aiding one another. Those who suffered most by Wurmser's retreat were his unfortunate Alsatian partizans. On the 26th of December, Hoche, aided by Desaix, Pichegru, and Michaud, made a tremendous attack upon the lines of Weissenburg, and was on the point of driving the Austrians from those lines when the Duke of Brunswick arrived in force, beat back the French, and kept them at bay for the remainder of that day. On the morrow Wurmser withdrew his army in good order, and the French obtained repossession of their old bulwark. The Prussians, who had now raised their siege of Landau, wished the Austrians to remain on the left bank of the Rhine until all the Duke of Brunswick's artillery and stores should be well advanced on the road towards Mayence; but the Austrians would not consent to stay a single day, and they crossed the Rhine on the 28th, leaving the Duke of Brunswick to shift for himself. The duke got his army safely into Mayence, but soon afterwards resigned the command of it, with many bitter accusations against the Austrians, to which Wurmser and some of his friends replied with counter-accusations and reproaches just as bitter. By the end of the year the French had not only recovered their old frontier lines in this direction, but they had also the whole of the Palatinate at their mercy. It was in the Palatinate that Hoche chose his short winter-quarters.

The convention had issued a declaration of war against Spain on the 4th of March. The Spanish government was not in a condition to set on foot a very large land army; but the troops she had brought into the field acted for some time with considerable spirit and intelligence. Instead of waiting to be invaded, the Spaniards set their foot on French territory, and soundly beat the republican general Deflers in his fortified camp, about the middle of May. They then advanced upon Perpignan, taking several fortresses; but Deflers, being greatly reinforced, gained a victory on the 17th July, and obliged the Spaniards to abandon their conquests and retire towards the frontiers of Catalonia, just as the great royalist insurrection of the south of France broke out, and just as the British and Spanish fleets obtained possession of Toulon. At the other extremity of the Pyrenees the Spaniards made a good beginning, and gave for many months en-

almost with insolence by Cartaux and Doppet; but Dugommier, a veteran soldier, had a better sense of his merits, and he was strongly supported by the Jacobin commissioners of the con-



SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH.—From a print, after Sir R. K. Porter.

vention, one of whom was the brother of the then all-powerful Robespierre, with whose party the young officer had recently identified himself by writing and publishing a political pamphlet, entitled, *The Supper of Beaucaire*. Under such patronage he got the command of the whole besieging artillery, amounting to 200 or more pieces; and he was pretty certain that in the councils of war, which were now frequently called, any opinion he might emit would be listened to, at least, with respect. Batteries were erected to sweep the harbour and the roadstead; and from 30,000 to 40,000 men were now collected round Toulon. Our expected succours had arrived from Gibraltar, but they consisted merely of two foot regiments and a few artillerymen, under the command of General O'Hara, who took the command of the place and of all the land troops of the allies, which did not even now exceed 11,000 men, counting all nations and including some corps that had nothing of the soldier but the name. To keep all that wide range of hills (some of which commanded the two harbours and the fleets in them as well as the town) would have required, at the very least, 30,000 troops of the best quality. Some of the Neapolitans behaved very badly; yet the French never made an advance without sustaining great loss. On the 30th of November, General O'Hara was wounded and taken prisoner in a sortie, in the course of which Bonaparte received a bayonet wound, and was carried off the field fainting. On the 17th of December, Lord Hood called a council of war. It was readily agreed that Toulon and both its ports should be evacuated as quickly as possible; that such of

the French ships as were rigged and fit for sea should be carried off, and that all the rest, on the stocks or in the dock, should be destroyed; that all possible exertions should be made for carrying off the other French royalists. On the morning of the 18th, the sick and wounded and the British field artillery were sent off; and in the course of that night nearly all the troops were embarked on board the fleet, which had come to anchor in the outer harbour. Then, at a given signal, commenced one of the most terrible scenes that even war has ever presented: then Sir Sidney Smith—who had recently arrived at Toulon, and who had volunteered to conduct the perilous operations of blowing up and destroying all the French ships of war which could not be removed, the powder-magazines, the stores, and arsenal—set to work, having previously made some hurried preparations. Then followed a series of terrific explosions, each resembling the eruption of a volcano. Unhurt, Sir Sidney and his exhausted men joined, in the outer road, Admiral Lord Hood, who embarked all the English forces without the loss of a man. The fleet remained for some time in the roadstead, all eyes on board fixed on the mighty conflagration; and then they steered for the Hesperides of France, the beautiful islands of Hyères, which, lying close under the coast of Provence, and covered with groves of orange, and citron, and myrtle, look like a piece of Italy dropped there by mistake.

The English had destroyed one ship of eighty-four guns, one of seventy-six guns, seven of seventy-four guns, and two of twenty-four guns; and they brought away with them more vessels than they burned—one immense ship of 120 guns, two of seventy-four guns, one of forty guns, four frigates, and seven corvettes, brigs, &c., following Lord Hood to Hyères. The Spaniards brought away one vessel of eighteen guns, the Sardinians one of thirty-two guns, and the Neapolitans one of twenty guns. Yet the whole blow at the French navy was not so decisive as had been expected; fourteen sail of the line and five frigates escaped destruction, or were only so partially destroyed that it was found possible to repair them afterwards. Nearly 15,000 men, women, and children, inhabitants of the town, or royalists from other parts of the south, who had taken refuge in it as the last asylum they had in France, were carried safely away by the allied fleets. It appears that hardly any were left behind who had committed themselves by counter-revolutionary deeds, or by correspondence and connection with Lord Hood and his allies; but what M. Thiers styles "the revolutionary vengeance" would not submit to be disappointed of its prey and its victims. Upon the first entrance of the republicans into the half-ruined town they mas-

sacred every one they met, not excepting even some 200 or 300 Jacobins who went to meet and welcome them. The released *galériens*, whose exertions in saving the shipping had converted them from felons into patriots, joined in the excesses of the soldiery; and for twenty-four hours there was a revelry of crime and horror in which every possible monstrosity was committed. And after these abominations the slaughter was continued for a long time in a regular, organized manner. Several hundreds of poor workmen and labourers, who had been employed by the English and their allies in improving the fortifications of Toulon, were condemned in a mass, and were executed in the same manner, the executioners being cannoneers, who fired upon them with grape-shot. The guillotine, which always followed in the wake of the victorious republican armies, was then set up and made permanent: the possession of money or lands, or of a respectable station in society, was guilt and proof enough to the improvised revolutionary tribunal, and to the military commissions, which were presided over or directed by the younger Robespierre, Barras, and Fréron, the three commissioners from the convention.

While Lord Hood was in possession of Toulon, he had detached a squadron to Corsica to carry assistance to the anti-republican and anti-French party in that island; and another, commanded by Admiral Gell, to call to account the republic of Genoa and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or his authorities at Leghorn, who, under the mask of neutrality, had for some time pursued a system almost openly hostile to the allies. The French army in Nice had been supplied from Leghorn with provisions and stores, although the grand duke's government had refused a small supply of bullocks to the English fleet. Genoa was for the present overawed by our demonstrations; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany—beset not merely by the minister of Great Britain, but also by the ministers of all the allied powers and by the messages and agents of the King of Sardinia, the King of Naples, and of nearly every prince in Italy—not only agreed to break off all intercourse with the French republic, but further engaged to unite with the grand European coalition. But the Genoese senate already stood in terror of the jacobinized Genoese democracy; and the traffickers and speculators of that ancient republic continued the contraband trade with the French armies. The republic of Venice followed the same line of conduct as Genoa, but derived less pecuniary advantage from her neutrality. Efforts were made by the English resident minister, and by the representatives of other powers, to draw the Venetian senate into the league against France; but they failed for the present, and

Venice became on the Adriatic what Genoa was on the Mediterranean side of the peninsula—a centre of intrigue and a sort of head-quarters for revolution-professors and proselytizing Jacobins. Chauvelin and his comrades, flourishing under the protection of the Lion of St. Mark, which had become as timid and crouching as a cur—which was trying to fawn on all parties, with the certainty of being kicked by all—preached the sacred duty of insurrection in all the Venetian states and dependencies, and excited the Grisons on one side and the Dalmatians on the other to take up arms against the poor old and decrepid republic, while other agents from the convention were labouring hard at Constantinople to entice the Turks into the war as allies of the French, by showing how easy it would be to profit by the present weakness of the Venetians, and by the over-occupation which the Austrians had given themselves on the Rhine.

The head of the unfortunate Louis XVI. had scarcely been struck off ere the Gironde and the Mountain renewed their death-struggle with an increase of fury, each party striving to send their adversaries to the guillotine, and each feeling convinced that their only hope of life lay in the wholesale destruction of the other faction. Having remained in office just long enough to witness the trial and execution of the king, the virtuous Roland, harassed to death by the Jacobins, and evidently alarmed at their increasing power as well as rage, retired from the ministry with certain moral reflections which he might have made several months before. The ministers remaining were absolutely under the dictation of Brissot, who held no office, and who had provoked the mortal hatred of the ultra-Jacobins. Marat set his fangs into Brissot's side, and nearest to the heart; he was accused of the most detestable speculation, and the scarcity of provisions and the dearth of money were attributed to Roland, to those who remained in office after him, and to Brissot. In the mother society, Robespierre invoked the destruction of the whole of the Gironde, and with great art and address made sure of the means of accomplishing their ruin. That wretched party wanted the revolution to stop where it was; but Robespierre still repeated that he did not believe that the revolution was finished yet. The Girondins could count only upon the timid respectabilities, or upon that middle class which is least fitted for daring action and great personal sacrifice; the Jacobins appealed to the popular masses, to the indigent shopkeeper, the ill-employed mechanic, the common soldier, the hard-toiling peasant—to every man that might hope to gain, and that had nothing to lose, by the continuance of revolutionary troubles, and these Jacobins, by holding the sovereignty of the clubs,

must inevitably become for a season the masters of France. For one man that would dare to raise hand or voice for the much-talking, philosophical, pragmatical Gironde, 500 greedy, infuriated, desperate men would be sure to draw the sword or raise the pike for Robespierre and his party. Beaten entirely out of the clubs, beaten in the convention itself, and subjected daily to the insults and menaces of the Parisian mob, the Girondins, in secret conclaves, deliberated on the means of striking a *grand coup d'état* by which they might dissolve the convention or forcibly expel the Jacobins. These consultations became known to the Jacobins, who had spies everywhere; and the Girondins revealed their own secret by demanding a body of troops to act as guard to the convention and government, and to be composed of *respectable men* drawn from the Gironde departments; or from the very towns and villages of the south which had given birth to these select republicans and perfectibilians. Moreover, the same weak faction ventured to affirm that Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and the rest of the powerful Jacobins, were and had been all along in an infernal plot with Philippe Egalité, or his Highness of Orleans; that they intended to make that *débauché* a king, and that all the atrocities which had already been committed, or which were proposed as the means of securing liberty and equality, had for their object and end the restoration of the abjured monarchy in the person of Philip. When these and other denunciations had been made in the convention, the Jacobins felt that this was a quarrel for life and death, and that they must guillotine the Girondins, or wait and be guillotined by them. Nor, from what we know of the character and doings of these men, are we inclined to doubt that the Girondins would have been as pitiless in the hour of victory towards their political adversaries as ever were the Jacobins. But they had no chance of victory, they had not so much as the means of offering combat. Being convinced of this fact, they conceived the absurd project of removing the seat of government from Paris, and of splitting up France into a number of confederating republics! It is still an incurable fashion with certain writers even in this country to represent the Gironde party as an interesting company of virtuous and unfortunate reformers, as men of vast genius and acquirements, and as great political philosophers; but their utter inaptitude as politicians is demonstrated by every step they took and by nearly every project they entertained. Under the name of *Federalists*, they now became quite as odious as the royalists had been at the commencement of the revolution. The clubs put themselves in permanent session; the mob was appealed to; the barriers were closed; a new in-

urrection was organized; the trembling Girondins hid themselves in garrets and cellars; and on Sunday, the 2d of June, while the tocsin and alarm-guns were firing, the convention was surrounded by 163 pieces of artillery, and by 80,000 armed men (the pikemen being included), who shouted "Death to the Gironde!" and who demanded from the legislators that were in the house an immediate vote of arrest or proscription against the leaders of that party. Under the dictation of Marat, the list of proscription, which contained thirty-two names, was soon settled, and scarcely one of the moderate or anti-Jacobin members present had courage to vote against it or to offer any remark offensive to the sovereign people.

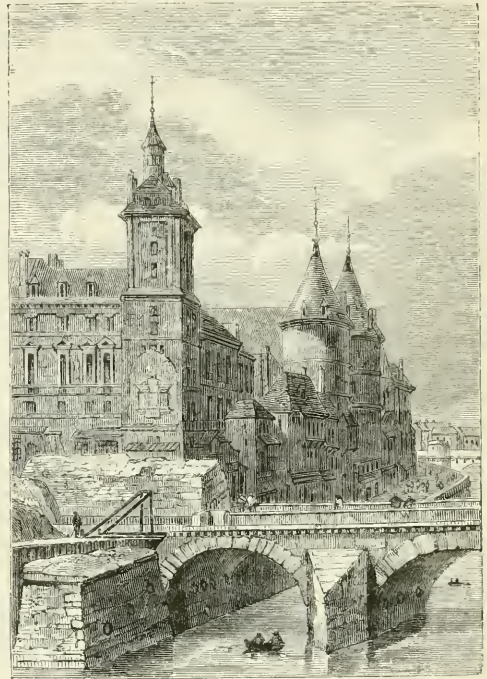
The Girondins, who had themselves trampled upon the constitutional inviolability of Louis XVI., called upon heaven and earth to witness the monstrous crime of their adversaries in trampling upon their inviolability as representatives of the people. The simple truth was, that, as they had got rid of the king because he stood in the way of their republic and of their personal aggrandizement, so the Mountain had got rid of them because they stood in the way of their sans-culottism, and because they had declared war to the guillotine-axe against them. The common calamity which had befallen them did not produce any unanimous plan. They separated into small companies, or endeavoured to escape singly. A little sooner or a little later nearly all these thirty-two Girondins perished miserably, those being the least unfortunate who perished first. Some were caught by the Jacobins and guillotined, and some destroyed themselves to avoid that fate. The virtuous Roland drove a sword through his heart and was found by the roadside, together with a note in which he declared he could no longer remain in a world that was soiled by so much guilt. Virtue Petion was found in the south, dead in the fields, and half-eaten by wolves; and his friend Buzot was discovered near him and in the same condition: it still remains doubtful whether they were assassinated or died of hunger. Nowhere—not even in their native places—could any of these miserable men find shelter and hospitality: all France was either madly jacobinized, or overpowered by dread of the Jacobins. The fury of that triumphant faction was augmented by the assassination of the monster Marat, who fell under the knife of Charlotte Corday, on the 14th of July. On the 1st of August the convention voted that Marie Antoinette, the hapless and long tortured queen, should be brought to trial. Not a single charge was proved against her; but the revolutionary tribunal, declaring that they were going to give a grand example to the uni-

verse, and satisfaction to the holy doctrine of equality, pronounced her guilty. She died on the scaffold like a heroine, on the 16th of October, amid shouts of "*Vive la république!*" The execution of the queen was followed, on the 31st of October, by that of twenty-one Girondins. Included in this list were the eloquent Vergniaud; the active and pragmatical Brissot; Lebrun, ex-minister for foreign affairs, with whom our Foxite opposition would have treated for a peace only a few months before; Sillery, the husband of Madame de Genlis and the friend and adviser of Philippe Egalité; Fanchet, the socialist, and others of the like revolutionary celebrity. The guillotine, and Samson the well-practised executioner, worked with such rapidity that in *thirty-one minutes* their heads were all off.

There was now no single day on which the guillotine was idle; but six days after the execution of the twenty-one deputies, a victim appeared on the scaffold who demands some more particular though brief notice: this was Philippe Egalité, ci-devant Duke of Orleans, who had been alternately accused by the Girondists of being an ultra-Jacobin, and by the Jacobins of being a Girondist. As soon as the flight of his sons with Dnmouriez was known in the convention, certain messengers, who found him playing at whist in his splendid residence of Palais Egalité, late Palais Royal, were despatched to tell him that he was wanted at the bar. He went, appealed to his inviolability as a representative of the people, to his past services to the revolution, and protested that he was entirely ignorant of the causes which had led to the defection of his eldest son. "If," said he, "my son is really a traitor, I see here the image of Brutus, and I know how to follow that Roman example." But all this availed him nothing; and a decree was presently passed which sent him a state prisoner to Marseilles. On the 3d of November, he was brought back to Paris; on the 6th of the same month he stood before the revolutionary tribunal, and on the same afternoon he was sent to the scaffold in company with four other victims. He perished on the same spot as the king and queen and the twenty-one Girondins. It is said that he complained neither of his friends nor of his enemies, and that, when he was told he might be respited till the next day, he refused the favour, saying that, as he was to die, the sooner the better. The mob expressed their "lively satisfaction" when Samson exhibited his head. He was forty-five years old when he died—if not the very worst, then the most defamed man of his bad times.

Next followed Madame Roland. She had been released from the Abbaye on the 27th of June, but had been arrested again on the very same day by order of the commune, and carried to

Sainte-Pélagie, a far worse prison. A day or two after the execution of the Girondins, she was transferred to the Conciergerie, through which



THE CONCIERGERIE, PARIS, 1792.—From Gatton's Views in Paris, 1803.

there was now no exit except through the Tribunal Révolutionnaire and the gates of death. She was not permitted to see her young daughter, her only child, who remained with her in Paris when her husband fled. If she really wrote the *last* part of her *Mémoires* which were published under her name (the fact has been doubted, and with some appearance of reason), she consoled herself in her misfortune by comparing her life and conduct to that of the flower of Roman republicans, by vaunting the purity and patriotism of her party and the wisdom of her husband's or her own administration, and by uttering rhapsodies against the Mountain, and Pache, and all the ultra-Jacobins, without expressing any penitence for political or other faults committed; without bestowing one word on the fate of the king, or even upon the fate of the queen, a woman and a mother like herself; without in fact admitting that her party had committed any fault except that of being over-lenient, and too mild, generous, and confiding. She was tried by the revolutionary tribunal on the 8th, and was guillotined on the 9th of November. Astronomer Mayor Bailly was executed the day after Madame Roland. There followed in the long death-dance republican generals who had been defeated by

the enemy; public servants who had incurred suspicion; and journalists who had not used the liberty of the press so as to please Robespierre and the Jacobins. Political theorists and experimentalists of the most opposite views and parties were guillotined together; heads that had never thought alike meeting in the same sack which received the loppings of the guillotine; and fierce political antagonists, who could scarcely have met in life except to tear each other to pieces, being deposited in the same grave, with one layer of quicklime (their common winding-sheet and only shroud) to consume them all together.

During the two months of November and December, 126 persons were condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed by that great revolution-professor, Citizen Samson. Not a man or woman was brought before the court but was condemned, and after condemnation not one was pardoned or even reprieved. The Parisians' appetite for blood seemed truly to grow with what it fed upon: the place of execution was the commonest place of rendezvous; the executions, as most exciting, were the most popular exhibitions of the day; women and children, as well as men, ran eagerly to them, and, unless the weather was exceedingly cold or exceedingly rainy, the Place de la Révolution, which continued for many months to be the principal slaughter-house, was constantly crowded. Nor was this crowd composed solely of the rabble and faubourg sans-culottes. As the property of all who were condemned was confiscated, the guillotine was an effective instrument even in finance. Thus Barrère is said to have remarked facetiously, that the guillotine was an excellent mint—that they coined money in the Place de la Révolution!

Those who had been ministers under the Gironde were pursued with still more fury than those who had held office under the precious La Fayette constitution. Clavière, the Genevese minister of finance, whose wife was said to have rallied and recovered from a consumption from her enthusiastic joy at his promotion,¹ escaped the guillotine by committing suicide in his prison on the 8th of December; his poor wife poisoned herself two days after, and their only child, a daughter, fled penniless to Geneva. The convention passed a law that the property of those who killed themselves, either before or after trial, should be confiscated to the republic, even as if they had been regularly condemned and executed.

Before the year ended, the legislators of Paris voted that there was no God, and destroyed or altered nearly everything that had any reference to Christianity. Robespierre, who would have stopped short at deism, and who would have preserved the external decencies, was overruled and

intimidated by Hébert and his frowzy crew, who had either crept into the governing committees, or had otherwise made themselves a power in the state. The way, however, was made plain and easy to Hébert by the preceding labours of the philosophers; by the rapidly-growing unbelief of the Parisians and the majority of town-dwelling Frenchmen; by the contempt for a long time cast upon everything that was old, and by the cool and deliberate proceedings of the convention itself. All popular journalists, patriots, and public bodies, had begun dating *First Year of Liberty, or First Year of the Republic*; and the old calendar had come to be considered as superstitious and slavish, as an abomination in the highest degree disgraceful to free and enlightened Frenchmen. Various petitions for a change had been presented; and at length the convention had employed the mathematicians Romme and Monge, and the astronomer Laplace, to make a new republican calendar for the new era. These three philosophers, aided by Fabre d'Eglantine, who, as a poet, furnished the names, soon finished their work, which was sanctioned by the convention and decreed into universal use as early as the 5th of October. It divided the year into four equal seasons, and twelve equal months of thirty days each. The five odd days which remained were to be festivals, and to bear the name of *Sans-culottides*. Thiers calls this national festival of five days at the end of the year a beautiful idea, and says that the name of sans-culottides, which belongs to the times, is not more absurd than many other names which have been adopted by different peoples. The term scarcely needs translation: Mr. Carlyle renders it into English by "Days without Breeches," and it means that, or the "Days of the Breechless." In leap years, when there would be six days to dispose of, the last of those days, or *Sans-culottides*, was to be consecrated to the revolution, and to be observed in all times with all possible solemnity. The months were divided into three decades, or portions of ten days each, and, instead of the Christian Sabbath, once in seven days, the *décadi*, or tenth day, was to be the day of rest—which Thiers, who admires, or pretends to admire every part of the new calendar, thinks a very excellent arrangement. The decimal method of calculation, which had been found so convenient in money and in weights and measures, was to preside over all divisions: thus, instead of our twenty-four hours to the day, and sixty minutes to the hour, the day was divided into ten parts, and the tenth was to be subdivided by tens, and again by tens to the minutest division of time. New dials were ordered to mark the time in this new way; but, before they were finished, it was found that the people were puzzled and perplexed by this last

¹ Dumont.

alteration, and therefore this part of the calendar was adjourned for a year, and the hours, minutes, and seconds were left as they were.

In the abolition of religious worships (*Abolition des cultes*) Hébert was abundantly assisted by his official superior Chaumette, procureur of the commune; by L'Huillier, procureur of the department; by nearly all the notables of the commune, and present leaders of the Cordelier Club; by the majority of journalists and pamphleteers, and by the orator of mankind, Anacharsis Clootz, whose madness had not diminished in the midst of the increasing insanity of others. But the fierce atheism of these men (it was fiercer, more intolerant and persecuting than any religious bigotry) must, like the cruelty of the pro-consuls or commissioners in the departments, have been powerless and ineffectual, or only effectual in bringing about their immediate overthrow and destruction, if the people had not been prepared for the reception of their doctrines. It is in vain attempting to throw the bloody crimes and monstrous follies of the revolution upon a few scapegoats; the crimes and follies were *national*, and the great body of the people must bear the weight of them. Another great labourer in the vineyard of atheism was Fouché. This man was a native of Nantes, and had there been educated for a priest. While *en mission* in the department of L'Allier, he, as member of the convention, took upon himself to regulate and reform the public burying-grounds, which he and his guillotine-man were filling at a rapid rate; and, knocking down the cross and the text from Scripture which stood over the gate of a cemetery, he set up a statue of Sleep, to intimate that death was but an everlasting sleep. Fouché's device was considered pretty and poetic, and, before the convention, or the commune of Paris, which was the great active agent in this new reformation, legislated or decreed upon the subject, the example was followed in various

parts of the country. Where they could not readily obtain statues in stone or wood, the people satisfied themselves with inscriptions, painted in large black letters, such as "Death is Sleep," "Here one Sleeps," "Death is an eternal Sleep," &c.¹ Chaumette, who took in hand all the cemeteries of Paris, and entirely changed their appearance, was a sentimental atheist, who was wont to say that he should like to inhale the soul of his father in the sweet breath of flowers. Anacharsis Clootz was a political atheist, who considered religion as the only obstacle to the establishment of an universal republic, and of the worship of pure reason all over the earth. In his eyes deism was as detestable as Catholicism, and a God was as much out of place in a republic as a king. There was, he said, no God but the people; the God-people could not kneel before its divine self—could only worship pure and immortal reason. Therefore, as he told the convention (not without applauses from house and gallery), the sooner they put their God among the *ci-devans*, among the things which had been, but were no more, the better for France, the better for all mankind.

Little need be said of the course of this year's war in other parts of the globe. In the East Indies, Pondicherry, and all the other French establishments, were seized by the British without the slightest difficulty; and the republican flag disappeared from that continent. In the West Indies, Tobago was taken by us; but we failed for the present in an attempt on Martinique. The French planters of Sto. Domingo, suffering from the terrible insurrection of the negroes, and the not less terrible tyranny of the commissioners sent out by the national convention, implored our protection, and received English garrisons.

¹ At the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, traces of these inscriptions were visible in many parts of France. When the bigoted atheists were outvoted, they had been merely covered with a little plaster or whitewash, and this covering had fallen off, and had left the letters beneath visible.



CHAPTER XXXVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1794.

GEORGE III.

Parliament opened—The royal speech recommends the continuation of war with France—Counter-proposals of the opposition in parliament—Resolution adopted to continue the war—Debate on the subsidiary treaties with foreign powers—Arrests of British revolutionists—Suspension of the habeas corpus act—Lord Howe's naval victory over the French on the 1st of June—Affairs of Corsica—Proceedings of Paoli—The Corsicans place themselves under the protection of England—The emperor and King of Prussia engrossed with the partition of Poland—Selfish bargain of the Prussian king for British subsidies—Proceedings of the allied armies in the Netherlands—Successes gained over them by the French—The French occupy the whole of Austrian Flanders and Brabant—Their successes on the Rhine—The Austrians and Prussians retreat before them—The Duke of York attempts to protect Nimeguen—He is attacked and compelled to retreat—The French take Nimeguen and Maestricht—The war of Spain against France—Reverses of the Spaniards—Successes of the French armies in Italy—Quarrels of the factions in Paris—The Jacobins divided into Hébertists and adherents of Robespierre—The atheistic spirit of Hébert and his party—Robespierre's attachment to theism—Suppression of the Hébertists—Robespierre's chief opponents executed—His proposal in favour of a national creed—It is adopted—Robespierre's grand *fête* for the installation of the "Supreme Being"—He officiates as the high-priest of the new faith—Explanation of his extravagant conduct—Particulars of the *fête*—Robespierre's conduct on the occasion—Offence given by it to his colleagues—His declamations against them—Symptoms of his decaying influence—Increasing executions—Four revolutionary tribunals established in Paris—Their merciless proceedings—Conspiracy against Robespierre—His indecision—His last appearances in the convention and Jacobin Club—His continued irresolution—Attack made upon him in the convention—The uproar and confusion of the members—Robespierre's fruitless efforts to obtain a hearing—He is arrested—Fruitless attempt for his rescue—Attempts of Robespierre and his associates to commit suicide—They are conveyed to the guillotine—Conduct of the mob at their execution.



ON the 21st of January, when the British parliament met, the speech from the throne and the arguments of ministers urged the necessity of continuing the war with an increase of vigour, inasmuch as the wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, which the French had adopted, had displayed itself fully to the world, and made it more than ever impossible to think of treating with such an enemy. On the other side the opposition urged that the constant failures of the armies of the coalition, and the victories and triumphs of the French republicans, rendered the prosecution of the war hopeless and ruinous; and that, as we must recognize their government and negotiate with it at last, the best thing we could do would be to acknowledge it and treat with it at once, leaving the other powers of Europe to follow their own course.

On February the 2d, the minister laid before the house an account of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war, and the ways and means for raising them. On this occasion he stated the interior strength of the kingdom at 140,000 men, and the foreign troops in our pay at 40,000. The total of the requisite supply he calculated at nearly twenty millions; and the ways and means included some new taxes, and a loan of eleven millions. The double taxation to which the Roman Catholics had been long subjected was liberally cancelled.

On the 17th of February the Marquis of Lansdowne introduced a motion for an address, praying his majesty to declare immediately his readiness to enter into a negotiation with France. This was negatived by an immense majority, the numbers being 103 against only 13. Other motions met with no better success; and parliament and the country called for a vigorous prosecution of the war as the only means of preserving our honour and safety.

The subsidiary treaties concluded with the princes of the coalition were a subject of discussion in parliament; and, on March the 6th, Mr. Grey moved in the House of Commons for an address to the king, for the purpose of expressing their concern that his majesty should have formed an union with powers, whose apparent aim was to regulate a country wherein they had no right to interfere. In the subsequent debate, and in a debate in both houses consequent upon a message from the king, informing them of a treaty concluded with the King of Prussia, by which a larger subsidy was stipulated with that monarch for carrying on the war, many observations were made by the opposition relative to the objects and prospects of the contest, and the small confidence to be placed in subsidized powers who were chiefly attentive to their own interests. Ministers, however, were supported by the usual majorities.

At this juncture a quarrel arose with the United States of America, who objected to our right of search and our laws of blockade. If they

had been strong enough they would have joined the French republicans, and have declared war against us; but as their national navy was as yet in embryo they sent over Mr. Jay to negotiate, and the quarrel was compromised for the present.

Some sentences for political offences and clubbism had been passed, the most important being those in Scotland against Messrs. Muir and Palmer, who had been transported to Botany Bay; but the government was still in a state of suspicion and alarm, which the tone of some of the clubs was not calculated to remove. In the month of May it was resolved to pursue some of the principal members of the Corresponding Society and the Society for Constitutional Information in London; and in the month of May, Thomas Hardy, Daniel Adams, the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to Earl Stanhope, and tutor to his son, Lord Mahon, John Thelwall, a political lecturer, the celebrated Horne Tooke, and three or four others, were committed to the Tower, charged with high treason. On the 16th of May, Pitt produced to the house the report of a committee of secrecy, and upon this foundation demanded, as necessary to the salvation of the country from internal revolution, the immediate suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. Nor did the great majority of the house consider the demand dangerous, irrational, or excessive. Burke maintained that it was the best means of preventing the vast and imminent dangers with which we were menaced; Windham said that, if these evils could not be averted by the laws in being, other laws more stringent must be framed; and the suspension bill was carried through all its stages in the shortest time possible, and by overwhelming majorities. This was the last session that Burke sat in the House of Commons, and some of the last words of that philosophical statesman were words of warning to the country to beware of the fate of France. The king prorogued parliament in person on the 11th of July, congratulating the lords and commons on the glorious victory obtained over the French at sea, off Ushant, on the 1st of June, and the acquisitions made in the East and West Indies, and exhorting them to firmness, notwithstanding the successes of the French in the Netherlands.

The dawn of the 1st of June disclosed to Admiral Lord Howe the French about three or four miles to leeward in order of battle, under an easy sail. They had twenty-six line-of-battle ships, while the English had but twenty-five, the *Audacious*, seventy-four, Captain Parker, having separated in a shattered condition. In the size of their vessels, in their aggregate number of guns and men, and in their weight of metal, the French had a considerable superiority. Lord Howe immediately stood towards them. Being

abreast of them at about seven in the morning, he wore to the larboard tack, while the French waited his approach in the same position. Having made the necessary arrangements in his



RICHARD, FIRST EARL HOWE.—From a print after Gainsborough.

line for opposing his large ships to the large ships of the enemy, bethinking himself of a good English proverb, he lay-to, and intimated by signal that there was time for the men to breakfast before going into action. At about half-past eight he made the signal for the fleet to close, to pass through the French line and engage them to leeward, van to van, rear to rear, every ship engaging her opposite in the enemy's line. A little after nine o'clock the action became general in the centre. After behaving manfully for about an hour, the French admiral Villaret-Joyeuse gave way and stood off to the northward, and was followed by all the ships in his van that could carry sail. He left ten of his ships, almost all of them totally dismasted, to the windward, nearly surrounded by the English. Seven of these ships of the line soon struck their flags, and were taken possession of by our sailors. One of them, the *Vengeur*, filled and went down in deep water almost as soon as the English flag was hoisted on her. The number of killed in the British fleet was 279, of wounded 877. But the carnage on board the more crowded French ships was far more dreadful. In the six captured ships which remained afloat, the killed were 690, the wounded 580. Above 300 were supposed to have gone down with the *Vengeur*. The number of prisoners removed is stated at 2300. Several of Lord Howe's captains, more anxious for prize-money than for hard fighting,

scandalously misbehaved themselves; but still, with every deduction, "The Glorious First of June" was a day honourable to the British navy—was a most seasonable victory, proper to keep up the national spirit, and to lead to greater exploits hereafter.

It is impossible to comprise in our narrative all the frigate fights, or even the contests between small squadrons, which took place in these first years of the war. There was a variety and inequality in the spirit displayed in some of these numerous engagements; but, in general, the superiority of the English, as sailors and combatants on their own element, was maintained and enhanced; while many of the actions showed a combination of skill, coolness, and bravery, which will never be surpassed. These engagements took place in the Channel, on the coast of France, in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, in the East Indies and in the West; for the French had ships enough to show in all the seas, and in some places they had for a time a decided superiority of force. During the whole of the present year the British lost only one ship of the line, the *Alexander*, seventy-four, and she did not surrender until she had sustained the assault of three French ships of the line for two hours. Nothing was more evident than that the spirit of our officers and men was incomparably higher than it had been during the American war.

A curious triumph attended our arms in the Mediterranean, where Corsica, the native island of the man who was so soon to be the master and despot of France and arbiter of Europe, annexed itself to the British crown. The cruelties committed by the French, under Louis XV., in their subjugation of the island, were of too recent a date to be forgotten by a very brave but very revengeful people. To the Corsicans the French settlers were aliens in blood, in language, in manners, in interests, in everything; and a very large part of the population, including all the mountaineers and most of the peasantry, were incensed at the changes introduced into the isle, and the disrespect shown to their priests since the revolution. At the dawn of that mighty change, which deluded so large a portion of mankind with false and extravagant hopes, many of the better educated Corsicans fondly believed that their country would be improved and rendered happy by the political reforms in progress at Paris, and, by remaining a portion of the French empire, a realized Utopia. In 1789, on the motion of Mirabeau, in the constituent assembly, all the Corsican patriots, who had bravely fought against the French twenty years before, for the independence of their country, and who had been living in exile ever since, were recalled with honour, and invited to concur in the new order of

things. Pasquale de Paoli, who had gallantly fought the Genoese for twelve years before they ceded the island by an iniquitous treaty to Louis XV., who had been a sort of king or president under the title of "General of the Kingdom and Chief of the Supreme Magistracy of Corsica," who had afterwards struggled hard with the French, and defeated them in more than one terrible battle, was the most eminent of all these recalled Corsican exiles. He had passed nearly the whole of his exile, from the year 1769 to the year 1789, in England, living in familiar intercourse with the noblest, the most enlightened, and best of our countrymen. Every English reader is acquainted with him as the friend and frequent companion of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who held him in high estimation. With habits almost become English, Paoli repaired to Paris in the autumn of 1789: he was received with acclamations in the assembly, and in their hall swore fidelity to France and the new and unfinished *monarchic* constitution. He was presented to Louis XVI., who made him lieutenant-general and military commandant in Corsica. After being entertained in Paris by the patriots and popular idols of that day, he proceeded to his native island, where he was received with enthusiasm, and placed at the head of the national guards that were then raised or in process of being raised in Corsica. He acted faithfully towards the constitutional monarchy so long as it existed; but when the Girondists and Jacobins united and destroyed that government, to which equally with himself they had all promised and vowed fidelity, when they had set up an anarchical republic, and destroyed or proscribed all those friends who had brought him back, he separated himself from the French party, and began to concert measures with the old Corsican patriots. He was presently denounced to the convention, who placed his name on their lists of proscription. He assembled his countrymen, explained his danger and their own, held up to execration the cruelty and impiety of the French, and was forthwith appointed general-in-chief and president of the council of government. Paoli knew that the island was not strong enough to defend itself against France; his predilections made him look towards England; and, as soon as war broke out between this country and France, he put himself in communication with our government, and with the English commanders cruising in the Mediterranean. Lord Hood, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet, instantly gave him some assistance; and at the appearance of a few English ships the insurrection became general, and the French were driven out from all the places they held, with the exception of San Fiorenzo, Calvi, and Bastia. This was in the sum-

mer and autumn of 1793, when the mother of Bonaparte and all of that family who remained in the island fled in sad plight for Marseilles, to call upon the triumphant Jacobins there for succour and for vengeance upon Paoli and the English. Thanks to the activity, skill, and gallantry of Captain Horatio Nelson, Bastia, or the French in it, surrendered on the 22d of May. Calvi was reduced on the 10th of August. The representatives of the Corsican nation unanimously voted the separation of Corsica from France, and its union to the crown of Great Britain.

The management of the great armies of the coalition on the Continent was, by many degrees, worse and more inexcusable than during the preceding year. The rising of the Polish patriots under Kosciusko distracted more than ever the attention of the emperor and the King of Prussia, and induced his Prussian majesty to send a large army into Poland to secure the territories which had been allotted to him in the last partition, and to set up a pretension to more. Frederick William went into Poland to take the command of his army there, and the Duke of Brunswick, dissatisfied with his conduct, and discouraged by the bad termination of two campaigns, threw up the command of the Prussian army and its contingents on the Rhine. The King of Prussia even authorized some secret negotiations for a separate peace with the national convention, and, when these manœuvres became known, he frankly intimated that he would abandon the coalition unless he were retained by a liberal subsidy. A bargain—as bad a one as ever was struck—was concluded in the month of April: £2,200,000 was to be paid to his Prussian majesty, who was to furnish an army of 62,400 men; the money to be provided by Great Britain and the States-general of the United Provinces (the only subsidizing powers in Europe), but not in equal proportions, for Great Britain was to pay more than five times as much as the Dutch. A great part of this subsidy went to Poland, where Frederick William remained. As more and more troops were required in that country, his army on the Rhine fell short of the stipulated number; and the gentlest thing that can be said of the conduct of this latter Prussian army in this year's campaign is that it was loose and spiritless.

In the Netherlands, where Austrians, English, Dutch, and Hanoverians were to fight together, the campaign scarcely opened under better auspices; a great many of the Dutch, both officers and men, were lukewarm or democratic. The Duke of York quarrelled with the Austrian commanders, and refused to serve under General Clairfait. It was at length adjusted that if the Emperor Francis should personally assume the supreme command, the duke would serve under

him; and accordingly the emperor repaired to Brussels in April, whence he proceeded to the army. The siege of Landrecies was soon after commenced. Several attempts for its relief by the French were defeated with great loss on their part, and the place was obliged to surrender; but in the meantime Pichegru had forced the encampment of Clairfait, and had taken Courtrai and Menin. General Jourdan, in the beginning of March, entered the province of Luxemburg, where he was opposed by the Austrian general Beaulieu. On April the 17th, Jourdan made an attack upon the Austrian lines, which, after a conflict of two days, he carried. In May, the French attacked the army under the Duke of York near Tournai, and were repulsed with loss. They afterwards marched in great force from Courtrai against Clairfait, whom, after a very obstinate engagement, they put to the rout, and followed across the Sambre. A variety of other well-fought actions ensued, attended with much slaughter on both sides; but upon the whole, the forces and the confidence of the French seemed to increase. Jourdan was engaged in the siege of Charleroi, when, on June 26th, a general attack was made on his posts by the allies on the plain of Fleurus. Its result was the total defeat of the assailants, who retreated in confusion as far back as Halle; and the success of this day decided that of the French for the remainder of the campaign. Charleroi fell; and some time before, General Moreau, after defeating Clairfait, made himself master of Ypres. Bruges submitted to the victors on June 24th. The Duke of York found it necessary to retreat to Oudenarde, thus leaving Tournai exposed, which came into the possession of the French without resistance. The duke then drew back to the vicinity of Antwerp, where he was joined by Lord Moira with 10,000 British troops originally intended for the support of the royalist Vendéans.

Ostend being left without any garrison was taken by the French. Throughout the Belgic provinces the people, if not decidedly jacobinized, were furious against their old masters the Austrians. Ghent opened its gates to the republicans on the 5th of July, and on the 9th of that month the Prince of Coburg was compelled to abandon Brussels. On the 15th of July the French took Louvain, after obtaining a victory over General Clairfait. Antwerp surrendered on the 23d, and thus the whole of Austrian Flanders and Brabant fell under the French dominion. Shortly after the Austrians were driven from Liège and its territories. Moreau advancing into Dutch Flanders, reduced Cadsandt and Sluis.

Early in the year, while the German potentates were disputing with each other, and discouraging, in many ways, the army on the Rhine,

which stood in need of every encouragement after their unfortunate campaign of 1793, the French advanced, and took the fort of Kaiserslautern, the town of Spires, and several other towns and fortresses. Adhering to the routine of long winter-quarters, and to the principle that armies were not to take the field until the season of snow and frost was over, the German commanders had no forces on foot at all equal to contend with the republicans; nor was it until the month of May that they got a-field in earnest. The Prussians, who did not exceed 50,000 effective men, were now commanded by Count Marshal Möllendorf. Besides this force there was an Austrian army on the Rhine of about the same strength, some small contingent forces furnished by the lesser circles of the empire, and the emigrant army of Condé, which was still 12,000 strong—*upon paper*. Towards the end of May, Möllendorf, taking them by surprise, drove the French out of their entrenchments at Kaiserslautern, with serious loss, and took a good many of their guns. But from this time till the beginning of July, when the republicans were greatly reinforced, the Prussians and their allies did nothing of the least consequence. With a superiority of numbers which gave them the assurance of success, the French, who were moreover cheered by the intelligence of the successes obtained in the Netherlands, and the news of the battle of Fleurus, sought out Möllendorf, and on the 12th of July began a battle which was desperately maintained, at different points, during four whole days. On the night of the 15th, when both sides had suffered tremendous loss, the allies made a hasty retreat. The imperialists crossed the Rhine, and the Prussians retired down the left bank of that river to Mayence. Neither of these armies was of any further use during the remainder of this campaign. A territory sixty miles in length was abandoned to the republicans, who marched to the easy reduction of Trèves, and then poured down in great numbers to the Netherlands, to help to finish the war there, and after that to conquer Holland; for there was no intention of stopping short at the Scheldt and Roer, as Dumouriez had done in 1792.

The Duke of York assisted the hereditary Prince of Orange in covering the United Provinces; but their force was miserably insufficient: the democratic party was again on tiptoe, corresponding with the French, giving every encouragement and assistance in their power to those liberators; and the Dutch army, infected by the same principles, or disheartened by toilsome retreats and many discomfitures, was, in more senses than the military one, *demoralized*. Masses of men were thrown upon the retreating columns of Clairfait, who, after standing another battle,

left Juliers and Aix-la-Chapelle to Jourdan. Clairfait rallied once more, and fought a battle, or a succession of battles, which lasted from the 29th of September to the 3d of October; but this was the last effort his exhausted army could make, and his continued retreat left Cologne open to the French. Bonn and other towns on the left bank of the Rhine, in the electorate of Cologne, submitted to the conquerors. These places were defenceless or weak; but Coblenz, a dependence of the electorate of Mayence, had been strongly fortified and contained a considerable garrison; yet here, too, scarcely any resistance was made; the imperialists retired to the other side of the river, and the republicans took possession of the place with exceeding great joy; for it had long been the head-quarters of the emigrant princes and nobles—the home of royalism and counter-revolutionism. Worms and several other towns threw open their gates. With the exception of Mayence, the French remained absolute masters of every place on the left bank of the Rhine between Landau and Nimeguen. On the Maes the strong fortress of Venloo had been allowed to be taken by a *coup de main*; and Bois-le-Duc, from which an obstinate resistance was expected, was surrendered by its Dutch garrison after a very short siege. The Duke of York, now stationed near Nimeguen, was cut off from all hope of reinforcement from Germany; for if the allies had meant to support him, which they certainly did not, they could not have sent their troops to him without making a circuitous march. He resolved, however, with such force as he had, to cover that important place, the possession of which by the French would greatly facilitate their advance into the heart of Holland. On their side the republicans resolved to drive him thence, hoping, by a decisive blow, to compel him and his English troops to retire from the defence of the United Provinces. To this end they attacked the duke on the morning of the 19th of October with 60,000 men, and compelled him to retreat from his covering positions. As the duke, however, took up another position which equally prevented their investing Nimeguen, they attacked him again, with still greater numbers and fury, on the 27th of October, and finally compelled him to withdraw entirely, and leave the town to the chances of a siege. As Nimeguen was exceedingly strong by situation, and well garrisoned, it was expected that it would prove an exception to the general rule, and make a vigorous defence; but there were traitors within its walls in intelligence with the French, and the place was allowed to be surprised and carried a very few days after the Duke of York's retreat. Nearly at the same time Kleber, after a siege of only five weeks' duration, obtained possession of the formidable fortress of

Maestricht, which was garrisoned by 8000 Dutchmen and Germans in the pay of the States-general, and which was abundantly supplied with

French fortress of Bellegarde was recovered in September, and in October, Dugommier began to pour his columns into Catalonia.



THE CASTLE OF NIMEGUEN, on the river Waal, with the Bridge of Boats by which the British Army crossed the river—From a drawing by Captain Fyers, 1809.

provisions, stores, and all things necessary—except fidelity and courage. The Duke of York, with the wreck of his army, retreated across the Waal and the Rhine, and stationed himself at Arnheim in the province of Gelderland, with but a faint hope of stopping the progress of Pichegru, who had been appointed by the convention to complete the conquest of Holland.

The Spaniards seemed to have spent their strength and spirit in their Ronssillon campaign of the preceding year. Their finances had long been in a ruinous condition, and at present they husbanded such resources as they could command, from a belief, which other powers shared in, that the sway of the Jacobins was drawing to a close; that public opinion fermenting in France would soon pronounce itself against the promoters of anarchy; in short, that a reaction was on the point of breaking out, and that the salutary crisis must be hastened by the first check the French might experience in this campaign. They have, however, been censured too severely; for, after all, they kept their banners on the soil of the republic some time longer than any other power, and they fought on when the most terrible reverses were befalling the armies of the coalition on the side of Italy, on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands. The brave Spanish generals, who had repeatedly beaten the French in 1793, were carried off by sickness and death, or were removed by court intrigue. Early in April the republican general Dugommier succeeded in weakening the Spanish centre; and on the 1st of May he drove them out of their fortified camp at Boulon. Many reverses followed this disastrous expulsion. The

valley of Bastan, and at Saint-Jean-Pié-de-Port.

On the side of the Alps there was hard fighting all through the year, the army of the King of Sardinia, assisted by Austrian troops, manfully contending to keep the French republicans out of Italy. Forts were taken and retaken; mountain passes were carried and evacuated by the French; sanguinary combats took place among rocks and precipices, and on the crests of mountains covered with eternal snow; parts of the country were jacobinized; grave errors were committed by the court of Turin; the neutrality of the republic of Genoa was disregarded by the invaders; dense columns were marched through the Genoese territory to turn the position of the Sardinians and Austrians, and to attack the weakest part of Piedmont; and by the end of September the French, conducted by Dumorbion, Massena, Laharpe, Napoleon Bonaparte, Saliceti, and Albitte, established themselves on the edge of the rich Italian plain which is irrigated by the Po. Nothing more was done this year; but the republicans had done much; the bulwarks of the Alps and Apennines were in their hands, the road was opened into Italy, and an excellent basis laid for future operations. It had taken them three years, enormous sums of money, and prodigious sacrifices of life to achieve these great objects; but the work was done at last.

In Paris, meanwhile, the different factions had waged a fiercer war upon one another than that which the armies had carried on in the field. No sooner were the Girondists exterminated than jealousies and deadly hatreds broke out among the victorious Jacobins themselves. Hébert be-

came the head of a party which put itself in direct opposition to Robespierre. These Hébertists were for some time all-powerful in the commune, exceedingly popular in Paris, and with all the extreme sans-culottes; they shared in the executive power by holding places in the *salut public* and in others of the governing committees; they had the 10,000 men of the *armée révolutionnaire* of Paris completely at their bidding, Ronsin, the general of that army, being one of the chiefs of their party; and in the convention they for a season could command a majority of votes—a fact which first made Robespierre determine that that legislature should be purged anew, and that the Hébertists should be treated like the Girondists; but, as Hébert and his friends were so powerful, it was necessary to proceed against them slowly and with extreme caution. In installing atheism and the worship of the goddess of reason, the Hébertists well knew that they were declaring mortal war—a war without quarter—against Robespierre, who by speeches and by writings, by declarations repeatedly made both in the convention and in the Jacobin Club, had pledged himself to the support of a pure deism, and who (if any one thing is clear in his mysterious character) was really a determined and fanatical deist. With bitterness of soul he had yielded for the moment to the preponderance of Hébert, Chaumette, Clootz, and that atheistical herd: but he believed that a large portion of the French people still retained a respect for Christianity; that a still larger portion, though rejecting all revealed religion, clung to the belief of a God and to the hope of the immortality of the soul; and he nicely calculated that the strength of these opinions would come to his aid in his death-strife with Hébert. The battle was chiefly fought in the clubs, the Jacobins promising and vowing that they would stand by Robespierre now and for ever. On the 13th of March all the leading Hébertists were arrested; they were condemned on the 24th, and nineteen of them were guillotined in the afternoon of that day. It seems to be universally allowed that this was the most spiritless batch that perished during all the reign of terror. Ronsin, however, consoled himself with saying that Robespierre and his friends would soon perish in the same manner.

Having thus disposed of Hébert and his obscene crew, the incorruptible immediately directed his destructive energies against Danton, who had been guilty of gross corruption, and who had lost even his orator courage and audacity. On the night of the 30th of March, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Lacroix (Danton's brother-commissioner and plunderer in Belgium), and several others, were seized. One of them took corrosive sublimate and so died, but Danton

and fourteen more of them were executed on the 5th of April, only twelve days after the execution of the nineteen Hébertists. On the 13th of April the widow of Hébert, the fair young widow of Camille Desmoulins, General Dillon, and sixteen others perished on the same scaffold. In the course of this month of April some 200 heads fell under the guillotine knife, and in the whole month of May the number of lives sacrificed in the Place de la Révolution reached the fearful amount of 324. Among the more distinguished victims that perished between the middle of April and the end of May were D'Espréménil, the old parliamenter and the hero of the earliest stage of the revolution; Chapelier, once the popular president of the constituent assembly; the venerable Malesherbes, who had so nobly defended Louis XVI., and who was now condemned and executed, together with his daughter and his granddaughter, his sons-in-law, the noble Lamignons and Châteaubriands; Lavoisier, the eminent chemical philosopher; the Marchioness de Crussal, and the Princess Elizabeth, the innocent, amiable, ever-exemplary, and almost angelic sister of Louis XVI.

All this blood was poured out to the accompaniment of long drowsy harangues about the necessity of public morality and republican virtue. In presenting one of his most terrible reports, Saint-Just had moved that morality and virtue should be declared the order of the day—a vote which the convention passed unanimously. Robespierre, since the fall of Chaumette and Clootz, and all that gang, had repeatedly declared that atheism was so foul a thing that it could not have been thrown into France except by Pitt; that there could be no security even for republican virtue unless they voted the existence of a God, or of some Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul. At first there seemed, at least in the convention, a pretty general disposition to sneer at both these dogmas, as unworthy of the enlightenment of France, and as tending to revive the old superstitions; but when Robespierre and Saint-Just, Couthon and others of that party, held up atheism as the greatest of all the crimes of which the Hébertists and Dantonists had been guilty, proclaimed it to be an importation from England, and intimated that its propagators and abettors must expect nothing less than that a virtuous republic would take off their heads; these mockers all took the cue, learned the short and easy lesson, and professed themselves (what Saint-Just and Robespierre really were) determined and fanatical deists, and implicit believers—without any revelation, but by the light of reason alone—in the soul's immortality. The reformed commune assembled in the Hôtel-de-Ville (which in Chaumette and Hébert's time had been the high altar of the goddess of reason, and very

Vatican of the atheist world, the place whence all the destroying, desecrating bulls had emanated) now sent up a deputation and an address to represent to the august representatives of the people, "whose policy was wholly founded on virtue and morality," "whose sublime meditations were directed exclusively to the happiness of mankind," that it was at length time "to proclaim those useful opinions, disfigured by fanaticism, the natural idea of the existence of a God, and the consoling notion of the immortality of the soul." These virtuous municipals declared that Hébert's goddesses of reason were more abominable even than the old superstition and the priests of the Catholic church; and they petitioned that the inscription put upon all churches, "TEMPLE CONSECRATED TO REASON," should be obliterated, and its place supplied by the words "TO THE SUPREME BEING." The deputies, the representatives of the French people who had so recently made their profession of faith to the goddess of reason, who had so lustily declared that a God or a king was alike incompatible with a republic, now voted by acclamation all that Robespierre proposed. The mother society, too, instantly voted and adopted the new profession of faith. It was even proposed in the Jacobins to banish every man from the republic that did not believe in the divinity; but Robespierre thought it expedient to reject this proposition.

A grand *fête*, for the overthrow of the goddess of reason and the installation of the Supreme Being, was decreed for the 8th of June. David the painter, who had got up so many pomps and ceremonies, and who last summer had arranged that festival and made that statue to mother Nature, before which handsome Hérault de Sechelles, now headless and buried deep in quicklime, had made libations of pure emblematic water, and prayed his pagan prayer, presented a programme and plan for this festival voted to the Supreme Being—an elaborate production, a conceited, pedantic conglomerate of execrable taste, which revolts the mind more than Hébert's atheistical masquerades, but which the legislators adopted with unanimity, as they now adopted everything that was moved or sanctioned by Robespierre. As if intoxicated by his success and power, and the praise and incense that surrounded him, Robespierre, who had hitherto played the retiring, modest part, resolved to officiate as high-priest to the divinity he had got decreed. Long historical doubts, and speculations ingenious but interminable as to the motives and objects of this Apollyon of the revolution, may be settled by the simple assumption, warranted by a hundred facts, that he was, from first to last, insane—possessed by a reasoning madness of the worst kind, a maniacal vanity, which grew and in-

creased with his successes and the facility he found in bending a frantic nation to his will. No other hypothesis will explain his character and his doings; no researches among contemporary evidence will ever explain or reconcile half the facts of his public life; in him, many a circumstance which has been set down as a mystery, deep, unfathomable, becomes simple enough if considered as a freak of madness. On the morning of the *fête*, as he looked out from one of the windows of the Tuileries upon the immense multitude assembled or assembling, and especially upon the crowds of elegantly dressed women that ran to this novelty, as to everything else that was new and showy, he gesticulated, acted, and spoke in a frantic manner. In a universal frenzy such as reigned in Paris his insanity is scarcely so apparent; but it seems to us that Masaniello, on that day when he triumphed over the Spaniards and rode on the beautiful charger before the cardinal-archbishop and the viceroy, in scarlet raiment and with gold chains round his neck, was not madder than Robespierre on this day of the festival à l'*Être Suprême*. He had dressed himself in a splendid manner; his hair was frizzled and powdered; he carried in his hand a brilliant bouquet of flowers mixed with ears of wheat; for the first time his countenance was irradiated with joy; but the joy was mingled with pride and triumph, and everybody remarked his moral intoxication. The celebration took place in the Tuileries gardens. Under the creative genius of David a mound or monticule, surmounted by hideous statues of Atheism and Anarchy, made of combustible materials, and by a pure white incombustible statue of Wisdom, had risen in the garden. The deputies of the convention followed Robespierre, who walked quite alone and several yards ahead of them, to this mound, where he was to *pontifier*, or play the pontiff. The spectators honoured the great man with many applauses, and shouted most joyously, the day being uncommonly fine and exhilarating. But some satirical sallies and murmurs were heard amidst the crowd from men who preferred the goddess of reason to his *Être Suprême*, or who were irritated at his unwise glaring departure from the lines and levels of equality. "Only see," said one, "he wants to make himself a god!" "Or the high-priest of this *Être Suprême*," said another. "Yes," cried a third, applying to him one of the grossest of epithets, "not satisfied with being our master, he wants to be our god!" Even the convention, which had been so timid and submissive, betrayed symptoms of discontent; nay, several of his old partizans and present colleagues in the committees either put on a sullen countenance, or plainly expressed in coarse and

energetic words their disgust not merely at his pomp and pride, but at the whole celebration, and especially at his *Etre Suprême*. Barrère, Collot d'Herbois, Prienr, and Carnot seemed greatly dissatisfied; Billaud-Varennes, and the principal members of the committee of general security—Vadier, Amar, and Vouland—were fanatics in atheism, and disposed to be excessively jealous of all such public honours or distinctions as those the Incorruptible was now assuming. Bourdon de l'Oise was equally disgusted, and, being a man of a rough temper and tongue, he abused the whole performance; while Tallien, Fréron, and other Montagnards, more quietly sneered at it. David handed Pontiff Robespierre a lighted torch; the pontiff, after delivering an oration in honour of the Supreme Being and the French republic, set fire to the pasteboard statues of Atheism and Anarchy, which, as they blazed, ignited a veil or screen which concealed the statue of Wisdom. It was intended that the last-named divinity should burst upon the eye in all its pure original whiteness; but in the combustion of Atheism and Anarchy, and the canvas screen, it got sadly smoked, and when poor Wisdom appeared she was as dingy as a blackamoor, and this was considered as a very bad omen! Robespierre, standing forward in his sky-blue coat and white silk waistcoat embroidered with silver, then delivered a second discourse, which was not audible to the multitude, but which announced that atheism, "the monster which kings had vomited on France," was now annihilated; and which concluded with a prayer to the Supreme Being. "*Acc ton Etre Suprême*," said Billaud-Varennes, "*tu commences à m'embêter*—With thy Supreme Being thou beginnest to stupefy me." A very large portion of the spectators indisputably entertained the same notion as Billaud. In the end the *fête* was considered as a miserable failure, even by such as preferred Robespierre's *Etre Suprême* to Hébert's *Déesse de la Raison*. The celebration certainly hastened the fall of Robespierre. On the 9th of June, the very day after the *fête*, he went to the committee of *salut public* and ranted and raved against all those who had misconducted themselves at his great celebration. He called them the impure remains of the parties of Hébert and Danton—self-indulgent, corrupt, men destitute of every virtue, whose *moderation* was only a portion of a conspiracy, whose heads ought to fall. Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois now ventured to dispute with him over the council table, and the dispute became so loud and violent that a cautious member of the committee thought it expedient to shut all the windows. Billaud said that the ceremonies of yesterday had made a very bad impression on the public mind: that

the people thought all this fuss and ceremony about the *Etre Suprême* and the immortality of the soul, superstitious and counter-revolutionary. Robespierre said he would soon show them that his intention was to make the revolution go on faster and farther than it had hitherto gone; and in his wrath he uttered words which might very well be construed into a threat of the guillotine against every one of them. Moreover, for some time past, he had been rendering the guillotine unpopular by sacrificing true *sans-culottes*. All manner of men, and of women too, were handed over by the revolutionary tribunal to Samson and his assistants; the poorest and most essentially *sans-culottic* classes now began to figure on the scaffold—a pretty sure sign that Robespierre's death-dance could not last many months longer. Ex-nobles, aristocrats, respectabilities, men and women who had cast off their rags and become rich and luxurious in the revolution, the *citizens* of Paris could see perish with pleasurable emotions and joyous cries about liberty and equality; but the case was altered when they saw the bleeding heads of journeymen tailors, sempstresses, cobblers, carters, and other poor artisans and labourers, held up with increasing frequency as the heads of traitors and conspirators. This convinced them that poverty and obscurity would no longer be a safeguard—this made them think of their own necks.

In order that trials and executions might move at a quicker pace, Robespierre now proposed that there should be four revolutionary tribunals at Paris instead of one; that the punishment, in every case, should be DEATH, and that the power of sending persons to trial before these tribunals should be given to the two committees of *salut public* and *sûreté générale*, to the individual representatives employed on missions, and to the public accusers. As a climax of atrocity, it was proposed that if the tribunal should possess either *material* or *moral* proof of guilt, it should be relieved from the necessity of hearing *witnesses*; and that no counsel or advocates should be allowed to prisoners, *because* calumniated patriots would find their best defenders in the patriot jurors, and conspirators could have no claim to any indulgence!

But the strangest part of the story of this decree of the 22d Prairial, or 10th of June, is, that Robespierre, after getting it carried, made no visible use of it, and from that moment ceased attending the committees. His enemies in those committees, who had dreaded that the decree was to be the instrument of their own destruction, were left to employ it against others, and awful was the use that they and the revolutionary tribunal made of it. In the course of forty days that the framer of the decree absented himself

from their council, *eleven hundred and eight* victims were tried according to the new forms, and executed, in Paris alone! The committee men, however, and all the other enemies of Robespierre, who felt, as every party or faction had done in France, that they must destroy or be destroyed, laboured hard to make the world believe, even in the presence of their own bloody pranks, that Robespierre and his colleagues Saint-Just and Couthon were the only cruel men in France. Both parties employed their spies and secret agents. Those of the committees gave their employers alarming accounts of lists of proscription drawn up by Robespierre; those who were employed by Robespierre made reports quite as alarming as to the intentions and preparations of the committees. By degrees it began to be reported that Robespierre's perruquier, in dressing his hair, had caught sight of his death-list—that some of the committee men themselves, who had not yet broken with the Incorruptible, had discovered by some lucky chance or other that he had drawn up such a list, and that their own names were in it—that Robespierre himself, overtaken by wine, which he rarely drank at all, had blabbed—and that, in short, it was perfectly well-known that he had set down the names of forty individuals, members of the Mountain, committee men, &c., who were to form the first batch, but not the last.

As early as the beginning of July, Henriot, who had now the command of the national guards, had intimated that he was fully prepared to strike a blow for Robespierre, and to make a *coup d'état* like that which he had managed last year, when the convention was purged of the Girondins; other friends, partizans, or colleagues, who were so identified with Robespierre, that they must either conquer with him or die with him, urged him to be up and doing, or to give the signal and let them act for him with the Parisian artillery, muskets, and bayonets; but the Incorruptible hesitated, faltered, and most wretchedly paltered about respect for the laws, and the propriety of doing the business in a calm and constitutional manner; and it was not until the return of Saint-Just from his mission to the army of the north, that he began to gird himself up for his last wrestle. "Only *dare*," said Saint-Just. "That one word contains all the secret of revolutions!" But still Robespierre could not *dare* in this style; and instead of settling himself in the Hôtel de Ville, and calling out Henriot and his cannoneers at once, he allowed several days to pass, and then re-appeared in the convention, from which he had absented himself so long that the deputies had lost the habit of fear. He found courage where he expected none, and insult and defiance from men who had crouched

and trembled before him. Cambon gave him the lie direct to his face. Billaud-Varennes, Panis, Bентаbole, Charlier, Thirion, Amar, all followed in this onslaught, while not a voice except that of the paralytic Couthon was raised on the side of Robespierre. The trimming middle party declared against the dictator. Humiliated, discouraged, but not yet giving up the game for lost, Robespierre passed over from the convention to the Jacobin Club. Here his spirit was revived by an enthusiastic reception. "I have seen to-day," said he, "that the league of the wicked against me is so strong that I cannot hope to escape it. I shall die without regret!" "You shall not die!" cried the Jacobins. "There is nothing to fear!" Henriot, Payan, Dumas, Coffinhal, and others, surrounded him, declaring that they were all ready to act. Henriot, alluding to his exploit of last year, said, "Courage, Robespierre! the cannoneers of Paris are steady, and I still know the road to the convention!" When Saint-Just had joined Robespierre in the Jacobin hall, Payan, procureur of the commune, a man of action rather than of words, proposed that they should go forthwith and arrest their enemies, who were all assembled in the committee rooms of the Tuileries. Nothing would have been more decisive, nor could anything have been much easier to do, for there was only a weak guard at the palace, and that guard would that night have obeyed the orders of Henriot rather than those of the committees. But Robespierre shrunk from the decisive step, thinking that the committees and the convention ought to be purged with the same medicine, and precisely the same doses as had been administered to the Girondins. That night, while Robespierre was doing nothing, his adversaries treated and negotiated with the leading patriots of some of the sections, and even tampered with the terrible Parisian cannoneers, upon whose guns must depend the final decision of the tremendous conflict that offered no hope of quarter to the defeated party.

On the following morning—the 9th Thermidor, or 27th of July—the combatants met betimes in the convention. Tallien led the attack against the Incorruptible, and there was soon an universal shouting of "Down with the tyrant!" "Death to the triumvirs!" Barrère moved, and the house voted, that the convention should be declared in permanent session, and that a decree of arrest should be issued against the enemies of the country. Saint-Just, one of the triumvirs, stood motionless and pale; Couthon, another, sat looking at his paralytic limbs silently, or ejaculating "Triumvir, indeed!" Only Robespierre struggled—and desperately did he struggle—with the impending doom. He ran to and fro, foaming at the mouth like a tiger taken in the toils. He tried to speak

from his place, he climbed to the tribune, he rushed to the table of the house—to the president's chair; but Collot rang his bell until it seemed to crack, and speech or word they would allow him in no place. This was but the measure he had often meted out to others. Vadier, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Tallien again, all fell upon the fallen dictator; but not as a terrorist, not as a man of blood, not as the perpetrator of wholesale judicial massacres, not as the hand which day after day touched the springs of the guillotine (for these, his accusers, had been his associates, the accomplices of his worst crimes; they had carried out his system during his secession from the government, they had made the guillotine play with more than a quadruple speed, and they did not mean that it should rest yet, or cease its labours with the Incorruptible and his *fournée*): Bourdon de l'Oise accused him of defending from the guillotine several heads; Vadier taxed him with having endeavoured to *save* the enemies of the people, and with having interfered with Fouquier-Tinville to *suspend the execution of conspirators!* But they spoke of the fate of Danton, and of the guilt and horror of sacrificing one's colleagues;—in short, they explained, as clearly as words could do it, that this was a personal quarrel between him and them, and that Robespierre had been guilty of none but venial offences until he entered into this quarrel. "President of assassins," shrieked the Incorruptible, "I demand speech of thee for the last time." By this time Collot was exhausted by his exertions—by that almost incessant bell-ringing—and vacating the presidential chair, he was succeeded in it by Thuriot, who hated and feared Robespierre as much as Collot did, and who now told him that he could not be heard. Robespierre's mouth foamed no longer; his tongue seemed to cleave to his dry palate, his voice to die away in the throat. "The blood of Danton is choking him," exclaimed Garnier de l'Aube. This remark made him recover voice and courage, and he exclaimed indignantly, and with a terrible truth, "Danton! Is it, then, Danton you would avenge? Cowards! Why did you not defend him?" But Thuriot, with a fresh arm, rang the bell, the house drowned their recollections, and kept up their courage by renewed vociferations, and Louchet demanded an instant decree of arrest against Robespierre. In the brief space of time five decrees of arrest were passed, and Robespierre, his younger brother, Couthon, Saint-Just, and Lebas were conveyed to five several prisons.

It was now five o'clock in the afternoon: and the assembly rose for a couple of hours, in order that the members might dine. Henriot now collected some of the terrible Parisian cannoneers, and harangued the patriot mob, telling them that

the traitors in the convention had voted the arrest of the best and only true patriots remaining in that assembly. But, going to the committee rooms of the convention with only two or three aides-de-camp with him, Henriot was arrested himself, and corded and bound like a common felon. In the meanwhile the council-general of the commune, being still steady to Robespierre, ordered that he and his four friends should be instantly liberated, that the tocsin should be sounded, and the barriers closed. Within an hour after this Henriot was set at liberty by Coffinhal, who burst into the Tuileries, sword in hand, being followed by about 100 fanatic Robespierrists. In a trice the commandant-general Henriot was again on horseback; but he continued to act like a madman, and was believed to be drunk with brandy. The five prisons to which the five great men had been carried were situated in distant parts of Paris, and their keepers were not equally alert in obeying the orders of the commune; but by eight or nine in the evening Robespierre, his brother Augustin, Saint-Just, and Lebas were at perfect liberty, and sitting in deliberation with the council of the commune; and Couthon joined them somewhat later in the evening. They called upon the Jacobins, who had declared themselves in permanent session; they sent round commissaries to the different sections, none of which had rushed to arms so eagerly as in former times; and they instructed Henriot to collect his Parisian cannoneers, and point their guns against the Tuileries, wherein some of the members of the convention had re-assembled. But Henriot continued to do his part miserably; the triumvirate stayed where they were, and their enemies gained over some of the Parisian cannoneers and a considerable portion of the national guard and of the mob. Upon this the convention grew bolder; and while more members flocked to take their seats in the Tuileries, others of them went among the troops and the men of the faubourgs. Intelligence was soon brought in that several of the best sections were arming and marching for the defence of the representatives of the people: that the pupils of the school of Mars were shouting "Down with Robespierre!" and that the cannoneers outside, instead of obeying Henriot's orders to let their grape-shot fly on the hall of the convention, were turning the mouths of their guns the other way, forcing the commandant-general and his plumed staff to gallop off for the Hôtel de Ville. Hereupon the members in the house all vociferated, "*Hors la loi! Hors la loi!*" and Barrère, who had been working in that sense, presently presented a decree of outlawry against Henriot, the Robespierres, Saint-Just, and the rest. This was voted instantaneously, together with an order to

silence the tocsin and prevent the closing of the barriers. At last, as night was giving place to morning, Leonard Bourdon, who had put himself at the head of several battalions, undertook to lead them to the Hôtel de Ville, and there seize the outlaws and bring them to the convention, dead or alive. At his approach, the cannoneers whom Henriot had placed in the Place de Grève for the defence of the Hôtel de Ville, wheeled round their guns and pointed them against that edifice. Henriot, who had been consulting within, and assuring the outlaws that their triumph was secure, that the cannoneers were steady, and the section battalions coming, ran out into the Place to declaim and harangue, to implore, threaten, and cajole; but it was all in vain—he could not make them turn their guns again—he was threatened with some of their bitter grape—he rushed back, ran upstairs to the great council-chamber of the commune, and announced that all was lost. “Villain! and thy cowardice is the cause!” roared Coffinhal, a strong man made stronger by despair, who, as he uttered the words, seized light Henriot round the waist, and in the next instant hurled him out of an open window. The ex-commandant-general fell upon a dunghheap, or as others say, into an open sewer. The younger Robespierre, mounting one or two stories higher, threw himself head foremost out of a window; Lebas shot himself effectually with a pistol, and fell dead; Saint-Just clasped a knife or dagger in his hand, but made no further use of it; Couthon crept under a table, and with a weak hand and blunt weapon inflicted one or two insignificant wounds on himself; Robespierre put a pistol into his mouth to blow out his brains, but in pulling the trigger he changed the direction of the piece, and the ball broke his under jaw, and went through his cheek, without touching any vital part. When Leonard Bourdon burst into the room, followed by some gendarmes (himself, according to some accounts, including his own, being disguised as a common gendarme), Robespierre was sitting bleeding on a chair, with a knife in his hand; Couthon was lying under the table as though he were dead; the municipal officers were throwing off their scarfs, and apparently preparing for flight. One or two pistols were fired by the gendarmes, and then all the conspirators quietly submitted to be taken and bound. Henriot, badly wounded, disfigured, and covered with filth, was discovered in the foul place where he had fallen; Augustin Robespierre was also found alive, though with limbs broken and a skull fractured. Some of the armed people, who were now crowding into the council-cham-

ber, and running over every part of the vast building, dragged out Couthon by the heels from under the table, and proposed throwing his carcass into the Seine; but hereupon he opened his eyes, and gave them to understand that he was not yet dead, nor so much as dying. The wounded were put upon brancards or stretchers, and shouting “Victory! victory!” Leonard Bourdon conducted them to the Tuileries. By this time it was between three and four o’clock in the morning. At four o’clock in the afternoon, after suffering insults, outrages, and tortures, which proved that those who triumphed were as ferocious as those who fell, Robespierre, his brother Augustin, Saint-Just, Couthon, Henriot, and sixteen others were put in carts at the Conciergerie to be carried through the busiest streets of Paris to the Place de la Révolution. The carts were followed by a countless multitude, and the windows and house-tops are said to have been more crowded than ever they had been before. Jestings and laughing, filthy puns and quodlibets, were mixed with dire curses, shrieks, and anathemas. During a halt, a band of women, formerly his own *tricotuses*, or furies of the guillotine, executed an infernal dance round his cart, with clapping of hands and other demonstrations of joy. On arriving in the Place de la Révolution, they laid him down on the ground at the foot of the scaffold, for he was to be executed last of the twenty-one, and he could not stand—indeed, he too was now almost dead—his face was livid, his eyes were sunk in his head. At the fall of each head the countless multitude shouted and waved hats and caps, and they shouted the loudest when Samson held up the heads of Saint-Just and Couthon. At last Robespierre’s turn came; for the axe had clanked down twenty times, and there remained none alive but he. As his ghastly figure and well-known sky-blue coat (now torn, and streaked and clotted with blood) slowly emerged to the surface of the scaffold, there was another universal roar of voices, and a still more enthusiastic waving of hats and caps. Samson tore off his coat, brutally wrenched the foul linen bandage from his jaw; the broken left jaw fell, and then a horrible cry or scream proceeded from him, being the first sound of lamentation or suffering he had been heard to utter since his arrest. This fearful cry was still ringing in the air, when the heavy axe, wet with the blood of his brother and his friends, clanked down once more. Samson held up the frightful head; the spectators shouted and applauded for several minutes, and then went away *singing*. It was towards seven o’clock in the evening of the 10th Thermidor, or 28th of July.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1794—1795.

GEORGE III.

Events preceding the third partition of Poland—Anarchy of the Polish government—Character of Thaddeus Kosciusko—His previous history—His return from exile—Premature outbreak of the Polish insurrection—Kosciusko heads the insurrection—His victory at Raclawice—The Russians driven out of Warsaw—Various successes of the Polish insurgents—The Russian and Prussian armies unite against them—The Poles defeated—Suwaroff leads a Russian army into Poland—He defeats the Polish insurgents—His sanguinary capture of Warsaw—The whole country divided among the three invading powers—Changes in the British cabinet—Crown prosecutions of British revolutionists—Trials of Thomas Hardy, Horne Tooke, &c.—Their acquittal—Trial of Robert Watt in Edinburgh for high treason—His execution—Opening of parliament—Royal speech recommending a continuation of the war—The resolution adopted by a large majority—The suspension of the habeas corpus act continued—Plan for augmenting the naval service—Debate on the subsidies given to foreign powers—Additional burdens imposed for the war—Demands of the opposition for a peaceful negotiation with France—Marriage of the Prince of Wales with Caroline, Princess of Brunswick—Parliamentary arrangement for the discharge of his debts—The Dutch declare for the French republic—The British and Hanoverian army in Holland defeat the French at the Waal—Inadequacy of their medical and commissariat departments—Sufferings of the British troops in Holland—They are compelled to retreat—They embark for England—The Dutch colonies captured by the British—The King of Prussia makes a treaty with France—Spain follows the example—The Grand Duke of Tuscany negotiates with France—Treaties of Britain with foreign powers against France—A French fleet sent to drive the English out of Corsica—It is defeated by Admiral Hotham—Naval victory of Lord Bridport over the French off Port l'Orient—An Austrian army compelled to capitulate to the French—Pichegru attempts to reduce Mayence—He is driven back to Mannheim—Jourdan driven back by Clairfait—Defeat of the French by Clairfait at Mayence—Reverses of the French on the Rhine—They are unsuccessful in Italy—The royalist war of the Vendée suppressed—Internal proceedings in France—Precautions of the convention to maintain order—Death of the dauphin.



BEFORE returning to the home affairs of England, a few words must be said concerning the third partition of Poland, that deed which in its perpetration had weakened the armies of the coalition employed against France, and which, in its moral effects, threw a black cloud over the reputation of kings at a crisis when it ought to have been kept bright and spotless, and cast even a shade of obloquy over all who were attached to established governments. Among the much-divided Polish nobility, whose dissensions, jealousies, mad ambition, and political immorality had kept their country distracted and weak, in a confusion and anarchy worse than what had obtained in the old feudal days of Europe, while all its neighbours had been growing in strength and improving in organization and administration, was Thaddeus Kosciusko, of an ancient but not wealthy family of Lithuania; a man whose bravery, humanity, and patriotism are equally indisputable, but whose abilities, whether as a general or a statesman, are liable to some questioning. In the dearth of truly great men in modern times, and in their enthusiastic and laudable admiration of his gallantry and entire honesty, the Polish patriots have been wont to attribute more greatness and genius to the gallant soldier than ever belonged to him (his amiable and generous

qualities they could scarcely exaggerate); but at the same time it is but fair to state that, even had Kosciusko been as great and able a man as he is represented, it may be doubted whether he would have succeeded in his grand enterprise of driving out the three great powers from his native country—a country, for the most part, open and ill-calculated for defensive war, and most of the strong places in which were occupied by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Kosciusko, in his early life, had resided a considerable time in France, studying the science of war. While yet a very young man, he had volunteered to accompany La Fayette to America: he served for some time as aide-de-camp to Washington, and his services to our revolted colonists had obtained for him the rank of a general officer, and, after the war, a pension from the United States. The school or schools in which he had studied had given him a preference for republican institutions, but he had no excessiveness or extravagance in his political opinions, and seems to have agreed that the government best suited to his country would be a representative monarchy, in which the aristocracy should have its due share and influence. With some of the patriot nobles who had adhered to the constitution of 1793, and had gallantly fought the overwhelming forces of the Empress Catherine, Kosciusko had fled into Saxony. From Dresden and Leipsic these

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